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“BUT I KNOW IT’S NOT JUST THAT” – NARRATIVES OF LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN INTER-GENERATIONAL STUDY OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN

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Research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the field of Psychology by Coursework and Research Report

University of the Witwatersrand

DECLARATION

This research report is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of Arts (Psychology) by Coursework and Research Report. I declare that unless specifically indicated otherwise, the following is the result of my own work.

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August 2020

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research has been to explore how white, South African women from three generations within specific families (occupying the generational positions of grandmother, mother and daughter respectively) make sense of their racialised and gendered identities in South Africa. More specifically, this research looks at the ways in which race plays out as an aspect of these individuals' narrative identities and whether the awareness of race and privilege shifts across time. These generations are interesting to consider as those in generation one lived under apartheid for most of their lives, those in generation two also lived during apartheid but only as children and young adults, and those in the third generation were born towards the very end of apartheid – members of the so-called 'Born-Free' generation. These generations therefore straddle particular time periods in South African history, and this research considers these in relation to each other. Nine narrative interviews were conducted across four different families to gather data. Five main narrative themes were followed, namely: Non-racialism and Nostalgia; Shame; The Privilege of Feeling Safe; Domestic Work(ers); and Changing Opportunity and Changing Class. A narrative analysis has been conducted on various extracts relating to each of these themes. "But I Know It's Not Just That" (the title of this research) points towards the shift in raced thinking, talk and identities over time, and highlights the generational changes this research considers. This title also hints at the complicated and intricate landscape of our postapartheid world – a world in which not everything has changed, but also not a world where nothing has changed. These micro examples of the experiences and understandings individuals have of Non-racialism and Nostalgia, Shame, The Privilege of Feeling Safe, Domestic Work(ers) and Changing Opportunities and Changing Class provide us with a view of broader society and broader generational changes and similarities in gender positions, as well as raced talk and identities. With this, we are able to begin to answer the question of who white South African women are, how they are (and are not) changing, and how this might impact the future of a postapartheid society.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS & OBJECTIVES

This research explores how white, South African women from three generations within specific families make sense of their racialised and gendered identities in South Africa. More specifically, this research looks at how race plays out as an aspect of these individuals' narrative identities and whether the awareness of race and privilege shifts across time. One of the founding principles of the African National Congress (ANC) was non-racialism, in which individuals' racial identities would be replaced by a united and common South African identity (Ramsamy, 2006; Mandela, 1991). However, even with the dismantling of Apartheid, race and racial categories remained salient, so a new popular discourse emerged – that of the 'Rainbow Nation' (Tutu, 1994; Mandela, 1996). However, I would argue that despite this emphasis on diversity, the rainbow nation image and talk is aligned with colour-blindness, asserting a diluted 'non-racial' vision based on the necessity to look past racial differences and focus on the formation of a united South Africa (Satgar, 2019; Ramsamy, 2006). Rather than paying attention to differences and acknowledging race, particularly as it is intertwined with class and historical privilege, this 'new' non-racialism calls for unity and some sort of 'sameness' above all else, and in this way, race remains salient in South Africa but has been described as the "unacknowledged elephant in the room" (Vice, 2010, p.324). This resistance to talking about race is related to a focus on non-racialism and it is sometimes argued (particularly by white South Africans) that drawing attention to race is harmful in that it re-invokes apartheid history (Steyn, 2001). Moreover, some claim that by implementing policies such as Affirmative Action (AA) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) one is re-racializing South African society by focussing on racial categories (Moodley & Adam, 2000). However, the counter-argument to these claims of re-racialisation is that one cannot re-racialize a society that has never been de-racialised and that material as well as various forms of social wealth continue to be largely divided along colour lines which mirror South Africa's divided history (Naicker, 2016; Moodley & Adam, 2000). Here, social wealth is understood in relation to Bourdieu's (1992) notions of cultural and social capital which refer to the knowledge acquired through inter-generational transmission in schooling and families, and to resources individuals acquire because of the networks and relationships they have. If an individual is wealthy, has been well-educated and holds a powerful position in business, they are more likely to interact with other

individuals in a similar position and, because wealth is largely related to race in South Africa, one can see how white individuals may have more access to historically powerful cultural and social capital than black individuals. Therefore, there seems to be a tension in that an ideal of non-racialism has been presented, but race has to be recognised and acknowledged so that racialised inequality can be addressed. Despite this complex focus on race, some argue that white individuals remain unaware of the privileged position they occupy due to their white identity (Terry, 1981; McIntosh, 1998; Logue, 2005). The claim is that whiteness (and the privilege associated with whiteness) is largely invisible to those who fall under the category of white, but very visible to those outside of this category (Hartmann, Gerteis & Croll, 2009; McIntosh, 1998). However, I would argue that this invisibility of whiteness is more complicated in South Africa, in line with arguments put forward by Frankenberg (1997), (2004), McClintock (1995), Steyn (2004) and Vice (2010) (to name a few). This is due to a number of factors, but most notably because of the on-going hyper-awareness and hyper-visibility of race created by apartheid categorisations. Whiteness Studies courses, publications and prominent social movements (such as #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall) have also contributed (and continue to contribute) to the increased 'visibility' of whiteness (Steyn, 2004). Moreover, white individuals cannot claim not to know of the racialised history of their country (even if they wish to consign this to the past), and all white South African families are implicated in this history. This, coupled with the fact that white individuals comprise a small minority of the South African population (which is not the case in the countries where these theories were developed) makes the South African situation more nuanced and intricate. By gathering narratives from white South African women[1] from three different generations, this research project considers how central the role of race is in these lives, whether racialised identity as a white person is a central aspect in these life stories, and whether the awareness of race and white privilege shifts across time within these generations. Furthermore, the study focuses on white women specifically, and how gender and race intersect in their narratives or life stories, as a way of exploring how gendered dynamics operate within whiteness.

Before beginning, it is important to consider the current state of South Africa. Borrowing from Van Der Westhuizen (2017), the term postapartheid[2] will be used throughout this paper. This

[1] This research focusses on English-speaking, white South African women specifically.

[2] This is a deliberate spelling choice made by Van Der Westhuizen (2017) in an attempt to highlight the complexities and difficulties of labelling a period as 'post' when such a period is still conflicted with much racialized inequality and individuals still face many problems which are directly related to apartheid. Therefore, the term 'post-apartheid' has been avoided as it is felt this term and spelling places more of a separation between present day and apartheid, and fails to consider how present-day society is still very much related to apartheid society.

term draws attention to the transitional nature of South Africa and the tensions inherent in this transition. While apartheid was designed to ethnicise, separate and fragment black South Africans by focusing on difference, it aimed to racialize and unify the white minority despite ethnic and language differences, particularly between English and Afrikaans speaking people (Moodley & Adam, 2000). These racialized identities and explicit categorizations formed the basis of life for South Africans and once apartheid ended, these legally established identities formally collapsed (Van Der Westhuizen, 2017; Moodley & Adam, 2000). Rather than this strong focus on race and racial differences, a new discourse emerged – that of the rainbow nation – which encompassed non-racialism and reconciliation. However, this transition has by no means been a smooth one, and while apartheid has officially ended, there are ongoing racial inequalities and tensions, as well as a hyper-visibility of race. South Africa is still in the process of emerging and adjusting and developing systems which are not based on marginalization and oppression, as well as being reintegrated into the global market (Van Der Westhuizen, 2017). Therefore, the term postapartheid has been selected to highlight this time of transition rather than using other terms which might indicate firm and stable start and end points of oppression and racialized thinking, as the official end of apartheid does not mean its effects have come to an end.

1.2 RATIONALE

This research topic sprung from many discussions between supervisor and supervisee and much reading around topics such as white privilege, transformation, identity formation and decision-making. These are all areas of interest for me as the researcher and are also directly related to my own experiences. It is hoped that this research provides valuable insight into how white individuals make sense of their race and gender in contemporary South Africa, and how this is shifting over time. Highlighting changes which have taken place, as well as things that have not changed, could be useful in identifying how race continues to operate in this 'rainbow nation' and in what ways it might be problematic, but also how it may have changed or mutated. This can also be extended to gender, as the changes (or lack thereof) in understandings of gender are also considered. This rationale is largely underpinned by narrative motivations in that the specific aims here are not to generalise this research, but rather to focus on the stories individuals tell which relate to their personal meaning-making and sense-making, and to consider how these stories are linked to broader societal shifts and structures. One should not expect the responses that this research gathers to be representative of a certain class, gender, race or age, but rather one should see these stories as highlighting the positions and responses

which are available to people within these particular social categories. Therefore, this research is important in that it provides space for individuals to construct their stories (in collaboration with the researcher) and to share the innate human propensity to tell stories and thus express one's 'narrative identity' – an identity which can only be created through narrative composition (Ricoeur, 1991). Moreover, these stories are not only individualised accounts, but are related to broader family stories and histories and give a window into inter-generational experiences and lives. It is felt that the more every day or more 'normal' stories of gendered and racist practices operating in apartheid and postapartheid South Africa have not been widely documented and much of the work in this area is largely theoretical (Shefer, 2010; Steyn, 2010). Moreover, while there are many studies and theoretical papers which consider white, Afrikaans individuals both during apartheid and in postapartheid South Africa (see Van Der Westhuizen, 2017; Steyn, 2004), there is far less material on white English-speaking individuals during these times. These individuals occupy an interesting position, as they are both oppressors (in terms of their race) and oppressed (in relation to their gender). They are also most certainly a part of the dominant and oppressive category of whiteness, but they are not Afrikaans so they are not a part of the specific cultural group which was most dominant during apartheid, and the longer history and legacy of British colonialism has been less consciously recognised. Afrikaner whiteness has therefore been the subject of much study, but considering English whiteness in South Africa gives some insight into the complexity and fluidity of South African whiteness. Although limited, previous research has considered the experiences of white, English-speaking South Africans (referred to as WESSAs) and this research hopes to build on and add to this knowledge (Distiller & Steyn, 2004; Salusbury & Foster, 2004; Steyn, 2001; Steyn & Foster, 2008). Additionally, previous work tends to focus on race as the central component of individuals' identities, rather than considering race and gender and the interwoven experiences of these aspects. This research therefore considers the less analysed positions (yet positions which hold the most power) of whiteness, heterosexuality and middle-classness.

Furthermore, it is my feeling that an inter-generational study of this sort brings something new to this research area. Shefer (2010) points out that certain attitudes and practices can 'hangover' from previous generations and seep into the younger generations, therefore an inter-generational study would be useful to consider where these attitudes or positions come from and why they may be resistant to change. In line with this, assuming a narrative perspective and approach allows one to frame questions relating to identity temporarily, and so one is able

to consider the processes of identity and individual stories, rather than viewing individuals as objects which are under analysis. While there are a number of studies considering the social identities of South African youth (particularly students) in present day South Africa (Walker, 2005; Pattman, 2007; Franchi & Swart, 2003) these studies do not involve the families of these young people and do not utilise an inter-generational approach. Further, there have been papers written which investigate how white individuals (but not white women specifically) understand their whiteness (Nuttall, 2001; Vice, 2010) but these are limited and while Nuttall (2001) does consider a family, she consults archives rather than conducting interviews and only considers one specific family. Alberts (2013) also considers families in his study on adolescent identity struggles in postapartheid South Africa, but this study focuses specially on Afrikaans families. A family is an interesting site of study as it can be seen as a "miniature culture" (Bruner, 1987, p. 22) as the family is a site of much identity construction and racialisation. A person is obviously heavily influenced by their family and the stories family members tell must mesh with each other for them to make sense. The family could therefore be seen as a microcosm of broader society. Looking at the similarities and differences between members of the same families across generations might highlight the centrality of family in formulating narratives and understandings, as well as indicate broader societal understandings and narratives. Understanding the micro-level role of the family in constructing narratives and awareness of race is not only interesting but is also useful in developing knowledge about race, gender and race relations, as well as gender relations in contemporary South Africa.

Finally, drawing on Mills (2007), McHugh (in Steyn, 2012) speaks of the epistemology of ignorance and highlights how ignorance is indeed political. By studying the 'not knowing' and studying the subjectivities which are ignorant, the aim is to uncover the political agenda of ignorance and of ignoring. This kind of study is important in that it "disrupt[s] structures of unknowing, reveal[s] patterns of active ignorance, and insert[s] Others as knowers" (McHugh, nd, p. 1 in Steyn, 2012). It is therefore not appropriate to view knowledge and ignorance as opposite ends of a spectrum, but rather to see that both knowledge and ignorance are actively produced and constructed with inherently political agendas (Steyn, 2012). This research aims to investigate these states of not-knowing to uncover how they are constructed and how they continue to exist in and operate within present day South Africa. Moreover, in uncovering these instances of ignorance it is hoped that these can be better understood and this understanding can assist us in knowing how to disrupt these ongoing subjectivities of ignorance. Additionally, I argue that ignoring race and assuming a 'colour-blind' approach is inappropriate and

problematic in this context and that race needs to be focussed on. Avoiding race could be seen as a form of white ignorance and should therefore be engaged with to avoid this. Frankenberg (1993) argues for 'race-cognisance' whereby white people in particular recognise the centrality of race in the experiences of black and white individuals. This kind of race cognisance enables white people to critically engage with their complicity in the perpetuation of racism and the subsequent injustices because of this racism (Matthews, 2011). In this way, white people are able to make these injustices visible and challenge current race relations. This is in line with much work from whiteness studies, whereby the aim is to subvert the power of whiteness and dislocate it from its position of superiority (Steyn, 2004). Therefore, in line with many of Steyn's (2001) aims, this research aims to expose whiteness and make it visible. This attention on whiteness should of course not be seen as an attempt to re-focus on and re-centre whiteness, but to show how whiteness is implicated in identity construction and to call into question the ways in which it perpetuates social injustices and asymmetries of power.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents both empirical and theoretical material and provides the background which is necessary for my own research which follows. Specifically, the theoretical framework is established and developed through the central theoretical concepts of identity and intersectionality which are used to understand and tie together further concepts and important frameworks such as whiteness and white privilege, gender, nostalgia and shame. Empirical studies that have investigated particular instances of these phenomena are also included. Of course, due to space limitations, the full range of material related to these concepts cannot be included and full details cannot be provided for everything, but it is hoped that each concept and the related studies are covered in enough detail so as to provide a sound background which can be used to frame my own study and findings. The theory presented on identity in this section has been used as an over-arching concept which provides links between each section, and has been tied with intersectionality. More specifically, in line with this research report's focus on shifts over time and inter-generationally, the notion of the narrative identity has been used to link various theoretical aspects together. Two important aspects of narrative identity have been utilised here, namely the relationality and the temporality of the narrative identity. Identity can be thought of as comprising of aspects such as gender and race (including white privilege and whiteness in this research) and how one relates to these aspects (with nostalgia or with shame, for example) addresses the temporal character of identity construction. In considering the narrative identity, one is able to consider the importance of retrospection and reflection and how an individual's past interacts with and influences their projections of the future. Therefore, it is not only the 'here and now' which comprises our identity, but how we reflect on the past and consider the future which shapes our identities. How these aspects of identity weave together and interact is of course related to intersectionality, and by utilising narrative identity to consider these intersections, one is able to better understand the shifts and changes of these aspects of identity over time. Therefore, it is felt that one cannot unpack theory on (and theory related to) identity without considering identity as intersectional and relational.

2.1 NARRATIVE & INTERSECTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITY

Narrative Identity

Central to this research (and to narrative work in general) is the concept of identity. Rather than working with the traditional idea of identity as a stable, internal, unified and essence-like part of human life, this research is aligned with Stuart Hall's (1996) notion of identity. In this case, identity is formed through the processes of identification and othering. In this way, there is no 'self' but multiple positions and identifications which people hold in relation to others. Central to this understanding of identity is that there is a simultaneous distancing of the self from others who are perceived to be different from one's self. Therefore, individuals only exist in relation to that which is 'other' to their identification and people's identities are also based on that with which they do not identify (Hall, 1996). Rather than some innate essence of a person, Hall (1996) defines identity as "temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (p.19). In this way, we take up and invest in certain positions but these positions are constructed for us by discourses and social practices. Here, the centrality of language is evident and the role of language and narratives in our construction of identity is highlighted. Our identity positions are created for us through language. We take up these positions, invest in them and then use language to share stories of our positions and construct our relations to these positions.

A well-known personality development theory is Erik Erikson's (1968) life-span approach which theorises the stages of psychosocial development. Erikson (1968) proposed that one's personality develops in a set order throughout the lifetime (from birth until old age) and that each stage in a person's life is accompanied by some sort of crisis they must navigate. How an individual navigates such a crisis has positive or negative consequences on one's development. During these stages, an individual must develop certain virtues (such as will, purpose, competence and love) and these virtues are developed based on the successful completion of each stage (Erikson, 1968). In line with what has been discussed above, Erikson's (1968) specific stage of 'identity cohesion versus role confusion' is especially important in this research. Erikson (1968) theorised that this stage takes place during adolescence and individuals must integrate various ideas and aspects of themselves into one cohesive self – one must 'find oneself.' If one is able to do this successfully, one develops the attribute of fidelity and is able to progress to subsequent stages successfully. However, if one is not able to integrate aspects of their identity and develop a cohesive sense of self, one might experience an identity crisis which results in individuals feeling confused and lost with no idea of who they are or

where they are going. While Erikson (1968) did highlight the specific importance of this stage, he also emphasised that identity formation was on-going and life-long and that it was influenced by those around an individual as well as one's culture and history, for example. Part of 'finding oneself' or gaining a coherent sense of self therefore involves going beyond identification with others and their values, by both incorporating these and distancing oneself from these. Again, the relational and temporal notion of one's identity is highlighted, as well as the shifting nature of identity.

However, while this theory is praised for providing a lifetime approach to personality development rather than claiming that development ends with adulthood as many other psychological theories seem to assume, it is also criticised for setting up such a rigid and predetermined timeline of identity development (McAdams, 2001). McAdams (2001) has extended Erikson's theory in the development of the life story model of identity. This model posits that individuals construct narratives of the self to afford their lives coherence and purpose. Therefore, one's identity is seen as a life story and as the narrative they construct rather than being some internal essence and, in this way, the self is a story (Bruner, 1987; McAdams, 2001; Squire, 2008). These personal stories are of course constructed by the individual who is doing the story telling, but they are also heavily influenced by that person's context and culture (McAdams, 2001). Moreover, one's life story is constantly changing and developing which means that one's identity is not some fixed aspect of a person, but that it evolves and shifts over time and in different situations (McAdams, 2001). Hall (1996) echoes this in saying that identities have histories and come from somewhere, but also notes that these identities undergo constant change and transformation. A person reflects on experiences in the telling of their stories and this influences both how a story is told and what is told. This of course shifts throughout one's lifetime, thus identity does not develop during a set stage or by a particular age, but is ongoing across one's life (McAdams, 2001). However, McAdams (2001) notes that often individuals rely on cultural norms to define which parts of their lives have been most formative (such as young adulthood – the time of beginning a job, forming meaningful relationships and taking up further study, for example) which is in line with Erikson's idea of set stages. This theory of identity is firmly in line with narrative methods as rather than having an underlying identity or personhood, this theory maintains that we use our narratives to construct our identity and so the importance of story-telling cannot be understated. Identities are therefore not grounded in the past waiting to be retrieved, but are actively created by the ways individuals position and are positioned by narratives (Hall, 1996). Furthermore, in

telling these stories one is able to revisit earlier stages of development and consider, reflect, re-evaluate and develop new and different understandings of these stages (Bruner, 1987, Squire, 2008; Ricoeur, 1991). This is again in line with this research's framing of narrative identity and provides a means of connecting various aspects of one's life story with each other. In line with identities being fluid and actively constructed and particularly relevant to this research, it is interesting to consider Steyn's (2001) exploration of South Africans renegotiating their identities in a postapartheid society. In a society where old ways of being and thinking are no longer socially acceptable and available (particularly for white South Africans), one must fashion new selves using the new knowledge and opportunities available. However, this change must be affected in ways that allow one to feel that one has retained some semblance of oneself – some sort of personal congruence (Steyn, 2001). Therefore, one is tasked with creating a new self which includes the present, but also the future and the past. In a time where many of the underpinnings of white identity have been challenged and removed, one can see how this process would be challenging and potentially painful – the values, beliefs and views which a person had built their identity around are dismissed and new values must be used to structure one's identity.

In terms of narrative identity, Bruner (1987) argues that in constructing narratives and autobiographies, one is actually constructing oneself and one's life. In telling these stories it is believed that people construct themselves and formulate new understandings, and in this way our narratives construct our identities (Squire, 2008). Bruner (1987) claims that there is no such thing as 'life itself,' but rather 'life' is the memories one recalls and interprets through stories one tells. Life narratives are highly influenced by culture, history and language in that these structure how stories are told and what is told – there are certain cultural conventions around 'right' stories and one's personal life narrative needs to make sense and be in line with other life stories. One is acutely aware of the ways of telling and understanding which are socially accepted and encouraged, and these become so ingrained in individuals that they come to structure the experience itself, not just one's telling of it (Bruner, 1987). One's life is structured by how one will tell the story of it and these interpretations and tellings become 'life itself.' Bradbury and Miller (2010) mirror this in saying that when one considers life as narrative, one can see that an identity is open to multiple interpretations and is not a unified or stable aspect of an individual. An identity is constructed and there is no 'real' self which lies buried within – the 'real self' is only one imagined idea (Bradbury & Miller, 2010). Therefore, narrative

identity is not one, unified identity and it is because the stories that are told structure the very lives they are telling that narrative is so important.

Intersectionality

With any consideration of identity and the multiple aspects of identity, one needs to consider how these aspects interact and work together. As a response to mainstream feminism and based on her own experiences and experiences of individuals she worked with, Crenshaw (1991) developed her theory of intersectionality. She aimed to highlight how one's experiences are shaped based on one's place in society and which social groups one is a part of, and in particular, how black women's experiences are influenced by a variety of factors rather than focussing on only their race or only their gender (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality therefore refers to the recognition that there are inter-connected relationships between social identities, and that these relationships reinforce or challenge one another (Crenshaw, 1991). Our categories of identity take meaning from other categories of our identity, and one needs to pay attention to how one's experience of race is also related to one's sexuality, class, gender and education, for example. Furthermore, intersectionality makes it possible to identify how an individual may be both oppressed and privileged at times due to their different social identities (Crenshaw, 1991). While this research focusses on experiences of race (specifically those of white women) it is important to note that the narratives these women tell are strongly influenced by a range of factors.

It is important to note that intersectionality can be (and has been) misused and misrepresented. Due to its focus on different identities holding different power, it becomes possible for those with both privileged and oppressed positions to over-emphasise their oppressed identities without interrogating their privileged positions (Bilge, 2013). This may take the form of white women focussing on their gender rather than on their race as this is an easier category to handle and involves less self-interrogation. Additionally, intersectionality is often deployed superficially as a way of producing research that 'looks good' on the surface and as though it is extensive and self-aware, when in reality, underlying structures that produce and sustain injustice are not dealt with. Minority perspectives may be articulated and represented but institutional and social change is not seriously enacted. In this way, intersectionality becomes depoliticised and neutralised and can be seen as "ornamental" (Bilge, 2013, p. 408). In terms of this research, intersectionality will be actively engaged with in relation to both participants

and to the researcher. This will be discussed in more detail in the ethical considerations section below.

2.2 WHITENESS

One aspect of identity which is central to this research is that of whiteness. Before beginning any discussion of the theoretical tenets of whiteness, it is important to discuss the concrete, material advantages of being white in South Africa. From 1994 to 2014, there has been a 3% increase in the number of black skilled workers (bringing the total percentage of black skilled workers in the black African workforce to 18%) and a 6% increase in the number of black semi-skilled workers, bringing the total number of black semi-skilled workers in South Africa to 48% of the total black African workforce (StatsSA, 2014). The percentage of low-skilled black workers has dropped 9 percentage points which means that 34% of the black African workforce are low-skilled workers (StatsSA, 2014). Therefore, since 1994, there have been only small changes in the black African workforce towards more skilled and semi-skilled work. However, one must consider this in relation to white individuals. Between 1994 and 2014, the number of skilled white workers increased by 19% (totalling 61% of the total white South African workforce), the number of white semi-skilled workers decreased by 19% to 36% of the total white South African workforce, and the percentage of white low-skilled workers remained stable at 3% of the white South African workforce being low-skilled workers (StatsSA, 2014). Therefore, white individuals continue to dominate in skilled work categories despite being a minority in terms of population demographics and this dominance has increased rather than decreased in postapartheid times. It is clear that there is still an uneven distribution of progress within these population groups, with black South Africans experiencing a much slower growth in skills and still holding lower paying jobs. Furthermore, black and coloured South Africans still experience the highest rate of unemployment, with 39.4% of young black South Africans, 35.3% of young coloured South Africans and only 9% of young white South Africans being unemployed (StatsSA, 2014). In contrast, only 9.6% of unemployed youth are white (StatsSA, 2014). Moreover, white South Africans have the highest yearly average incomes in the country and this average is estimated to be almost five times greater than what black South Africans earn (StatsSA, 2017). Not only do white individuals hold better (and more) jobs, they also own 72% of the total farm and agricultural land in South Africa and have the highest number of individual land owners out of any population group, while black South Africans own 4% of this land (Department of Rural Development & Land Reform, 2017). Therefore, white South Africans (on average) still experience higher rates of employment, hold

better jobs, have higher levels of remuneration, and own far more land than black South Africans, despite apartheid officially coming to an end in 1994.

As noted in the introduction, race remains a prominent feature in South African society and arguably forms a large part of any South African's identity. In terms of this research and understanding how white-identifying individuals (or individuals identified by others as white) make sense of their experiences, is the concept of whiteness. Whiteness is a socially constructed category which allows those who are part of this category certain privileges, and denies those outside of this category these same privileges (López, 1994). As Nayak (2007) notes, whiteness is used as an organising principle in society. Hartmann et al. (2009) add to this in saying that whiteness rests on the assumed logic of racial difference: whiteness is different to 'non-whiteness'[3] (a term used by these authors to denote those who fall outside this category of whiteness). Historically, whiteness has been tied to the white body and while skin colour is an important element, whiteness should not simply be reduced to this (Nayak, 2007). Whiteness goes beyond skin colour in its effects and what it has been tied to, and is linked to the social construction of races and of the category of 'whiteness' in particular. Whiteness is not only an identifying category, but is also linked to certain social conventions, ways of behaving and particular histories and can be understood as a commitment to the supremacy of white individuals and their perspectives (Nayak, 2007; Vice, 2010). These conventions and ways of being are then normalised and the associated advantages of whiteness (such as material, social and political advantages) become invisible and naturalised (Vice, 2010). Related to this is the idea of the white gaze. Canham and Williams (2017) speak of the white gaze as a form of social control white individuals use to regulate and discipline black individuals' behaviour and ways of being. Furthermore, Canham and Williams (2017) note that the white gaze operates in the same way as Foucault's (1977) notion of the panopticon operates, as individuals come to internalise the gaze and then monitor and regulate their own behaviour. Due to overt and obvious forms of racism no longer being socially acceptable, more subtle forms of social control have been taken up and 'previous' terms of marginalisation have not been eradicated, but rather have mutated (Canham & Williams, 2017). Moreover, the white gaze is able to simultaneously deny and protect white privilege in that racism is enforced without taking any responsibility, and appeals to colour-blindness and racial ignorance can be made (Canham & Williams, 2017). In this way, an epistemology of ignorance is maintained

[3] This paper will not make use of this term but it has been included here as it has been used in original theory and work by these authors. This term has been avoided throughout this paper as it tends to portray whiteness as the norm and refers to those outside of this category as 'non' – making them seem other or as secondary to the category of whiteness.

which allows white individuals to evade responsibility and misunderstand racism, privilege and their role in perpetuating these. Therefore, this 'blindness' actually works in favour of white people and can be used as a defence. While this gaze is most certainly directed towards black individuals, one could also consider how the white gaze is directed from white individuals towards other white individuals as a form of policing the boundaries of what is acceptable whiteness. In this way, the socially constructed category of whiteness is both externally and internally reproduced and regulated in ways that make change difficult. As mentioned in the introduction, often those who occupy a position of whiteness are the most unaware of this position, while those outside of this category are acutely aware of their exclusion and the problematic consequences of such categorisations. Some argue that this unawareness is most likely due to the idea that although whiteness is used as an organising principle, the white identity largely remains invisible (Hartmann et al., 2009). Whiteness has become "the unmarked category which… never has to speak its name, [and] never has to acknowledge its role as an organising principle in social and cultural relations" (Lipsitz, 1998, p. 1). This allows for individuals who are part of this category to acknowledge the realities of inequality and disadvantages other communities (of colour) face, but these individuals find it difficult to place themselves in the system of race relations, and see how these disadvantages are directly related to their own advantages (Hartmann et al., 2009). As Robert W. Terry notes, "to be white… is not to have to think about it," (1981, p. 120) because 'white' has become the natural, the norm.

While Terry (1981) may have been able to make this claim in a particular context and at a particular time, whether it is wholly applicable to present-day South Africa is questionable. While some white individuals may be able to avoid thinking about their whiteness for periods of time, this avoidance cannot be sustained and race will have to be acknowledged – be this through discussions with others, interactions with people of different races or media stories relating to race. According to Solomona, Portelli, Daniel and Campbell (2005) white talk refers to behaviours or strategies adopted by white people which enable them to avoid acknowledging or naming their privilege. This indicates that there is some discomfort around their privilege and around race relations, but that white people try and avoid this discomfort through various strategies. Some of the behaviours or strategies employed may include avoiding questions, dismissing counter-arguments, remaining silent, or interrupting discussions they find to be uncomfortable or offensive (Solomona et al., 2005). McIntyre (1997) argues that white talk serves to "insulate white people from examining their own individual and collective roles in

the perpetuation of racism" (p. 31) in that they are able to avoid acknowledging their position. Through this, white people are able to escape seeing themselves as beneficiaries of racism, and they are also freed from taking responsibility for eliminating racism (Logue, 2005). However, what is not engaged with in this literature is that if there are strategies that are employed to avoid discomfort and naming one's privilege, there must be some awareness of this whiteness and privilege. By actively trying to avoid engaging with something, we have to be aware that it exists. By investigating what role race plays in the lives of white South African women, this research investigates to what extent and under what conditions this notion of 'not having to think about' whiteness applies to our context.

In terms of 'not knowing,' Steyn (2012) speaks of the 'ignorance contract' which she defines as an agreement which maintains ignorance and regulates society in certain ways. This 'agreement' maintains racial hierarchies and ignorance and should therefore be seen as a strategy. In order for this contract to be upheld, certain identities must be created which enable those within these positions to perform ignorance (Steyn, 2012). This contract is 'signed' by every generation as parents pass on their understandings and positionings to their children in teaching them what to know and what not to know. It is therefore vital to see ignorance as more than a 'lack,' but as a strategic move with positive and negative consequences for individuals and society. Related to this, it is inappropriate to view ignorance as neglect or as related to accidental forgetting, but should rather be seen as something that has been historically created and that is connected to our social positions and group memberships (Steyn, 2012). Those in dominant positions have the power to decide what is forgotten and what is remembered or upheld and this clearly highlights why and, as mentioned earlier, how ignorance is in fact socially constructed and forms part of a strategy which benefits dominant groups. In line with this discussion of ignorance, it is important to consider how white individuals are able to maintain this ignorance and how whiteness has been able to retain its power. Van Dijk (1992) conducted 170 interviews in California and in the Netherlands which investigated the nature of everyday talk, specifically talk related to race and ethnicity. These interviews were analysed using discourse analysis and Van Dijk (1992) found that this talk had a number of consistent aspects which are different from features of everyday talk unrelated to race. These aspects are: a focus on differences, an argumentative approach, maintenance of critical distance and the preservation of a positive self, alongside the presentation of a negative other. Further, Van Dijk (1992) highlights the role of the denial of racism in much of this talk and how this serves to reproduce and maintain racism. Van Dijk (1992) also collected a number of press reports,

debates and media stories and analysed the various forms of denial evident in these, particularly by those in powerful positions, such as politicians. Van Dijk (1992) found that there were multiple forms of denial, including euphemism, excuses, victim-blaming and reversal, and these enabled individuals to hold racist viewpoints while presenting themselves and their perspectives as non-racist. Here, evidence of racism taking different forms to adapt to an age where racist rhetoric and viewpoints are not socially sanctioned is provided. These serve to uphold and defend whiteness and therefore cannot be overlooked.

Of particular relevance to this research (which was briefly mentioned above) and in line with the previous discussion of intersectionality, is the consideration of different whitenesses in South Africa, specifically different whitenesses based on ethnicity and language which might allow for different levels and types of ignorance. As part of her work which considers whiteness in postapartheid South Africa and its resistance to transformation, Steyn (2004) looks at Afrikaner whiteness and the various strategies employed by Afrikaans individuals which enable them to resist transformation and avoid acknowledging their racism. In this section of work, Steyn (2004) argues that Afrikaans whiteness is a form of subaltern whiteness in that it does not quite 'fit' with the dominant white discourse and is seen as a 'lesser' whiteness. Moreover, Steyn (2004) highlights how the various forms of South African whiteness can act as rivals and the 'winning whiteness' is the whiteness which is closest to that of Western ideals of whiteness. While English-speaking South Africans have global backing and an international centre which provides stability and a sense of permanence, Steyn (2004) argues that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans do not experience this and Afrikaans-speaking white individuals experience less permanence and feel more threatened. Moreover, while English-speaking South Africans may be able to escape some of the links to apartheid to some extent, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans cannot escape that apartheid was created by Afrikaners, for Afrikaners and their identity is thus especially tainted and entangled with this history (Steyn, 2004). In line with this, Steyn (2001) highlights the importance of speaking about whitenesses instead of whiteness. Steyn (2001) argues that if we speak only of whiteness in a singular form, we run the risk of essentialising whiteness and overlooking complex differences and intricacies which exist within the overall category of whiteness. Steyn (2001) argues that there are shades of whiteness and that whiteness differs depending on history – both personal and collective. Even in this research and within the same families there are (of course) differences in how individuals experience and articulate their whiteness and what they do with their whiteness. It would be an analytical oversight to overlook the inter-generational differences and shifts which have taken

place on the micro level (in line with broader societal changes) to simply highlight commonalities of whiteness. However, one must also consider these commonalities and how these continue to be used as organising principles which whiteness operates within and around. One can perhaps see whiteness as the broader umbrella category with multiple forms and variations of whiteness underneath it, with some of these variations challenging whiteness and other variations remaining very close to the original and theorised notion of whiteness, such as that theorised by McIntosh (1998) and Terry (1981).

White Privilege

Whiteness is defined by privilege; what Peggy McIntosh (1998) calls an "invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions" (p. 1). This 'knapsack' means doors will continue to open for white people simply because they are white, regardless of whether or not they want this, have earned this, or have asked for this (McIntosh, 1998). White privilege manifests in obvious ways such as not experiencing racism and or being mis-represented in media, but it also manifests in subtler ways such as being able to move through public spaces without much thought. It is argued that white people have come to believe that these doors open for them because of their own hard work and ability, in line with meritocratic ideals. These privileges have become normative, and those who benefit from this privilege system often remain oblivious to their privilege and the unfair advantages they receive (McIntosh, 1998). As Logue (2005) puts it, "why would anyone notice or challenge something that benefits them?" (p. 371). However, as Vice (2010) argues, "while one's whiteness might still constitute the unacknowledged norm… *that one is* white rather than black is always present to oneself and others" (p. 326). In line with this, while individuals may be less inclined to challenge a system that benefits them, the idea that it is not noticed is debateable and something this research project aimed to investigate.

In line with these discussions of whiteness and white privilege is Mark Freeman's (2010) notion of the "narrative unconscious" (p. 344). The narrative unconscious refers to "those culturally rooted aspects of one's history that have yet to become an explicit part of one's story" (Freeman, 2010, p. 344). This means that to understand a person, one needs to consider their personal life story as well as their shared life story which is informed by the longer histories of which they are part, and the culture they inhabit. In this way, one's life story does not simply begin with birth and end with death – it began long before them and will continue long after them (Freeman, 2010). A person's story is informed by experiences and sources that are beyond that particular individual and these become incorporated into their own memories. In other

words, a person is not just what they have experienced directly. Freeman (2010) distinguishes between first-order memories and second-order memories. First-order memories are distinguishable in that there is some sort of 'anchor' to reality – an event that a person was a part of, for example. Second-order memories do not have this 'anchor' but have been produced out of a multiplicity of images and stories of a particular event or experience (Freeman, 2010). Also important to consider is that these second-order memories may be unconscious or not-conscious. One is born into a community and born with a past and, in this way, always possesses a social and historical identity – this is the case whether it is realised or not (Freeman, 2010). Of course, there are aspects of history that one is aware of but there are also aspects that are unconscious or 'hidden.' This relates to the above discussion of whiteness and white privilege in that the temporal dimension of the construction of race forms a part of this narrative unconscious. It is thought that the historical constructions of race (specifically whiteness in this research) inform present day understandings and that these will be made evident in the narratives of participants.

Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) conducted a study to ascertain whether previous research which has been conducted to assess white individuals' racial attitudes and prejudices has underestimated the extent of this prejudice and whether this was due to the inadequacy of the research tools and methods which were utilised. This was brought about when considering that many white individuals claim to be non-prejudiced and non-racist, but continue to live in all-white areas, have the majority of their relationships with white individuals and attend schools which are predominantly white. To investigate their hypothesis that individuals who claim to be non-racist might in fact be hiding this racism and prejudice, Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) gathered survey data from students at three different colleges in the United States of America. The results of these surveys gave researchers as indication of the prejudice and racism of these participants, which was found to be low. However, the second stage of this research involved conducting interviews with the individuals who had been surveyed. Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) found that the same students who had appeared to be non-racist and non-prejudiced in the survey data, expressed racist and prejudiced views and opinions in the interviews and made use of various strategies to try and appear less racist. Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) use these findings to argue that white individuals are able to maintain their racial prejudices and privilege, but in more covert and sanitised ways which do not always appear in self-report surveys and may only be visible in certain kinds of data collection methods (such as interviews). Individuals are able to avoid using blatant racial discourse in surveys but

are still prejudiced and therefore ambivalence which appears during survey data is not true ambivalence, but is strategically used to avoid naming certain racial prejudices (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). This is not because students do not possess this racism, but because it is no longer socially acceptable to express these racist views. Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) argue that this research highlights the difficulties in assessing racial attitudes using conventional research strategies, partly because openly speaking about race and expressing racist views is socially unacceptable. This has led to strategic moves being employed so individuals are able to appear less racist on the surface, but maintain and reproduce problematic racist views. This research highlights how white privilege is able to be maintained and reproduced, and just as Van Dijk (1992) determined, specific rhetoric strategies are used to maintain whiteness and white privilege.

2.3 GENDER

In line with this research report's consideration of a narrative and intersectional identity, the intersection of gender and race is important to consider. This research report focuses on women specifically, for a number of reasons. As Van Der Westhuizen (2017) notes, apartheid was inherently gendered and patriarchal. Not only did apartheid policies value whiteness and the Afrikaans culture, but they also emphasised traditional gender roles and the importance of men in upholding these values, with women remaining in the domestic space to care for their families. However, this domestic sphere was also viewed as important as it was seen as the site for the creation of more white children and their socialisation into apartheid society so that these values could be upheld and continued. Therefore, the role of women in this process was vital and when one considers this in line with the above discussion of the narrative unconscious and the passing on of various ways of being, history, beliefs and values, one is able to see how unique and important the role of women was in apartheid society. In this research, gender refers to the "culturally established correlates of sex" (Goffman, 1976, p. 69). In these terms, and in this study, gender is not understood as an essentialist category but rather as a product of the social world that constrains how one should 'be' a woman and how one should 'be' a man. Moreover, positions which emphasise the biological differences between sexes should be recognised as doing so for specific reasons which are related to power (Weedon, 1987). This is not to say that these biological differences do not exist, but that the meanings and centrality they are given has a specific agenda. One should therefore think of meanings behind biological differences as socially constructed rather than naturally occurring (Weedon, 1987). In line with this, there are certain roles or ways of being which have been defined by society as feminine

or masculine (West & Zimmerman, 1987). We therefore 'choose' to perform and enact certain roles which society has defined as being in line with our gender. Mama (1995) highlights the importance of considering the intersection of race and gender, and critiques traditional Western feminism which has solely focussed on gender. She argues that in dealing with gender without considering race, an important part of the female experience is ignored. Although this argument is made in relation to black women, by highlighting the invisibility of whiteness implicit in earlier feminisms, Mama's (1995) argument is relevant to all women and is in line with intersectionality. Furthermore, Mama (1995) highlights that the 'female' subject we know today is situated culturally and historically. This means that what we understand as 'feminine' today is in fact socially constructed and does not relate to any underlying essence or ways of being that are inherently female. Mama (1995) also argues that we should see gender as a form of social control through categorisation. Gender exists in all human cultures and is therefore a category that can be used universally as a form of division and governance and this is one of the reasons behind the feminist assertion that "the personal is political" (Hanisch, 1969)[4]. Weedon (1987) makes a similar claim in that if one assumes there is an essential womanhood, common to all women, one ignores other power relations such as race and class. Therefore, women face different oppressed positions which unite them but also divide them (Weedon, 1987).

Of importance to this research project are ideas of femininity and womanhood that are typically linked with the female body. Just as whiteness has been discussed as a socially constructed and shifting category, so too is the category of 'woman.' There are multiple 'types' of women – some which are more socially acceptable than others. The most traditional idea of womanhood (and often the most socially acceptable) has come to be synonymous with traits such as nurturing, gentle, passive and obedient. Related to this, there is the traditional idea of the woman as part of the domestic world in the household, while the man plays a dominant role in the public world of work. Women are therefore seen as central to the family and while they have been dispossessed of power in the public sphere, they are seen as wholly responsible for the private life (McClintock, 1991). As noted above, women therefore occupy a vital position as the 'producers of the future' in terms of child bearing, but also in terms of child-rearing. Women (specifically mothers) are at the forefront of caring for children and transmitting

[4] While often being credited with the creation of this quotation, Hanisch rejects ownership of this quote and is largely vocal about not being the first to use it. Hanisch (2006) claims that its essence and meaning was developed long before her and that it is not her own creation. However, due to Hanisch being associated with this quotation because of her essay with the same title and because she has popularised this phrase, I have included her as a reference here.

cultural values, beliefs and understandings and forming the family as a miniature culture (McClintock, 1991). This can be understood as a hegemonic femininity. Just as there is much theory relating to hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ratele, 2013; Donaldson, 1993), some (Gill & Scharff, 2011; Collins, 2004; Van Der Westhuizen, 2017) argue that a complementary consideration of hegemonic femininity is needed. This allows one to understand that a plurality of femininities exist, with some being dominant (such as white, middle-class, heterosexual femininity) and some being subordinate. These femininities interact and rely on each other to some extent, and differential power is evident. One example of the way in which the complex relationship between gender and race manifests itself in the South African context is in the relationships between black, female domestic workers and the white women for whom they work. Nuttall (2009) speaks of 'entanglement' which relates to the "subtle, complex and nuanced ways in which oppressor and oppressed engage with one another" (Straker, 2013, p. 94) and how this engagement at times reinforces this divide and how, at other times, this engagement challenges and undermines this divide. One of the ways this complex engagement and entanglement is made apparent is in considering space. In her examination of narratives explaining people's experiences under apartheid, Shefer (2010) notes how privacy and physical space were used as a means of ensuring black, female, live-in domestic workers were controlled and 'kept in their place.' In this study, Shefer (2010) analysed 56 narratives which were written by various academics of different ages and living in various locations. These narratives related to their lives under apartheid and Shefer (2010) paid particular attention to the ways in which gender, sexuality and race intersected in these narratives. Shefer (2010) also highlights the differences inherent in notions of privacy. While the white woman is able to enter and invade the privacy and space of the black woman's "khaya"[5] at any time as the 'madam', the black woman is able to enter the private space of the white woman only at certain times and with certain jobs to perform – she is the 'maid.' While a domestic worker or helper occupies the same space as many white women occupied in this study, they occupy this space very differently. White women are still able to retain some power in this space because of their race and their proximity to white men, thus they become dominant in this domestic space while the helper remains constrained by her race, her class and her gender. In this way, the white woman is able to escape some of constraints of being a woman, but a domestic worker is very much tied to these constraints. This relationship is important to

[5] Directly translated from isiZulu, this word means 'home' in English. However, it was (and still is) used as a derogatory term referring to the often very basic rooms domestic workers live in on the property of the 'madam' or the family they work for.

consider as Cock (1980) argues that this interaction – between the family and the helper – can be viewed as a micro-example of how relationships like these operate in broader society and this relationship can therefore be read as a microcosm of the broader social order.

Nuttall (2001) provides us with another study which relates to the intersection of race and gender and she argues that the performance of gender is much like the performance of whiteness. In her study, Nuttall (2001) considers the constructions of whiteness in narratives written by South Africans by drawing on various texts written by a number of individuals which discuss their racial identity formation. Nuttall (2001) then analyses these texts in an attempt to understand how whiteness gets it meaning in the South African context. From this study, Nuttall (2001) maintains that just as whiteness is marked by constant vigilance – watching oneself to ensure one performs whiteness correctly, watching others to ensure one does not act like them and being watched by others to make sure one performs correctly – so too is womanhood. A woman must always watch herself not only in terms of how she acts, but in terms of her safety. She is also watched by others (specifically men) and in this way is reduced to an object of sight (Nuttall, 2001). Related to this, Nuttall (2001) highlights how one's relation to white men plays a significant role in identity and experiences. Being close to white men allows one certain advantages and privileges because of this association, whereas being distanced from or marginalised by these men locates one in a limited position. From this, it is clear that white women occupy a specific position in relation to both gender and race. This is in contrast to the idea of a common womanhood and a singular shared female experience as emphasised by traditional feminism.

2.4 NOSTALGIA

As outlined in the introduction of this section, when one considers narrative identity, one considers the temporality and relationality of identity – an important part of which involves reflection. When one considers and interprets their past in relation to their present, nostalgia might occur. Due to the shifting nature of identity and the transitional nature of South Africa in particular, nostalgia is important to consider as it may structure individuals' stories and memories, and therefore their identities (Dlamini, 2009). Nostalgia can present itself in various ways, such as allusions to 'the good old days' or a longing to return to childhood or 'simpler times.' While previously being thought of as a neurological condition, today, nostalgia is understood as related to human connections and to the social landscape one finds oneself in (Duncan, Stevens & Sonn, 2012). Boym (2001) defines nostalgia as a "longing for a home that

no longer exists or has never existed" (p. 7). One should not take this 'home' too literally though, as Boym (2001) highlights that while nostalgia may appear as a longing for a particular place or home, it may actually be a longing for a different time (Bradbury, 2012). This longing may be exacerbated when an individual perceives their present situation as overwhelming or starkly different to their past (Boym, 2001). Boym (2001) notes how, often, nostalgia may be determined by one's present in that what one feels they lack or feels they need in the now, they may look for in their past. Additionally, in cases of nostalgia, one needs to consider that the past that is yearned for may not completely exist because that time has been edited and idealised to provide some sort of comfort in the now – this past has been idealised or romanticised and is often over-simplified. In a time where life has become fast-paced and changes rapidly, Boym (2001) argues that this longing to return to an imagined slower and simpler time is understandable and in fact acts as a defence against the often overwhelming and challenging present times. Furthermore, and importantly for this research, Boym (2001) notes that nostalgia is not only linked to the individual, but is tied to larger groups and to nations and in this way, the collective experience is as much a part of nostalgia as the personal experience is. Therefore, one may long to return to a community or to return to a time of shared ideals. In line with this notion of the collective in relation to nostalgia, nostalgia clearly seems to imply some sort of loss, whether real or imagined, and this loss is not limited to the personal but can extend to the collective. This loss can also be difficult to name and this difficulty of naming what has been lost can often lead to individuals simply labelling it as a place or a time (Boym 2001). In South Africa, this difficulty of naming might be particularly difficult because of the change in laws and societal values. What one may be yearning for is simply no longer allowed and no longer acceptable (let alone valued) in the present. Boym (2001) also speaks of different forms of nostalgia, such as reflective and restorative nostalgia. Restorative nostalgia can be understood as a desire to return to the past and to have that past reinstated in the present, while reflective nostalgia refers to engaging critically with the past and challenging the grand narratives of that past.

In terms of postapartheid South Africa and in line with this research project's focus on white individuals, one should also consider how the loss of ideals and certain forms of power which formed a large part of the white identity might result in nostalgia. In times of transition and immense social change, collective nostalgia is likely to occur as large social groups experience the same 'loss' and longing (Duncan, Stevens & Sonn, 2017). The links here with whiteness, white privilege and nostalgia are clear. Previously, white individuals had full and acceptable

access to privilege and power. This has changed substantially, as Long (2013) points out, in that while white individuals still have access to privilege, they have much more limited access to certain forms of power, such as apparent, formal political power seen in the shift from an all-white government to an all-black government, for example. This transition meant that many white individuals experienced a change in their access to power. No longer did white individuals hold all forms of power and control and this required these individuals to accept their now limited access to certain forms of power. When the values and beliefs of whiteness which one has come to identify with and believe in are recognised as wrong, one is forced to distance oneself from such values and beliefs (again linked with the notion of the temporal and relational notions of the narrative identity) (Duncan, Stevens & Sonn, 2012). This transition means that one's own values and morals are called into question as a white individual under apartheid. One is forced to consider the role they played during such a time and their own identity is called into question. Nostalgia can therefore result as one longs for a time when the values and beliefs which became so entrenched were socially upheld, when the white identity was revered rather than being cast in shame, and when one held unlimited access to power. Being nostalgic can help ease this loss and these feelings of shame and individuals are able to find comfort in their nostalgia and their memories of 'the good old days' (Duncan, Stevens & Sonn, 2012).

2.5 SHAME

Just as nostalgia can be linked to reflection and the temporality of the narrative identity, so too can shame. Shame might result when one reflects on or recollects their past from a new vantage point. Again, in a society where major shifts have occurred, many individuals may now hold a new vantage point. Therefore, it is possible that one might feel shame about their actions, beliefs or values *now*, while not feeling shame *then* (in the past). The role of the affective or emotive is important to consider in discussions of identity as emotions have been theorized as binding individuals together and aligning certain people based on shared feelings (Van Der Westhuizen, 2017; Ahmed, 2004). Ahmed (2004) is well-known for considering the world of emotions and viewing emotions as more complex than simply feelings which exist inside or outside an individual. Ahmed (2004) does not view emotions as either personal or social, but rather notes how emotions interweave or entangle the personal and the social. This idea challenges the traditional view of emotions as private and internal which begin within the individual and then move outwards, and rather presents a view that emotions define our world and how we inhabit it. This idea therefore challenges the view of emotions existing 'out there'

and then being taken up by individuals (for example in large crowds) by challenging the very distinction of 'out there' and 'in here.' Considering emotions in this way allows us to understand that emotions are not just psychological states, but that they *do* something and that they mediate relationships between the social and the psychic, as well as between the individual and the collective (Ahmed, 2004). Therefore, how one comes to feel about another person or another group is not only the result of individual impressions that have been formed either previously or in that moment, but those feelings are the result of associations which are already in place and those feelings further cement such associations. In line with this, Ahmed (2004) speaks about certain emotions being 'sticky.' This refers to the idea that the impressions we have of others or the impressions which we remember as being left by others have histories and have a past which goes beyond that direct moment of contact. These impressions are shaped by those histories and certain emotions 'stick' and generate certain impressions (Ahmed, 2004).

Vice (2010) is well-known for her contribution to theories of shame and her work draws attention to white South Africans who are aware of their whiteness, who understand themselves as a problem and who acknowledge their privilege. Vice (2010) asks (among other things) how best to navigate this and how to live decently with this recognition, rather than embracing a comfortable ignorance, and live as a 'privilege-cognizant' white person (Frankenberg, 1993). In line with this, Vice (2010) attempts to define guilt and shame. While acknowledging there are overlaps and there is no easy or clear way to delineate the two, Vice (2010) argues that shame is different from guilt in that shame is directed towards the self, while guilt is directed outwards towards the harm that one has brought about. In line with this focus on the self, Vice (2010) views shame as a response to having fallen below the standards one has set for oneself, or falling short, while guilt is viewed as a reaction to what one has done or one's behavior. Therefore, shame is more related to who one is and occurs when one feels that one should not be as one is. While guilt seems to result from something that could be changed and could have been done differently, shame seems to result from a less concrete occurrence and more from an internal experience of disjuncture – who one is has failed to live up to a certain standard or ideal. Additionally, shame can also be felt on the part of a group or as a collective – such as may be the case when feeling shame for being white. Due to shame not resulting from a direct act like guilt does, shame can be felt on behalf of a group. Moreover, Vice (2010) views shame as a response to being seen and feeling exposed. This self-consciousness results because one comes to know how one is seen through the eyes of the other. Interestingly, Vice (2010) notes that while the experience of shame is unpleasant, it can also be a positive experience in that it

has the potential to lead to change if individuals are willing to do internal transformative work. When one feels shame because one is not who one ought to be, one is aware something is wrong and might be driven to change. In this way, shame can be thought of as preserving social bonds, as one does not want to be distanced and disconnected from others (Van Der Westhuizen, 2017). However, if individuals are not willing to do internal transformative work, there is the potential for individuals to use this shame to avoid engaging with aspects they might feel shameful of – such as white privilege. This might result in the perpetuation of ignorance and the continuation of the invisibility of whiteness as individuals employ various strategies to avoid naming and confronting this shame. Another potential way of viewing shame in a more positive light which might be more productive is possible when one considers that shame might result from some sort of nostalgia, but that this can be altered when looking forwards toward the future. In viewing identity in a narrative way which has been discussed throughout this section, we see that narratives are constantly made and shaped as one recollects and reflects on their past from their present. However, this process is not only related to the past and the present, but also to the future (Crites, 1986). An individual constructs their narratives by weaving together pieces from their past with who they want to be and how they want to be seen by others, which is clearly related to the future. While one may feel shame when recollecting their past, they may fashion themselves in a way which highlights this shame and create a new self which now acts in a very different way and has very different values. In this way, nostalgia and shame are in fact useful, as one is able to use their reflection and recollection (and the subsequent feelings resulting from this) to create a self which, going forward, behaves and believes very differently. The possibility of change is made available through the creation of one's narrative and just as Boym (2001) speaks of reflective nostalgia as using one's reflections for critical engagement and the challenging of the way things were, perhaps there is room for some sort of reparative nostalgia which is more future-focused – whereby one's reflections and recollections can be used not just for reflection on the past, but to live in a different way and perhaps repair the future (Crites, 1986). This is not to say that living differently now undoes any of the past, but rather provides a way to live as a 'privilege-cognizant' white person and to use one's nostalgia and shame productively.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The aim of this research was to explore how white women across three generations, within families, make sense of their racialised and gendered identities in South Africa and, more specifically, whether race was a prominent aspect of their narrative identity. Related to this, the following research questions were posed:

- How do participants position themselves in terms of race and gender in their narratives?
- How do participants from the older generations reflect on and recollect their younger selves? Have there been any shifts in their own understandings and tellings?
- How do participants from the youngest generation think of themselves in relation to the older women (their mothers and grandmothers) in their families?
- How do older participants think of themselves in relation to the younger participants?
- How do experiences of race and gender change over time inter-generationally?

3.2 METHODS

This research is qualitative, and more specifically narrative, in nature. Jackson, Drummond and Camara (2007) note that qualitative research is "primarily concerned [with] understanding human beings' experiences [from] a humanistic, interpretive approach" (p. 21). This approach focuses on the detailed experiences people have and their subsequent reflections on these experiences. Furthermore, qualitative research recognises the personal role of the researcher in the research and, rather than aiming for generalisability, the focus is on gaining rich descriptions (Jackson, Drummond & Camara, 2007). Furthermore, rather than operating within a strictly interpretive or strictly critical paradigm, this research has elements of both. While I want to understand and describe the understandings individuals have, I also want to challenge what participants say and their understandings. I offer a description of people's meaning-making structures as well as critique and attempt to deconstruct these (Neuman, 2014). While the values and understandings participants hold are respected, they are also considered as potentially problematic and in need of change. This is because participants in this research are a part of both oppressed and oppressive social categories because of their race and gender. Moreover, this research operates within social constructionist theory. Social constructionism maintains that the social world is created by those who inhabit it and that people produce and

reproduce the current ways of being (Burr, 1995). Due to this, reality is not objective but is socially constructed or developed and because of this, multiple 'truths' exist as meanings are socially constructed and shared. Therefore, meanings and understandings change over time and our categories of understanding are not set in stone and are not stable (Burr, 1995). This paradigm allows us to see how participants construct their individual narratives themselves, but also how these narratives are influenced by broader society and societal ways of understanding. It is important to mention here that while this research employs a social constructionist approach, I have still engaged in a process of reproducing current ideas around race and gender by selecting participants based on certain socially constructed categories – femaleness and whiteness. Therefore, it could be argued that I am only perpetuating current racial and gender binaries and categories. However, even though these categories may not be based on biological differences, they are still very much real in society. The structural power that is associated with these constructs is real and therefore has real and material effects and so these categories can be treated as representative of (and a part of) the social world. It is important to engage with the current categories people perpetuate so we can come to understand what makes them so resistant to change and why they hold such value and clout in society.

This research considers changes and shifts in stories over time by looking at inter-generational differences and similarities within families. Focussing on an individual's own tellings, understandings and constructions sheds light on various stages and aspects of the social world because these very constructions are embedded within a specific context (McAdams, 2001). While the aim of this research is not generalisability, it is believed that individual narratives relate to broader societal understandings, scripts and structures of meaning-making and therefore individual narratives may provide a way into these broader structures (Squire, 2008). The individual is of course not separated from the broader social world and considering how this broader context affects people and moulds the stories they tell provides us with real, contextualised narratives of the role of the social in the construction of individual identities. It is these inter-generational shifts and individual trajectories in line with social trajectories, specifically in relation to race and gender, which are of interest here. Rather than presenting this research as a study of whiteness as a broad and general concept, this is a study of individual trajectories and how these are linked to broader and longer historical and social trajectories. Moreover, these are considered inter-generationally so that shifts and changes can be explored. To do this, an experience-focussed approach to narrative has been utilised. Experience-focused

research highlights the centrality of the researcher in the co-construction of the narrative. Experience-centred research is based on the assumption that one can bring experience into consciousness through the telling of stories (Squire, 2008). This approach views narratives as part of the human experience, as demonstrating change through time, as meaningful and as a way of reconstructing and articulating experience (Squire, 2008). Furthermore, this approach maintains that narratives are sequential not in that they follow a chronological time order, but that they are structured in a way that makes sense to the story-teller in terms of order of events and the consequences of these events. While narratives may focus on specific events, they may also be more general and focus on changes over time or multiple experiences (Squire, 2008). With regards to this research, Stevens, Duncan and Hook (2013) note how personal memories and narratives may be particularly useful when official archives have been altered or sanitised or certain histories have been privileged, such as is the case with South African history. Therefore, while these personal memories are not reflective of some ultimate 'truth,' they provide valuable insights which challenge official histories and grand narratives. Moreover, alternative readings of history are offered and points of rupture, change and gaps in stories can be explored (Sonn, Stevens & Duncan, 2013).

Not only is a narrative approach appropriate for this research because of its focus on stories across time, histories, trajectories and identity, but narrative perspectives also maintain that personal experience cannot be separated from the contexts in which they are revealed (Frie, 2012; Sonn, Stevens & Duncan, 2013). Knowing, not knowing, remembering and forgetting are all bound up in social norms and culture and therefore personal memories are not separate from collective or social memories (Frie, 2012). One must consider what stories do and why they are being used in terms of whose interests are being served. Stories are therefore not only important because of what is said, but because one is able to consider what they are being used to achieve socially and personally, and what sorts of effects these stories have (Steyn, 2001; McAdams, 2001; Squire, 2008). Alongside this, narrative approaches claim that narratives provide a means for individuals to understand their lives and their world in that the stories told give voice to personal experiences as well as history. Culture, history and tradition are therefore not external and things that exist 'out there', but rather play a large part in the narratives that are told – whether this is conscious or unconscious (Frie, 2012). Narrative approaches allow for reflection on one's life thus far as well as potential projections for the future. One is able to consider changes over time and, in this study, perhaps compare one's life in relation to other family members of earlier and subsequent generations.

3.3 PARTICIPANTS

A total of nine participants were interviewed, with three individuals coming from one family, three participants from another family, two from a third family and one individual from a fourth family. This was done because all three participants agreed to participate from two families, while only two participants agreed to participate from the third family (generations two and three) and one participant agreed to participate from the fourth family (generation one). Due to time constraints on data collection, as well as the eagerness this particular participant expressed about participating, the decision was made to include her in the study despite being the only one from her family. Here, generation three refers to the youngest generation (the daughter), generation two refers to participants in the 'middle' generation (the mother), while generation one refers to participants that are part of the oldest generation (the grandmother). It is important to note that these 'generations' are in relation to the particular family, so a participant from generation two in one family might be close in age to a participant from generation three in another family, for example. One participant from a fourth family was interviewed who was part of generation one in her own family. Therefore, nine separate interviews were conducted. Participants ranged in age from 23 to 67 years old. Participants were selected based on accessibility and personal networks. I interviewed two individuals I know personally as part of the pilot study and these data were included as part of this research and analysis. This was done after discussions about my research with these participants and their interest and eagerness to be a part of it. Furthermore, this pilot study was conducted to ascertain whether experiences of race and gender would be talked about, as the interview questions did not explicitly mention race or gender and there was some concern that these topics would not be brought up organically. From the pilot study, it was clear that these topics would be discussed and this would not be a problem going forward. There is of course some sort of identification and relationship between myself and the participants I know directly, but there is also identification with all the participants because of our shared social identities. This is discussed in more detail in the section on ethical considerations below. A form of purposive and snowball sampling was used as I approached people I knew and asked if they knew other individuals that fit the criteria and I then recruited them for this study. Below is a table which indicates how I will be identifying and referring to the participants throughout the analysis. Pseudonyms have been used for participants' first names, as well as pseudo-surnames which have been used to show which participants are related.

Participant Name	Generation	Age	Home Language	Marital Status	Number of Siblings	Number of Children	Occupation	Current Home	Place of Birth
Sinead Underwood	3	24	English	Single	2	0	Legal Intern	Fourways	Gauteng Province (GP), South Africa (SA)
Nadia Underwood	2	49	English	Married	1	3	Self-employed: Accountant	Fourways	Harare, Zimbabwe
Cindy Underwood	1	67	English	Divorced	0	2	Accountant	Northcliff	GP, SA
Chloe Tailor	3	23	English	Single	1	0	Accountant	Rivonia	GP, SA
Catherine Tailor	2	50	English	Divorced	2	2	Self-employed: Stationery Supplier	Fourways	GP, SA
Ingrid Tailor	1	73	English	Widowed	2 (2 deceased)	3	Retired	Randburg	GP, SA
Bronwyn Peters	3	18	English	Single	1	0	Student	Fourways	Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN), GP
Sophie Peters	2	58	English	Married	2 (1 deceased)	2	Self-employed: BnB Manager	Fourways	KZN, GP
Sarah McCarthy	1	67	English	Married	0	1 (1 deceased)	Retired	Fourways	UK

Table 1: Participant demographic profile

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

Part of the data collection process included a pilot study which enabled me as the researcher to establish whether the guiding questions in the interview schedule allowed for data around race specifically to develop and be brought up. It was decided that these interviews would be used as part of the final analysis as the pilot worked well in eliciting discussion around gender and race and it was thought that this should not discarded. This research made use of one-on-one narrative interviews which were recorded. One-on-one interviews were selected as it was thought this would allow for the most open discussion due to family dynamics that may have played out if all family members were present during the interview. It was also thought that the openness of the interview situation was less threatening to participants which allowed them to

frame their accounts of themselves in their own terms and more freely. Additionally, the focus is on individual narratives which relate to broader social narratives rather than solely on collective narratives, thus one-on-one interviews were more suitable. A number of guiding questions prepared by the researcher enabled probing of the narratives (Appendix 1) and there was also space for participant-researcher interaction and for any additional topics that came up to be discussed and followed. This is an important part of narrative research, especially experience-focused research which has been discussed above (Squire, 2008). As is expected, some participants required more probing and input from the researcher while others gave lengthier responses and spoke more freely, and the interviews ranged from 28 minutes to 53 minutes.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Once the interviews had been conducted, verbatim transcription was completed by the researcher and the transcripts were read multiple times to check for errors. As part of the transcription process, line numbers were included which allowed the researcher to show the flow of conversation and speech in the final analysis. Not only this, but specific time stamps and the length of time spent on certain topics was paid attention to. This, along with considering when certain topics came up (for example, at the beginning or towards the end of an interview), has also been considered in the final analysis in an attempt to consider the significance of certain extracts and topics. Once this had been done, the final transcripts were reread numerous times to look for common themes, patterns and trends across all participants specifically relating to life as a white woman in South Africa. Theories of whiteness, racialisation and gendered identities (as discussed in Chapter 3) informed the researcher's reading for themes, however, careful attention was also paid to themes that emerged from participants' talk so as to centre their phenomenological perspectives. The movement back-and-forth between theory and data is what Squire (2008) refers to as the 'hermeneutic circles' – moving between the data and the interpretations to develop the analysis. In this way, both inductive and deductive methods were used as theory was used to understand the data, but theoretical lines of thinking were also prompted by the data itself (Squire, 2008). This means that particular over-arching and general themes were paid attention to and looked for because they were in line with the research questions and aims, but specific examples have also been drawn from the data to make conclusions in both a theory-first and data-first sort of way. Thematic methods have been used to structure and organise the analysis, and specific themes were selected (such as Shame, Non-racialism and Nostalgia and The Privilege of Feeling Safe, for example) with a narrative

analysis conducted within each theme. Specific stories and narratives related to these themes were selected and so this research presents stories of Shame, stories of Non-racialism and Nostalgia, and stories of The Privilege of Feeling Safe from individuals and these stories been analysed using narrative methods. Therefore, there are not two separate methods of analysis, but rather thematic and narrative methods have been used in conjunction with each other and have been intertwined, with thematic methods structuring and organising the narrative analysis. Within each theme, specific stretches of talk have been presented and engaged with using narrative methods and have been located in the flow of the interview by using time stamps and discussions of the location of said extracts. Moreover, considering how the narrative lines work across generations to create (dis)continuities has also been considered, which is line with narrative methods and aims. The temporal aspects within each theme, as well as the individual and inter-generational shifts and similarities have been included. One needs to be aware of the ethics of interpretation here, in that no one interpretation is exhaustive and without its own bias. It is important to remember that the responses being analysed are from individuals and are narratives that form a part of their identities and how they make sense of the world. One needs to be respectful of this and be wary of drawing firm conclusions and collapsing common themes into categories which remove the individuality of the stories, for example labelling these narratives as 'women's stories' which would ignore the uniqueness and intricacies of these stories (Squire, 2008).

Kim (2016) highlights the importance of avoiding relying on specific steps and forcing one's data to fit into these steps. Rather, Kim (2016) argues for a more holistic and adaptive approach which locates the data as most important, rather than strict adherence to steps. This was remembered throughout the analysis process so that an analysis grounded in the data has been provided, rather than a surface-level analysis. Although Braun and Clarke's (2006) model of thematic analysis provided a general framework for the approach, the process was more organic than rigidly adhering to specific steps. As stated, this research is interested in timelines, trajectories, shifts and changes over time so the construction of the story is important here. This forms part of the narrative aspect of this analysis and report. Here, considering the temporal aspects of the narrative was a focus. In this way, the micro level of the individual has been linked with the macro level of society to explore how the two are intertwined and inter-connected and how collective narratives inform personal narratives. Furthermore, how individuals make sense of events and experiences in terms of causality or consequences has been considered. Shifts in the way participants make sense of their stories and their narratives

have been paid particular attention to, as well as inter-generational shifts which have taken place within the families.

Josselson (2004) outlines the differences in reading from a position of restoration or faith and reading from a position of demystification. In the former, the researcher believes that the participant is the expert and that the job of the researcher is to present and understand the experiences that the participant has shared. Rather than being critical or trying to deconstruct what the participant has presented, the researcher takes what has been provided by the participant as transparent and as representative of that participant's world (Josselson, 2004). This is in line with a more interpretive paradigm. There is also a strong focus on the influence of the participant-researcher relationship in that both the researcher and the participant are involved in constructing meanings and stories. This is not only relevant in the data collection stage, but also in the analysis stage whereby the researcher's own positions and experiences influence the process of analysis (Josselson, 2004). On the other hand, the hermeneutics of demystification assumes that experience cannot be taken at face value and that there is always some sort of deception involved – whether this be self-deception or deception towards another person (Josselson, 2004). Here, the researcher must be sceptical and look at what is not said as well as what is said. This approach is in line with a critical paradigm. Rather than representing what the participant has said, this approach aims to challenge and deconstruct and, in this way, assumes a position of authority in writing about the meaning and sense-making of individuals in a way that assumes participants do not have this awareness (Josselson, 2004). The hermeneutics of demystification approach maintains that the stories told by participants do not really belong to them but are constructed by broader structures and have been taken up by individuals (Josselson, 2004). While integrating these two approaches seems challenging to say the least, Josselson (2004) argues that it is possible. In terms of this research, narrative research is largely in line with the hermeneutics of restoration as the stories told by individuals are seen as their ways of making sense of their world and form part of who they are and these narratives must therefore be respected. However, it was also useful to incorporate aspects of the hermeneutics of demystification in that this enabled linking these personal narratives to broader society and cultural ways of understanding, as well as the power and politics inherent in these ways of understanding. Specifically for this research, utilising both of these approaches is useful because it allows for sympathy and empathy while still being critical. This is necessary because of the interesting position of white women in that they are part of both a dominant (in terms of their race) and an oppressed (in terms of their gender) category. Additionally,

approaching the narratives participants provide with suspicion could be argued to be an acceptable approach when considering the above discussion of ignorance which inevitably forms part of these narratives. Suspicion and a critical approach are therefore necessary to unpack and explore this ignorance rather than only being sympathetic. Furthermore, Josselson (2004) argues that the hermeneutics of demystification allows us to consider the past (in terms of social structures) while the hermeneutics of restoration considers the future (such as a person's hopes, beliefs and world view). In including both methods, one may be able to come to a fuller understanding of the present and so integrating these two approaches is arguably more appropriate for this kind of research. One therefore operates within an interpretive and a critical paradigm and when adopting both approaches, a researcher listens attentively to hear the voice of the participant from her own perspective, while also retaining suspicion about what is said and what is not said and considers what has been intended and unintended (Josselson, 2004).

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

One of the most important ethical considerations relates to my identification with the participants on the basis of race and gender and, for the youngest generation, age. How I related to participants was mediated by my own identity as a young, white, English-speaking, female, South African researcher. Not only did I relate to the youngest participants, but my identification with the older participants in terms of my own relationships with my mother and grandmother is an important consideration. While this may have increased participant comfort due to relatability, this also made analysis and interpretation quite a tricky and personal experience for me and required a lot of personal reflection and introspection so as to avoid compromising the analysis. This has also been mediated through supervision and having the input of my supervisor has enabled me not to remove researcher bias or 'contamination', but to be aware of it and make it explicit. This has been done through a process of critical researcher reflexivity. However, as Squire (2008) notes, complete reflexivity is never possible and this reflexivity has been engaged with in the final section. In line with this is the importance of treating participants with whom I did inevitably identify with respect, even if what they said was problematic. This is not an easy task and something many researchers have to navigate. What is important to remember is that while I might relate to my participants, there is still distance between us in terms of the participant-researcher relationship. This distance proved to be useful in maintaining respect and participants' responses have been seen as their ways of understanding that have been formed out of their specific life histories. This is something that

Josselson (2011) acknowledges and she states that part of navigating this is making it explicit that we, as the researchers, are taking interpretive authority. Moreover, in line with the discussion on identity earlier, analysis only considers one of the many selves that make up the participant – the self that is co-constructed by the participant and the researcher in the interview moment. This self does not represent the participant as a whole, and rather the analysis should be seen as an analysis of what was said in that particular context (Josselson, 2011). In this way, we have produced a report that is both about and not about the participant. Furthermore, a study conducted by a white researcher on all-white participants might be considered problematic as studying a group which is already privileged may be said to silence already marginalised groups. However, it is only through studying and understanding members of this social group that one can develop a better understanding of race, racism and racialisation and it is hoped that this ethical concern can be managed in considering the earlier discussion of the epistemology of ignorance.

Furthermore, there are concerns around anonymity and confidentiality. While anonymity cannot be promised as the researcher knows the identities of participants through the interviews, confidentiality has been upheld through the use of pseudonyms and pseudo-surnames in the transcriptions but also through removing any identifying information that is not relevant to this study during transcription. This was made clear in the participation information sheet (Appendix 2), and informed consent forms (Appendix 3) which were signed before the interviews took place. Participants were also asked to sign forms relating to permission to audio record interviews (Appendix 4). The original audio recordings were deleted once transcription had taken place, and only myself and my supervisor have access to the transcriptions. Transcriptions are stored on a password locked computer and will be saved for possible future research and/or publication. Once the final report has been written up, participants will be sent a summary of the main findings and conclusions and will be offered the full article if they would like to read it. Additionally, the interview process did not bring about any distress or upset for the participants and recommendations for professionals were not necessary, but participants still have the information sheet as well as the contact details of the researcher and supervisor should any concerns arise.

It is vital to remember that the ‘data’ gathered as part of this research are not removed from the individuals they are gathered from – these are the stories of real people and the ways that these people make sense of their lives. The stories they share are their identities, and one needs to be acutely aware of this when analysing such material. The challenge here comes in being both

respectful and critical of these very personal narratives. Josselson's (2004) methods of the hermeneutics of restoration and the hermeneutics of demystification have been outlined and discussed, but this is a difficult practice and it should be noted that the researcher is not experienced in this area. However, the supervisor of this research is experienced in this area and has conducted her own narrative research and analysis and has been able to provide guidance as well as critique and evaluate this analysis while it was being developed. While participants did receive an information form and sign consent forms, it is difficult to be able to fully consent when one is unfamiliar with the form of analysis that will be taking place. This is not a problem unique to this research project however, and sensitivity as well as respect are of the utmost importance here.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a narrative analysis of interviews across generations, within families, and for particular individual participants with a focus on the following thematic strands of narrative: 1) Non-racialism and Nostalgia, 2) Shame, 3) The Privilege of Feeling Safe, 4) Domestic Work(ers), and 5) Changing Opportunities and Changing Class. These specific themes have been selected as a way of organising and structuring the narrative analysis using a form of thematic analysis. These themes were identified and selected because of commonalities across interviews which related to these themes, as well as because these themes aligned with the theoretical framework of the project. Both inductive and deductive methods have been used as certain themes were specifically paid attention to and selected which were related to the research questions and aims in line with deductive methods, but specific examples have been drawn from the data to make conclusions in line with inductive methods. Therefore, the thematic analysis creates the overarching organisational structure for the presentation of the following results and discussion. Moreover, particular attention has been paid to shifts and changes relating to reflection and recollection – shifts that have taken place both individually (through retrospection, for example) and inter-generationally. Finally, this analysis focuses across all participants but also attends to common experiences, tensions and points of contradiction within particular families. Certain individual stories and the shifts within these stories have also been followed to highlight individual changes and trajectories in line with the narrative aspect of this research. Therefore, broad themes have been identified through thematic analysis methods, with specific narratives related to these themes being analysed in detail.

4.1 Non-racialism & Nostalgia

The first theme that is of interest relates to the multiple appeals to colour-blindness made by older participants, especially those in generations one and two, on behalf of their children. Colour-blindness refers to an ideology which maintains that race is irrelevant and that it should be (and can be) overlooked (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson & Casas, 2007). This sort of approach elevates sameness and attempts to reduce difference, and the parallels between this and the earlier discussion of non-racialism and its distortion in notions of colour-blindness are clear. Those who have taken up such an ideology often claim that they do not see race and that everyone is equal and the same in their eyes (Ryan et al, 2007). However, while this ideology

was arguably developed with good intentions (to put an end to racial discrimination), it is easily and often misused to avoid engaging with issues related to race and to argue that these issues are, in fact, not related to race but are related to class, education or culture, for example (Cleland & Cashmore, 2013). Specific experiences and issues which people of colour face and have faced become erased and whitewashed when individuals claim not to see race and view all people as equal and on the same footing (Cleland & Cashmore, 2013). In this research, while older participants themselves show how they are aware of race and recognise their racialized childhoods (and young adulthoods for the oldest generation) under apartheid, they emphasise that they view their children as not being aware of race and as 'colour-blind'. This colour-blindness is regarded as not only a positive ideology by these participants, but something to be striven towards and something to encourage in the younger generation. Moreover, while there is an acknowledgement by participants that they are aware of race, it is often made out as something which is 'not a big deal' or which did not and does not affect their perceptions and their experiences. As part of this theme, the first section of analysis carefully considers one particular narrative strand which formed part of Cindy Underwood's broader narrative. As a young woman in her 20s, Cindy lived in Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia until gaining independence in 1980) during the time of the Zimbabwean War of Liberation (also known as the Rhodesian Bush War) in which her husband served in the Rhodesian army. Also, during this time, she had two young daughters. This particular narrative has been analysed in a more extended and intensive way within her broader life narrative as this is in line with a focus on considering narratives within families and individual narrative strands. Moreover, Cindy's narrative has been considered in relation to those of her daughter and granddaughter, providing an analysis within one particular family on this topic. The following extract highlights just how aware this participant was (and is) of race, despite her claims of non-racialism:

Extract 1

Cindy Underwood *(generation 1, 67)*: […] that's when you, when your faith gets restored in mankind… and you don't see colour. Because my kids never saw colour. They used to bring their little children to play and we never worried. In Rhodesia you never worried about colour. No. We never ever said 'oh that's black.' Never. We used to, I used to, play with the little 'umfans' as they call them. So my family weren't racist growing up. Never. They never said 'oh you must hate black.' Never. And ja, many happy memories of them playing in the pool. The white and the black bodies all mixed together and laughing and that's what it was about. Fun and games and sweeties and cakes afterwards. It was a good life in Rhodesia, it really was. I was sad to go. It was God's own country. It really was… Shame.

This extract occurred following a question I asked about Cindy's memories of domestic workers. She relays a story about domestic workers she had while she was a young girl in

Johannesburg, as well as domestic workers she remembers from her time in Zimbabwe. She speaks with particular fondness of these individuals, (although her tone is overwhelmingly patronising to the listener/reader) and also remembers their impact on her own children's lives. This extract highlights the tensions between a hyper-awareness of race, attempts at non-racialism and colour-blindness. Cindy speaks of not seeing and not worrying about colour, of her children not seeing colour, of playing with "the little umfans[6]" as well as a vivid image of black and white children playing together in the swimming pool. Here, we see an attempt to merge together a number of principles which have developed and changed over time. While colour-blindness is a relatively new concept, Cindy seems to apply it to her children who would have grown up under apartheid (once they had moved back to South Africa) where race was certainly a prominent feature. If her children did in fact not see colour, it would have been because of the asymmetrical interracial interactions they would have had both in Zimbabwe during this time and growing up under apartheid. These interactions would have been between white children and the children of black farm workers or domestic workers, or between white children and their domestic workers. Therefore, colour may not have been overtly important to these white children, but the differential power inherent in these interactions is clear. Cindy also seems to suggest that simply interacting with people of other races means that her children were colour-blind. While Cindy appears to try and suggest she herself did not see colour, she speaks of a memory she has of children swimming and while all the children may have been occupying the same space in the pool, she still has a clear vision of the distinctly different races in that space. There were not simply children in the swimming pool, but clearly raced and different children. Cindy speaks of her family as not being racist and adds that no one said "you must hate black." However, one needs to consider the more insidious and subtle ways racism operates which are far more permeating and resistant to change than the obvious and outright statements. Rather than Cindy being outright told to "hate black," it is likely that her views on the world were racialized through seeing how her parents and other white individuals interacted with, spoke about, spoke to and even looked at black people. While the above extract is explicit and outright about race, Cindy's narrative also had more covert mentions of race which need to be unpacked, as evidenced in the following:

[6] This comes from the Zulu word 'mfana' or 'umfana' which literally translates to a young man or boy. However, this word has derogatory connotations as it was (and is still) used as a way of infantilizing black men. Moreover, this differentiation and labelling of the black children as 'umfans' rather than simply referring to these children as children indicates the clear difference noted by Cindy between white children and black children.

Extract 2

224 JP: so do you think it was different there [Zimbabwe] in terms of race relations?

225 Cindy Underwood *(generation 1, 67)*: oh ja. Look you had your Bush War and as much as it affected
226 people in Salisbury, your husband was in the army more than we was out. The people that were left
227 behind pulled together as a community which was unbelievable, so if you went to a supermarket and
228 you said 'hello' and you didn't even know them from Adam, they'd say 'hi how you? Is your husband
229 in the bush?' 'Yes' 'Have you got lightbulbs?' 'Ja I have. Have you?' 'No' 'Would you like one?' 'Ja'
230 'Come to my house… 34 duh duh duh and I'll give you one.' You know we couldn't get lightbulbs; we
231 couldn't get chocolates, we couldn't get tampax. There were a lot of things you couldn't get. So
232 whenever people went down South you'd say 'please bring me that?'

Following on from the first extract, here Cindy speaks briefly of the lack of basic supplies and her husband being away from home more than he was at home, but focusses largely on the community and support during this time. She speaks of the community she lived in and the connection they had because of their shared experiences and their shared hardships. This 'community' is left rather vague and the experiences mentioned are spoken of as being commonplace for many individuals in then-Rhodesia during this time. However, it is clear that the Underwood's community of that time would have been white, in a context of civil war and on-going struggles for independence from white-minority rule. This notion of 'community' must be considered in more depth. Anderson (1991) speaks of nations as being comprised of 'imagined communities.' These communities are imagined for a number of reasons, the first being that members of this community will never personally know most of the other members of their community (let alone even know of their existence) and yet these members are joint or linked in their shared idea of their community (Anderson, 1991). Moreover, and perhaps more relevant, these communities are imagined because one views this community as comprised of deep solidarity regardless of the actual inequality and oppression present in these communities (Anderson, 1991). Regardless of the deep structural differences inherent in such a community, there is still an imagined sense of unity and oneness. It is quite possible that this is the case in Cindy's narrative, as the community (and nation) she was a part of would have been deeply unequal and it seems that the real community she speaks of was comprised of a very small group of very similar individuals. However, this small group is taken to be the entire community and represents 'the nation' she loves so dearly.

This notion of being "left behind" during the war is also interesting to consider in relation to gender and how gender relates to space. Cindy speaks of her husband being in the army more than he was at home, but interestingly says "*your* husband." Moreover, she plays out a conversation (which seems to occur between two women whilst shopping) in which they both

experience having their husbands in the war. Not only this, but the question of "is your husband in the bush?" occurs straight after "how are you?" This suggests that this sort of situation is thought of as commonplace by Cindy and not unique to her, as briefly mentioned above. This situation would have been common amongst these women because of their particular race and class. During this time, the general perception amongst this particular group of people was that they (white individuals) were fighting against terrorists and foreigners (black individuals) on behalf of their country and defending the current state of their country. However, this war of independence for Zimbabwe from colonial powers was clearly a racialised situation. Therefore, while Cindy may have experienced this situation as being commonplace and as being the experience of most people in the country, this is because she interacted with a very small group of like-minded individuals who had the same perception of the war. These women had the same experience of their husbands being in the war while they stayed home and faced different struggles. They had experiences of being left behind, having limited supplies and looking after the others that had been left behind. While the men occupy space 'out there,' fighting in the war and being away from their homes, the women are 'in here' – in the domestic space, ensuring they somehow have the products they need. Cindy specifically recalls not being able to get Tampax – a struggle which would have solely affected women. However, she emphasises that those "left behind" formed their own community and relied on each other to get the supplies they needed, whether this meant borrowing from someone else or asking others to get products for you when they went "down South" (to South Africa). Again, this highlights the commonality of (white) women being "left behind" in this situation and the ways in which they made things work and ensured their space was functioning as best as possible.

This sort of 'glossing over' or 'leaving out' such hardships and indeed imagining such a community can be considered a form of nostalgia and Cindy's sense of community (real or imagined) and the people she interacted with seem to form a large part of her nostalgia, rather than situations which only involved her own experiences. This highlights the collective aspect of nostalgia. Boym (2001) notes how often, nostalgia may be determined by one's present in that what one lacks or feels they need in the now, they may look for in their past. In this way, they yearn to return to a different time, but perhaps a time that did not totally exist because this time has been edited and idealised to provide some sort of comfort in the now. Boym (2001) also notes that nostalgia is not only linked to the individual, but is tied to larger groups and to nations. In this way, the collective is as much a part of nostalgia as the personal is. There seems to be a romanticising not only of the place Cindy lived and the people she interacted with in

the now only imaginary "Rhodesia" of the past, but also of her own ways of being and her views. Her longing should not only be seen as a longing for a particular place, but as a longing for a time which she views as a time when race played less of a role in her daily life, and for a sense of community. Referring to the "good life" she had in "God's own country" highlights her longing for and perhaps romanticisation of her life in Zimbabwe. In a time where life has become fast-paced and changes rapidly, Boym (2001) argues that this longing to return to an imagined slower and simpler time is understandable and in fact acts as a defence against the often overwhelming and challenging present times. Nostalgia clearly seems to require some sort of loss, whether real or imagined, personal or collective – something must have changed or been lost. However, this loss or change is often difficult to name and can often lead to individuals simply labelling it as a place, in this case, "Rhodesia". While the actual country may be longed for, it seems that what it represents and the experiences and feelings from this place are what is yearned for – a sort of "romantic nationalism" (Boym, 2001, p.12). Later on, Cindy says "I always say: if I won the lotto, I'd buy Rhodesia for me." What is interesting is that "Rhodesia" is no longer (it is now Zimbabwe) and so the place Cindy so yearns for (and all it stands for) literally no longer exists. Rather than saying that she would buy Zimbabwe, Cindy says she wants to buy "Rhodesia" which seems to suggest that it not so much the physical space she longs for, but the associations with that space. These associations seem to be the comfort experienced in this space and the power associated with this, and one can see how these are related to her whiteness. Here, Cindy's longing for the past does not seem to include any acknowledgement that the ease of life and sense of community she experienced was only available to her because she was a white individual living in a racist regime. Therefore, her nostalgia seems to be un-mediated by the present, and seems to be romantic nostalgia in Boym's (2001) terms, as opposed to reflexive or reparative forms of nostalgia.

Having considered this strand of Cindy's narrative, let us now consider how the next generation relates to this theme of Non-racialism and Nostalgia. More specifically, the following extract is taken from Nadia Underwood – Cindy's daughter. What is particularly interesting here is that while Cindy emphasises that her daughters are colour-blind, Nadia herself emphasises that it is *her* daughters (Cindy's granddaughters) that are colour-blind, not her.

Extract 3

217 Nadia Underwood *(generation 2, 49)*: I was aware of it, and I don't know where that came from
218 because it didn't come from either of my parents. My mom might have been a little bit more on the
219 gentler side but I didn't… I don't know. It just came from within, so I don't know. But hopefully it's a
220 good thing and you pay it forward in a way by teaching your children. I'm almost glad that when

221 Sinead (*daughter, generation 3*) started school it was already integrated. For me it was quite weird
222 though, the first time seeing these little children of all… it was weird. It felt great actually. Deep within
223 it felt great actually, like this is what we need. So sometimes you're just born with it inside you and it's
224 a good thing. I don't know where it comes from. But ja, I'm just glad that we're able to teach our
225 children that they don't see colour, particularly Mathilda (*daughter, age 8*). Her age group – you can
226 just see. Yes, for Sinead and Jade (*daughter, age 17*), but you can just see it is not a thing. They don't
227 even talk about their black friend or their white friend, it's just a friend, which is so nice. They don't
228 see colour. Just fantastic.

This extract occurred about halfway into Nadia's interview and lasted about a minute and a half – a rather significant portion of time. Before this, Nadia had spoken about her own segregated school and her parents' racist ways of thinking. I had then asked how she thinks she was able to shift or change her thinking after being raised in a racist and racialised environment. Nadia explains how it was always something she was aware of and uncomfortable with, before talking about the changes she has witnessed and sharing this particular part of her narrative with me. This part of Nadia's narrative highlights tensions between different principles and ways of thinking but also seems to mirror what her mother had to say about the younger generation being colour-blind. Nadia speaks of her inner awareness of the wrongfulness of racism as a child, an awareness of race when her daughter began school (and conflicting emotions surround this) and again, the colour-blindness of her children. Nadia speaks of her experience of dropping her daughter off at school (once schools had been racially integrated – something Nadia herself never experienced) as "weird" and says that "seeing these little children of all… it was weird." It is interesting that Nadia avoids completing this sentence but it is also similar to her mother's memory of black and white children in the swimming pool. Both Cindy and Nadia seem to have vivid memories of when they noticed race and this seems to have happened only when children of different races are in close proximity with one another. While whiteness is described as being invisible and unquestioned in much of the literature (Terry, 1981; Hartmann et all, 2009; McIntosh, 1998), it seems that whiteness is retrospectively made very visible when in contact with those outside of whiteness. Both Cindy and Nadia noticed whiteness when their children were no longer surrounded only by whiteness. Despite characterising this experience as "weird" (seemingly because it was not something she had experienced before), Nadia notes that it "felt great." Alongside this, Nadia speaks of actively trying to instil a colour-blind ideology in her children. She emphasises that her daughters, especially her youngest daughter, do not see colour and presents this as not just positive, but "fantastic." Nadia seems to really endorse colour-blindness and hold it as an ideal and something which parents should be teaching their children. Again, a child playing with a child of another race without mentioning their race is taken to mean colour-blindness when this may

not be the case – just because race is not mentioned does not mean that it is not noticed. What seems to be different here, though, is that even if race is noticed, it does not affect how individuals interact and does not define social interactions. This seems to be taken to mean colour-blindness by members of the older generation because race defined their social relationships and experiences so much, that the idea of noticing and acknowledging race but not having it limit social interactions does not seem plausible.

Not only are these tensions between colour-blindness and awareness present within the narratives of each individual, but these tensions are also picked up on by other members of the family (specifically Sinead, Nadia's daughter and Cindy's granddaughter) and can lead to family disagreements, as evidenced in the below extract:

Extract 4

183 JP: mmm and um what are some things that cause tension between you and your mom and your gran?

184 Sinead Underwood *(generation 3, 24)*: do you mean from that perspective, like the change? The
185 generational gap?

186 JP: ja, things that are different that cause disagreements or misunderstandings.

187 Sinead Underwood *(generation 3, 24)*: I think it's also like we're growing up in a society now where
things are more accepted […]
190 But like that they struggle with, for example, like Serena Williams. Like I love her and I think what she
191 stands for as a woman, and especially as a woman of colour, and like how far she's gotten, having a
192 baby and coming back, and she's in the final again today and my mom and gran don't like her and they
193 say it's because they don't like the way she plays, but I know it's not just that. And unfortunately,
194 that's the stereotype that we have to try and break as the new generation. It's like that stagnated
195 thinking where you believe what your mom taught you to believe. So I think that we struggle with that
196 a lot and it's a lot of cultural perspectives and I often have to sit and explain to my mom some stuff.
197 Like for example if there's sugar and the sugar is depleted and my mom will say 'they just take, take,
198 take' and it's not necessarily taking, it's more like… it's just like culturally, we share. Like it's just a
199 different cultural understanding and perspective but because it's not in my mom's frame of reference,
200 or my gran's, it like spazzes them out a bit and they get cross or they think they're being taken
201 advantage of. So just generally I think it's cultural and ja, that's it really.

This extract, part of which forms the title of this project, illustrates the inter-generational shifts and changes which are evident in this family. Significant for a number of reasons, this phrase highlights a peripheral awareness of race and racism – something which is difficult to acknowledge or articulate, but is nonetheless recognised. This difficulty in acknowledging and articulating such an awareness is made particularly difficult because of the closeness of these individuals – a daughter recognising the racism of her mother and grandmother, and perhaps some of her own racism which has been influenced by these very close individuals. Sinead is therefore caught between accepting the non-racist reasoning and perspectives her mother and grandmother provide, and knowing that these are false and do not present the full picture and

do not represent their true feelings and views. My question relating to things that cause tension occurs around midway of Sinead's interview, and occupied almost three minutes of the interview – a significant portion of time in relation to the total length of the interview. Therefore, this seems to be an important topic to Sinead and warranted a fair bit of thought and discussion. Here, the significance of tensions and shifts in families is evident. Before this, Sinead and I had been discussing how her life has been different to her mother's and grandmother's lives, which led to me asking her about tensions that these differences might cause. The gap between lines 187 and 190 is due to Sinead's discussion of her mother and grandmother taking issue with the LGBTQ+ community, which has not formed part of this analysis, but illustrates the intersectional considerations of power that concern the younger generation. While Cindy and Nadia both spoke about colour-blindness and non-racialism, Sinead brings up Serena Williams and highlights that she is a woman of colour. Rather than attempting to leave this aspect of her identity out of the conversation and make appeals to ideals of colour-blindness like her mother and grandmother did, Sinead draws attention to race and uses it as a reason for supporting Serena Williams – not at all in line with the colour-blindness Nadia claims for Sinead. Sinead also speaks of her mother's and her grandmother's attempts at non-racialism and colour-blindness and how she sees through them. While they may claim that they are not fans of Serena Williams because of the way she plays tennis, Sinead maintains that "it's not just that" and that she thinks that their views of her are related to the fact that she is black. Here, the title therefore relates to an acknowledgment of the evidence of race-thinking, racialisation and racism, despite attempts to conceal it. Again, Cindy's and Nadia's attempts at non-racialism fail and are unsuccessful and more than this, their racist positions are made evident. Additionally, Sinead highlights the different understandings she has compared to her mother such as instances where Nadia speaks of sugar being taken and being used up, while Sinead views this in cultural terms. It should be noted here that oftentimes, individuals make reference to culture instead of referring to race as a form of euphemism and this can be used as a way of avoiding discussions around race which again feeds into the ideology of colour-blindness and ignorance (Ryan et al, 2007). Therefore, while Nadia's understanding seems to lead to anger and Sinead's understanding seems to be more tolerant and acknowledges cultural differences, this is an example of specific strategies employed by white individuals to avoid naming race and racism (McIntyre, 1997). Perhaps this is a form of mutated or covert racism which looks accepting and tolerant on the surface, but still harbours prejudice underneath in much the same way as colour-blindness does. This highlights some of the many problems inherent in the colour-blind approach in that both acknowledging and overlooking differences,

different experiences and different histories can lead to non-tolerance, non-acceptance or can simply maintain racialised ideologies in covert ways. Acknowledging differences is not the problem – it is using these differences to argue that one race is superior to another that is the problem.

Sinead draws further attention to inter-generational shifts which have not taken place. She speaks about "stagnated thinking where you believe what your mom taught you to believe." Here, the possibilities for shifts and new ways of thinking are closed down because these old ways of thinking are not challenged. Sinead speaks of the need to challenge these old ways of thinking and stereotypes as the "new generation" and also relays her own experiences of trying to change her mother's and grandmother's ways of thinking by explaining things differently. However, this process does not appear to always go smoothly and instances like these continue to cause tension for the family as old frames of reference clash with new ones. Hoffman (2004) speaks of the "hinge generation" (p. 198) as the "generation after atrocity" (p. 198). Hoffman (2004) claims that this generation acts as a hinge which connects the past with the present, and therefore one cannot focus solely on present society as the effects of the past may still be present in this new generation. Here, the link between this and Freeman's (2010) notion of the narrative unconscious are apparent, as the connections with the past continue to play out in present day without being experienced directly. The hinge generation is made up of those who did not directly experience a specific atrocity (in this case, apartheid) but are still shaped by this atrocity and continue to live in the shadow of this history. Therefore, they have not escaped this atrocity even though it is supposedly a part of history; its effects do not disappear. Sinead's generation (often referred to as the 'Born Frees') has been raised by parents who experienced apartheid directly, thus creating a hinge between this atrocity and the next generation. Members of this generation live with those that have lived through said history, and this keeps this history alive. They are therefore some sort of mix between being implicated and not being implicated, and being born free but also not being born free. Moreover, Hoffman (2004) speaks of this history as being "transmuted into history or myth" (p. 198). Here, Hoffman (2004) means that those who lived through this history often avoid speaking of this history and their experiences of such an atrocity, which results in a kind of unspoken heaviness and hangover effects which are not acknowledged. Here, individuals (and I would argue white individuals in particular) might avoid speaking of their experiences and involvement in history as a way to avoid responsibility and accountability, and as a way of avoiding difficult conversations with their children. However, because the effects of this history are very much real and evident in society,

this becomes the unspoken elephant in the room and again forces members of the hinge generation to confront this history that they are both a part of, and not a part of. The notion of the hinge is useful to consider here as it provides a way to consider and understand how the past is linked with the present, and how the two are connected. The links with the narrative unconscious are also clear as old frames of reference and previous experiences and memories which may be beyond that particular individual continue to 'hangover' into the present, thereby influencing that individual. Therefore, it is not just one's present experiences and immediate memories which are influential, but the experiences and memories of those before them too. This indicates that while shifts might be taking place, the narrative unconscious influences these shifts and lingers for individuals with both first-order and second-order memories.

4.2 Shame

While Sinead did not live through and directly experience apartheid, this next section on shame is made up of narratives from individuals who did and who spoke of shame because of their actions (or lack thereof), beliefs or viewpoints. Just as nostalgia (discussed in the preceding section) can be connected with recollection, temporality and reflection, so too can shame. This section pays much attention to the particular narrative strand of shame which was present in Sarah McCarthy's narrative. Here, close attention must be paid to the shifts in this shame in terms of how shame is felt in retrospect but not when these events took place. This highlights the temporality of this narrative and identity, as well as the shifts within such narratives. The below extracts highlight Sarah's feelings of shame and her acknowledgement of the passive stance she took during apartheid because of how easy it was to do this. Before this, Sarah had been speaking about her memories as a young woman, getting married and falling pregnant, which led me to ask about any major shifts and changes in her life:

Extract 5

JP: and how do you think your life has changed significantly over time?

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: I think I've become more financially independent. Um… I think I've become more tolerant and I think I've become more… I hate to use the word racist because I don't think I ever was racist, but I probably was racist and didn't even realise it… more accepting of people and the way they are.

JP: what do you think has led to that?

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: I think because of… everything changing in '94. I think you suddenly realise… that anybody of colour was not the big bad wolf that you were led to believe. That we were all the same, really.

JP: and were you aware of any of that before?

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: um I really feel ashamed saying this, but yes. But if it didn't affect you, you weren't going to do anything about it. So you were aware that it wasn't right and you used to see the Black Sash along Empire Road, standing there, and thinking 'gee they're brave, but hell, I'm not joining them.' And they were brave. Because they got abuse continually. I remember telling my father-in-law that I admired them and he was furious. He thought that they were… that was just not on. I also remember having a friend at work when I got married, she was a coloured lady, and because Rowan and I got married at a recreation centre which is government, or provincial, I wasn't allowed to invite her. But I could have pushed if I really wanted to. I could have said 'oh to hell with that, who cares' but I didn't. So it's all very well saying 'we didn't know what was going on' – we knew what was going on. We just… it suited us not to. Sounds horrible hey? We don't like to rock our boat. I suppose it's like Germany with the Nazis hey? They all said 'oh no we didn't know there were concentration camps' but bloody sure they knew there were concentration camps.

While a number of participants avoided positioning themselves and their parents as racist and avoided acknowledging their (at least) complicity during apartheid, Sarah recognises herself as previously racist when she did not challenge aspects of her past which she retrospectively sees as wrong and highlights the role she played in upholding apartheid practices and ways of being. One should consider why participants did this. In today's society where racism is admonished and illegal, it may be difficult for individuals to openly call out their mothers and grandmothers as racist. Additionally, while it might be easier to recognise individuals or oneself as having been racist in the past, individuals might still be unable to accept that they are racist in the present. Participants might therefore position themselves or others as being non-racist now, while looking back on their 'previous' racist selves as immoral and shameful. Moreover, as evidenced in some of the above extracts, racism is often only defined as the most obvious, outright and blatant actions or remarks while more subtle forms of racism are not defined as racism, but rather as prejudice or perhaps if they are defined as racism, it is a racism which is not as harmful and which is almost unintentional because of their upbringing. However, it is also interesting to note that some participants from generation two (like Sophie and Nadia) did note that their parents were racist and that they were uncomfortable because of this. This may provide another reason for participants not framing themselves as racist – if their parents were racist and they themselves do not act in the same ways their parents did or do, then they cannot be racist. Again, this idea of racism only being an appropriate label for extreme or overt manifestations is evident here. One should also consider when Sarah believes the shift in her thinking took place. 1994 is often heralded as a major turning point in South African history and as the point when individuals shifted their ways of thinking and social relations totally changed. However, perhaps 1994 is being romanticised to some extent and this "sudden" shift in thinking that Sarah speaks of is not really the case. The racism, prejudice and stereotypes which existed in 1993 did not suddenly cease to exist in 1994, but perhaps took different forms

and became more covert. Interestingly, however, overt incidents of racism have recently begun to re-emerge (or at least have been brought to the attention of the media and general public more). These have included cases such as Vicki Momberg, Penny Sparrow and Adam Catzavelos[7], to name a few. I feel it is important to briefly consider why these racist incidents have occurred and why they have had such attention. Firstly, the use of social media to circulate and expose individuals like this is now possible which was not an option previously. While individuals may have experienced racist incidents like these before, they would have not had tangible proof and would have largely relied on word-of-mouth to spread these stories. However, social media has enabled more individuals to witness these racist incidents and form their own opinions and share these opinions, as well as call for action against such individuals. Moreover, this sort of behaviour is not tolerated and not understood as it may have been 10 or 15 years ago. While members of older generations might feel uncomfortable with racist remarks being made by their friends or racist incidents they have witnessed, they also might feel some sort of understanding about where this racism is coming from as perhaps it aligns with their own covert views, and therefore be more accepting or at least understanding of it. However, members of younger generations might be less tolerant and accepting of this sort of behaviour. Perhaps this is because more time has passed since apartheid and these younger individuals were not a direct part of apartheid, so they expect that racist positions formed under apartheid would have had enough time to change and individuals would have had enough time to educate themselves and unlearn these racist positions. Therefore, the occurrence of these overt racist incidents might appear to be sudden and as coming out of nowhere, but it might be that these incidents were always occurring, they were just not known or they were tolerated more.

In terms of the shame and unawareness she feels, Sarah notes that she feels "ashamed" because she did not do anything at the time despite being aware of what was going on around her. Interestingly, she also highlights how she "probably was racist and didn't even realise it." This seems to indicate Sarah's ability to move through her younger life without having to acknowledge her privilege and, possibly, her race. Sarah was able to exist in a space where her racialised thinking and ways of being were unquestioned and where she herself was not totally

[7] All these individuals are South Africans who have been prosecuted because of racism. Vicki Momberg was convicted after using the k-word 48 times while referring to a black police officer who came to her assistance after a smash and grab in 2016 (Maphanga, 2019). Penny Sparrow was also convicted after she posted a racist rant on her Facebook page in 2016, while Adam Catzavelos has been charged after posting a video to his social media while on holiday in Greece in 2018 in which he uses the k-word (Nemakonde, 2016; Ntshidi, 2019).

aware of it. She explains how she bought into apartheid stereotypes and did not fight back against rules and regulations even though she could have. Her shame comes from not doing anything in situations where she had the opportunity to do something (such as inviting her friend to her wedding) because it was easier not to. This goes against much talk surrounding this topic as many white individuals claim they did not know what was happening during apartheid and they were totally unaware of what was happening outside of their white communities. While this might have been the case for some and one should not overlook the fact that much media was censored and information was protected, Sarah highlights that awareness was possible, even if this came from seeing other individuals protesting. Sarah likens this situation to that of Germany during World War II and the claims made by the German general public and soldiers that they were unaware of the concentration camps (Gellately, 2001; Marrus, 1989). Being able to ignore or avoid comes from a position of power, as one is able to choose whether they actively participate or not and are not forced into positions by powers beyond their control. Sarah mentions members of the Black Sash and remembers seeing them as "brave." This bravery seems to be because they chose to participate and chose not to ignore. It seems that Sarah was able to avoid any sort of active engagement with her position because of her racial privilege – a choice which was not available to black individuals. What is interesting to note is Sarah's father-in-law's reaction to her admiration of the Black Sash. His reaction seems to indicate some sort of policing or marshalling of what is and what is not appropriate and acceptable which appears to be in line with the idea of the white gaze policing other white individuals as mentioned earlier in this paper (Canham, & Williams, 2017). In the above illustration, support and admiration of the Black Sash is seen as inappropriate whiteness, most likely because it is whiteness which is not blind and which is questioning and challenging itself. Perhaps what is at work here is a conscious effort to remain unaware or to feign unawareness – an effort to remain ignorant. Again, this seems to refer to the idea of an 'ignorance contract' (Steyn, 2012) where there is an unspoken agreement that things will remain as they are and will not be questioned. However, the Black Sash breaks this 'contract' and therefore is seen as inappropriate and undesirable by Sarah's father-in-law. Sarah furthers this notion by adding the personal element in saying that it "suited us not to" know. In this way, there is an awareness of the situation as well as an awareness of the wrongfulness of the situation, but bringing attention to it and wanting to change it not only means challenging the ways things are, but potentially means putting oneself into a situation of less privilege and less power. Not only this, but by going against the norm one could potentially put strain on relationships they have with others. If she had decided to join the Black Sash for example, it

seems that Sarah would have faced backlash and judgment from her father-in-law (and I would assume many others). Sarah's shame surrounding these events is therefore retrospective, as it is only felt during her recollections and reflections, rather than at the time these events happened.

Extract 6

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 3, 67)*: I remember, now you say that, I remember coming back from seeing my mom, we didn't have children, I think she was ill over in the UK and I was sitting next to an Indian… this is the late… 70s/early 80s, and him saying 'why don't you like black people?' and Jess I hate to say this to you, I turned round and you know what I said? 'Cause they sometimes smell.' Can you believe that? I feel… horrified. It was an Indian guy and I think he came from the States, that's right. 'Cause I said tomato sauce and he didn't know what tomato sauce was. And I said 'you know they can be pretty stupid' but on the other hand, I don't think I'd met anybody… you think… you saw your maid and maybe their family but you never saw any kids… I mean you saw nobody. You mixed with absolutely none of your peers.

JP: so it was just what you were told?

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 3, 67)*: exactly. You had no experience of it. And I didn't realise until Kaylee [*daughter, age 35]* was going through her history and she said 'you know mom, when you were walking on the pavement, they had to get off the pavement.' I didn't know that. And that's disgusting. How can an old lady make way for a child? That I didn't know. But we all knew, agh we did know. Please. But if it doesn't affect you, you don't do anything about it. And you're right, racism isn't just calling names, there are more subtle ways of being racist and you don't see them and you can get away with it…why not accept it you know? You know that's how… there we go… 'they' live. That's also racism, isn't it?... but you do. How many times do you walk around and you see black people and you hold your bag? And I don't know how you get rid of that. Honestly don't know how you get rid of that.

The above extract provides further evidence of the shame Sarah feels and Sarah spent around three minutes on this section. Prior to this extract, Sarah had voiced that she felt she was not giving me the answers I needed and that she had been vague. She asked if I had found anything interesting from my other interviews, to which I replied that racism seems to take different forms for different people and that oftentimes people tend to remember overt, gross racist acts rather than more covert and subtle forms of racism. From me saying that, Sarah recalled this particular narrative and I felt that this discussion was quite productive and allowed Sarah to rethink some of her understandings and perhaps think about new ways of understanding racism. I was unsure how to handle her question relating to my findings thus far, but it seems that my response allowed her to rethink her own recollections and recall stories she had not yet thought about. Part of this shame (which is only present upon reflection or in retrospect) seems to result from the ignorance she was able to maintain under apartheid. Sarah seems to suggest that she was able to exist in a state of both knowing of the atrocities and extreme inequality going on around her, but also not knowing and maintaining ignorance. It seems that this state of

ignorance was favourable partly because it meant that one did not have to acknowledge their implication in the apartheid system, but also because it allowed one to maintain one's privileged and advantaged position. This has clear links with the introduction and section on whiteness in this paper, and resonates with Logue's (2005) question of "why would anyone notice or challenge something that benefits them?" (p. 371). Here, the maintenance of certain ways of being and of the 'ignorance contract' (Steyn, 2012) is reproduced so that individuals avoid questioning and challenging the system which benefits them, just as Sarah explains. Of importance is that this ignorance contract does not have to be maintained through one's own direct experiences and interactions, but it can be maintained simply by individuals believing what they are told without any evidence. Sarah recalls explaining her dislike of black South Africans being due to black individuals' "smell" and being "pretty stupid." In hindsight, Sarah feels "horrified" that she could have ever said (and believed) this but in the moment of this experience, Sarah felt justified and certain of her statements, even though they did not directly relate to her own experiences. These racist viewpoints, positions and beliefs had been handed down from Sarah's parents and from other white individuals Sarah had interacted with, and Sarah had taken up these same viewpoints and beliefs and come to unquestioningly perpetuate and reproduce them. Here we see how inter-generational shifts have both failed to take place (in that Sarah reproduced the racism she had encountered from previous generations) but also shifts have occurred in that Sarah reflects on these experiences and feels shame and believes herself to hold different points of view and values now.

However, while Sarah speaks of feeling "horrified" by her past actions and past regulations being "disgusting," she still seems to hold some racialised ways of thinking which might be in line with her 'past' self. Moreover, Sarah speaks of the difficulties in shifting these ways of thinking and not being sure how to "get rid of" such ingrained, racist ways of being. Sarah speaks of some of her everyday experiences as being very clearly racialised, in that she tends to hold her bag tighter if she is encounters black individuals, for example. Interestingly, rather than structure this in such a way which would directly implicate herself in this sort of behaviour, Sarah consistently refers to "you" which implicates both me as the researcher, but also anyone reading this research report. Sarah does not say that she herself walks around and holds her bag tighter when she is around black individuals, but makes it seem like it is common and something that everyone does. In this way, while Sarah acknowledges that this sort of behaviour is wrong and racist, she is able to avoid assuming full responsibility and is also able to downplay the severity of this sort of racist behaviour because she makes it seem

commonplace and almost normal. This is not the only instance of Sarah's speech being racially structured, and Sarah seems to catch herself speaking in this way and referring to black South Africans as "they." Previously, Sarah mentioned "you" when referring to white individuals, but switches to "they" when referring to black individuals. Sarah seems to be aware that she is creating an 'us vs them' situation but voices that this is very difficult to change precisely because it is so ingrained and such a deeply rooted way of thinking. Here, Sarah is referring to the more covert and subtle forms of racism which manifest themselves. While the overly racist remarks she made under apartheid would not be tolerated today (and she distances herself from and repudiates her earlier self), these more subtle forms of racism are easier to get away with because they are less noticeable of course, but also because they allow for individuals to avoid naming themselves as racist.

Sarah was not the only participant to voice feelings of shame and to consider the difficulties in changing racist positions. Nadia also speaks of this sense of shame and interestingly, her experience of shame seems to take a physical form. This extract occurred just before the previous extract of Nadia's (Extract 3) presented in the section on Non-racialism and Nostalgia. Nadia spoke of not coming from a tolerant and non-racist environment, which led me to ask about her (self-proclaimed) shift in thinking.

Extract 7

JP: so how do you think you were able to shift your thinking? Being raised in such a racist way and then…

Nadia Underwood *(generation 2, 49)*: I must say, Jess, since a very young girl, it used to upset me beyond when my dad would scream at one of his workers and I used to get like, I can't explain it, I used to feel like… a choking. And I don't know if that was just the transitional type of person that I was always going to be but I just remembered saying 'it's wrong' and it cannot be that you can treat someone like that. I don't know… luckily maybe that's just how I was because I feel like one racist family will just continue how it was and maybe it waters down over time but I feel like what you teach your children… yes, over time it waters down but it's still always there. I mean I even see it with young kids today, you can see it straight away with the kinds of families you're dealing with. How they're already being taught, you know, what to think about a certain race. You just see it immediately. I always just felt it was wrong, totally. I used to always say to my mom 'shame mom, it's so sad' and she would say 'agh it's always going to be like that' and I always used to have that sense of shame and how… Not how would we fix it, I suppose I was too young and naïve to understand that, it was so much more complicated than 'oh shame they still have to go back and feed their family on a pittance of a salary,' but um, ja I guess it was just something inside me that felt it was wrong. Not that I had this thing that I was gonna be like, Nelson Mandela and fix it all. No.

While Sarah speaks of retrospective shame, Nadia speaks about feeling an immediate "choking" when she was a child and her father would mistreat individuals of colour. It seems that Nadia experienced discomfort in these immediate situations and not only during times of

reflection and recollection. Nadia's experience of this shame or feeling of things not being quite right takes an embodied form, and she describes her knowledge of things being wrong as being expressed through physical discomfort and as "something inside" of her. Moreover, Nadia speaks of this knowledge of things being morally wrong as coming from within rather than her learning this from others. This is interesting to consider, as Nadia describes both her parents as racist but positions herself as always knowing this racism was wrong without ever being specifically told so. This indicates that racism is effected through socialisation rather than a spontaneous response to the world, highlighting the possibility for these ideas to be changed, as individuals are able to literally 'feel' that this positionality is wrong and socially unacceptable. Here, the implication of the body in affect is important to consider. If the individual body is considered to be important in helping a person decide what is morally right and wrong, then the links between the personal and the political are deep and firm. Although as a child, Nadia was not able to verbally express what was wrong with the situation or why she felt this way, her body responded to the situation in a way which told her something was wrong and so her body responded to the political situation. Nadia does not seem to speak of feeling the same amount and sort of shame Sarah spoke of, and perhaps this is because Nadia feels she knew things were wrong as they were happening, rather than only upon reflection. Identifying instances of moral and ethical transgressions as they happened seems to provide Nadia with a different sort of moral standing in the present, as she knew these things were wrong from within, rather than only viewing them as wrong after everyone else agreed they were wrong. However, it also seems that Nadia might be hinting that not everyone is born with this sense of knowing when something is wrong and not everyone has this sense within them, or perhaps they have come to ignore it or be ignorant of it. This seems to explain why her mother and her father did not share her same sense of shame and discomfort and felt that was just the way things were and the way things would always be. Here, Nadia makes a claim for herself as being exceptional in some way, as she is different from her parents.

Just as Sarah spoke of the difficulty of changing these racist positions and the presence of racism in the present, Nadia speaks of parents passing on their racist ideologies to their children. Further, she notes that while these ideologies may become "watered down" over time, they will continue to underlie these individuals' ways of being and still form part of who these individuals are. Here, Nadia seems to be hinting at the changes in the ways racism presents itself (covertly and overtly) as discussed above. While one generation might pass on these racist ideologies and viewpoints in overt ways and in no uncertain terms, individuals from the next

generation continue to hold onto these, but express them in different forms – making it seem like they have been "watered down." Yet, Nadia believes that these ideologies are "always there" and this is due to the inter-generational passing on of values and beliefs. However, perhaps it is Nadia's sense of embodied knowledge and affect that provides a means for individuals of the younger generations to decide for themselves how they feel about and respond to these ideologies from people like their parents and grandparents. Perhaps it is this felt sense of right and wrong which provides a way to change racist positionality and "get rid of" these racist beliefs that Sarah feels are so resistant to change and difficult to escape. While Nadia maintains that this embodied knowledge was not enough for her to know how to "fix" any of these issues (also because of her young age), it was enough for her to know something was wrong and to question the ways things were. Here, Nadia seems to maintain that she escapes this inter-generational perpetuation of racism and rather than this analysis be of white people in general, it relates to other white people and does not include her. Nadia does not claim this racism as part of her, but rather that she has fought against this and has managed to avoid this perpetuation of racism that others continue.

4.3 The Privilege of Feeling Safe

The centrality of the body is also evident in relation to the next theme of feeling safe. Safety was not a topic which formed part of the initial interview schedule, but came up organically with almost all participants – once again speaking to the embodied experience of women and girls. This topic therefore warrants its own discussion as it seems to play a large role in the lives of these white women. This section does not cover all facets of violence experienced by these women and there are many types of violence women are subject to, notably including intra-white violence. For example, Russell (1997) speaks of the risk white women are at, even within their own homes, due to the patriarchal gender divide. However, despite the pervasiveness of these forms of gender-based violence, they are typically concealed or unacknowledged. The participants in this study speak about violence and perceived threats to their safety almost exclusively as external to the home and family. Even when not explicitly stated, this threat is racialised – it is anonymous black men who are positioned as dangerous. Just as with the preceding sections, this theme can be related to nostalgia and the ways in which participants reflect on and recollect safety and security during their childhoods. Having mentioned safety early on in her interview in relation to her memories of her childhood and being able to play in the streets in her neighbourhood, I revisited this topic after Sophie had been talking about memories with her family as a young girl.

Extract 8

JP: and you mentioned the security when you were younger. Do you think that's something that's changed?

Sophie Peters *(generation 2, 58)*: ja definitely. Well if I think of how we're living, even how we were living in Durban North, but certainly how we're living now – I mean we, everybody, lives behind a gate and basically the higher the wall, the better. Electric fencing, living in a boomed area – that wasn't even heard of. In fact, electric fencing wasn't even heard of. And ja, very strange not to be able to leave your gate open and we've all got lights on our properties so we can see any possible intruders. We live with an alarm system in the house, beams outside. That was like… not even… wasn't even a thought. I mean we used to play in the streets, we were in and out of each other's homes. You could never do that now. In fact, if you see children in the street, on their bikes, you're immediately like 'oh my gosh are they safe?'

Similarly, the following extract of Sarah's followed on from a discussion of her memories and feelings surrounding the changes in 1994. She then briefly discussed the optimism during this time and how she feels there is still a lot of change needed. Following on from this, I asked about changes within her own family:

Extract 9

JP: and if you think of your daughter and your granddaughters, how do you think your life at their age was different?

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: I had infinitely more freedom. As far as going out and not being restricted. I wasn't parented as strongly as I think kids are today. We might not have had money but we did have that freedom to go anywhere you wanted to go. Get on a bus and go, or ride a bicycle and go, whereas I think today they don't have that. They might have more financial… better security financially, but they don't have other freedoms like I did

JP: so security has changed?

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: infinitely. In fact, I remember as a child we used to go and play in the veld. Play in the veld and there were black families living there and nobody cared. Nobody gave two hoots. The lady next door, her daughter, black, domestic worker, her daughter used to come over and play. Nobody… even thought of it. No. It wasn't like it was that big a deal. But you used to go play in the veld, take some sandwiches and just go off and just come back whenever. Barefoot, in your shorts and went. And I think now, there must have been dangers, but nobody seemed to be aware of it. There must have been paedophiles and all of those things then. They've always been around. But it wasn't a thought at all.

What is particularly interesting about these accounts, as well as many other participants' accounts, is their reference point of their own childhoods as the benchmark for safety. The oldest generation remembers their childhood as being safe, the middle generation remembers their childhood being safe, and the youngest generation recalls the same. Participants all agreed that the present day is much less safe than their own childhoods. This romanticising and idealising of childhood seems to be common and in terms of nostalgia, may be related to a longing for a slower and simpler time (Boym, 2001). One cannot deny that crime and safety are a primary concern for many South Africans today and racialised social talk related to this

is prominent and widely circulated. However, one needs to question why these participants all felt so much safer in their youth and how this might be related to their reflections, recollections and possible nostalgia. During various participants' childhoods and adolescent lives, South Africa was at war – an armed struggle resisting the apartheid state which maintained its power through brutal violent force. Being able to experience safety and a 'normal' childhood during this time is clearly related to some sort of privilege held by participants – they grew up as white children with white families in white areas. Their ability to move through different spaces feeling safe and without having to think too much about it highlights this privilege, as Sarah says she was not "restricted" and had a lot of "freedom." For almost all black South Africans, this was not the case. Of course, the ownership of space is directly related to power, but the occupation of space is also related to power and physical space and the power dynamics of that space have a long history in South Africa. Forced removals, 'Bantustans' or 'homelands,' the creation and the formation of townships are all directly related to power. Even today, where one lives is directly related to one's social class which, in the case of South Africa, is often linked to one's race which is in line with what Soja (1989) established in noting that power relations are "inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life" (p. 6). Those who have the means to own and occupy space, such as those who have access to education and wealth, have more power. Bourdieu's (1992) concepts of social wealth and capital as outlined in the introduction are again relevant here, as those in higher social classes and economic brackets (in South Africa's case, white individuals) are likely to interact and form networks with other wealthy and well-educated individuals, therefore keeping the same sorts of individuals in power.

To expand upon this, let us consider Sarah's story. Perhaps what should be considered here relates to ignorance and how ignorance can be related to privilege. This 'not being aware' and not giving "two hoots" relates to some sort of ignorance – be that childhood ignorance or a more general ignorance. As discussed in the literature review, a sort of 'ignorance contract' (Steyn, 2012) seems to be at work here, as Sarah's childhood was characterised by not really caring and not having to think about safety and this has carried on through the generations with this 'contract' being passed on. Moreover, Sarah notes how "there were black families living there" but follows this by saying that "nobody cared" and they could still go and play in the veld. This ability to feel safe and to move through space was certainly a privilege reserved for white individuals and perhaps the "black families" Sarah speaks of were not viewed as a threat because the white community was so sure of their power and control that they viewed the space

to be theirs and therefore safe to inhabit. One should perhaps question how the "black families" felt in that situation and whether they too did not care and did not give "two hoots" about their space being invaded by white children or white individuals more generally. Another instance of this occurs when Sarah speaks of playing with a domestic worker's daughter. While it was not a "big deal" for Sarah when the domestic worker's daughter came over to play, one needs to consider whether it was a "big deal" for the domestic worker's daughter and the domestic worker. This again relates to the different power dynamics and the regulation and control of black individuals. One should also consider how Sarah was (and presumably other white children were) able to play in an area black families were living, but black individuals would have only been allowed to enter 'white' spaces under careful supervision and with strict rules (such as domestic workers, which will be discussed further in the coming sections). The privilege of being ignorant and not having to think about space and safety is clear in the above example, as well as not being "restricted," especially when one juxtaposes this with Pass Laws. Pass Laws were a form of internal control designed and implemented by the apartheid government (Smith, 1992). Amongst others, these laws aimed to control the labour force and segregate the South African population (Smith, 1992). Importantly, these laws only affected black individuals and required these individuals to carry pass books with them when they were outside of their designated spaces (such as areas called homelands, or specific parts of South Africa which were designated for black individuals) (Smith, 1992). These laws severely restricted and controlled the movement of black individuals, and ensured that their movement was constantly monitored. This is in stark contrast to participants' talk and experiences of moving through space freely without considering whether or not they may occupy that space legally and without any repercussions.

Extract 10

214 JP: and what are some hopes that you have for your kids?

215 Catherine Tailor *(generation 2, 50)*: um, well, there's a lot of talk about that there's no future in South
216 Africa for white people and I just pray that South Africa does come right. I don't believe in them
217 moving overseas because one of my mottos is 'you'll always be a stranger in another country' and
218 home is home. If you go and live overseas, you'll never be happy 'cause you'll always want to come
219 home and I see that with three of my cousins. One lives in America, one in Dublin and one lives in
220 Dubai, but the way they miss home… I mean they miss it terribly. And my cousin in Dublin, she's
221 been there the longest, and it's still not home. So I hope that they find good positions here in South
222 Africa and I hope they find happiness. Um and I hope they stay and I just hope our family doesn't get
223 scattered all over the continent.

Extract 11

253 JP: and then one of the last things, what are some of your hopes for your family members?

254 Ingrid Tailor (*generation 1, 73)*: mmm… Jess… you know we are surrounded by so much negativity at
255 the moment. You hear it, keep hearing it, people are going overseas and leaving South Africa. […]
269 And if people would only leave South Africa and say 'the world is open for the young people now,' don't
270 say 'I'm leaving South Africa because of all the problems or there's no hope here' – there is hope here.
271 And that's what I want to say – there is hope here. But if anybody wants to go and make a better life for
272 themselves somewhere else – so be it. If any of my children would now say they want to go, which they
273 are thinking, then they must go. Because I had what I had because of a husband that also left, and parents.
274 You understand?

This concern surrounding safety oftentimes led to discussions of young people leaving South Africa and moving overseas, as evident in Catherine's and Ingrid's narratives. Catherine's extract occurred towards the end of her interview and took up about two minutes. Prior to this extract, Catherine had been talking about hopes for her own future and things she would like to see change, which led to me asking about hopes for her children's futures. Not only did participants in the youngest generation voice their desire to move and/or travel, but their mothers and grandmothers highlighted that many young people wanted to move overseas and they were aware that their children and/or grandchildren wanted to emigrate. Catherine notes that young people are wanting to leave because of the feeling that "there's no future in South Africa for white people." This sort of talk is common and often relates to talk surrounding BEE and AA whereby white individuals feel their chances of getting a good job are limited despite the qualifications they might have. However, as outlined in the section in Chapter 2 on whiteness, white individuals continue to have the highest employment rate out of all the race groups in South Africa so perhaps this desire to leave is more related to feelings of wanting to belong and finding some sense of 'home.' While leaving to find a safer environment with better economic stability is understandable and is often presented as the main reason for wanting to leave South Africa, perhaps there are other reasons at play and nostalgia should again be considered.

While many young, white South Africans have been born and brought up in South Africa, their families oftentimes originate from outside of South Africa, such as in the United Kingdom or in Europe more generally – places of colonial power. These individuals are therefore linked to these sites and histories of colonial power through their relatives and are therefore linked to the colonial history of the country. While members of older generations (including colonial settlers) came to South Africa in the hopes of a new, better and more prosperous life for themselves and their families, individuals from younger generations seem to want to return to where older generations came from for these same reasons. Perhaps this desire to emigrate

relates to some sort of longing for home and for a sense of belonging, and longing for a place one can claim as one's own and as the site of one's origins, as well as a longing to escape feeling shame. Perhaps there is also another sort of nostalgia at work here – one which relates to a longing for a collective past home (a home which is also the site of colonial and white power). In her study on white identities in South Africa, Steyn (2001) found that while white individuals spoke about wanting to leave South Africa because of crime and employment concerns, they also seemed to want to find a home or a place where a common white identity is shared. Feeling out of place and unfamiliar in one's own country were some of the concerns raised and, much like this study, a sense of being "lost or stuck" seemed to pervade the narratives presented by participants in Steyn's (2001) study. This should perhaps be compared with the loss of home and forced exile for many black South Africans under colonialism and apartheid. While individuals in this research and in Steyn's (2001) work have a choice to remain or to leave, black South Africans did not have this choice and oftentimes such moves were imposed on them (such as forced removals and the creation of Bantustans). Moreover, while white South Africans largely speak about wanting to leave for employment opportunities, travel opportunities or a lifestyle change, black South Africans under colonialism and apartheid had to leave because their lives were in danger or because they were forced out by the apartheid government. Of course, white South Africans do also cite crime as a major reason behind wanting to leave, but it should be remembered that their lives are not being targeted (for the most part) because of their race, which is very different to black individuals' lives under apartheid and colonialism. One must therefore be aware of the still privileged position of the individuals in this research and it is important to consider this longing and desire in terms of race and with regards to history. Perhaps it is shame or racism that prevents individuals from considering a future where home is not about leaving, but is about feeling at home where they currently are. Interesting to consider here is the #ImStaying[8] movement which has become pronounced in South Africa. Both a Facebook group and a popular hashtag on social media, supporters of this movement claim to be celebrating South Africa and to be actively choosing to stay in their country (#ImStaying, 2019). However, one needs to consider the privilege inherent in being able to c*hoose* to stay somewhere and to have the option to leave – something which is not the reality for the majority of South Africans. Moreover, the group has been criticised for, ironically, avoiding criticism. Rather than engage in challenging or

[8] Created in 2019 by Jarette Petzer (an estate agent from Cape Town), the Facebook group has over 1000000 members (#ImStaying, 2019). The group description claims that the group aims to bring together individuals who "choose to grow and improve South Africa" (#ImStaying, 2019) and "honours all those who still believe that we as a nation can turn things around" (#ImStaying, 2019).

uncomfortable discussions about the reality of living in South Africa for millions of individuals, the group posts pictures of multi-racial families, domestic workers walking family pets, and good-will stories (Smith, 2019). This lack of awareness and avoidance of the privilege of such a group is problematic and the need to assert one is staying in one's home is also interesting. Perhaps it is because this home does not feel like a home that this assertion is made, in an attempt to make South Africa feel like home. Here, it could be argued that both the longing to leave and the assertion that one is staying are both racialised discourses and both relate to shame in different ways.

Just like her daughter, Ingrid Tailor also speaks of South Africans moving overseas. Interestingly, both individuals brought this up after being asked about hopes they have for their family members and while Catherine emphasises that she hopes her children and young people will stay in South Africa because it is "home," Ingrid claims that she understands if individuals want to leave South Africa, but that they should leave for the 'right' reasons. Ingrid points out that her life would have not turned out the way it did if her husband had not left Germany in his youth, and she accepts that individuals might want to move and that "the world is open for young people." However, she emphasises that individuals should not leave because they feel hopeless about South Africa, and that they are not being forced to leave. This seems to echo what members of the #ImStaying movement are saying, in that the positive aspects of South Africa should be focussed on and that choosing to stay is a good decision, if not even (morally) better than choosing to move overseas. Ingrid therefore seems to be conflicted in her feelings, as she acknowledges and accepts that individuals might want to leave and that they might be able to "make better lives" for themselves overseas, but she also feels that people should not abandon South Africa because of the problems faced. The desire to move and the notion of being lost and stuck was also common in the narratives of the youngest generation in this study, and participants spoke about wanting to move overseas and the importance of travel. What is interesting is that Catherine speaks of this longing for a home and feeling of being out of place even when her family members have moved out of South Africa and to different countries. This highlights that perhaps this longing is not so much for a new home, but for a particular identity or identification with a community. This sort of discomfort and dissatisfaction no matter where one is highlights how the desire to emigrate and find a new home might not solely be related to finding better employment opportunities and better safety.

4.4 Domestic Work(ers)

In the preceding section, we have considered participants' claims to be searching for better employment opportunities overseas as young women. In line with this, it is important to consider the state of employment for women in South Africa. 97% of domestic work jobs in South Africa are held by women, predominantly black women (StatsSA, 2018). Not only this, but this role is of particular interest in this research (and in South Africa more generally) because of the unique intersections of race and gender of this role, as well as the complex and intricate racialised relationship between domestic workers and the children they care for, which will be unpacked in more detail in this section.

Extract 12

29 JP: and did you have domestic workers or gardeners growing up?

30 Sophie Peters *(generation 2, 58)*: yes. Ja we did. Both African. Our domestic, Beth, literally brought
31 me up. I loved her. She taught me Zulu. I was with her every single afternoon and in the evenings, I
32 used to go and sit with her in her room. She was an incredible lady. And I was friends with her
33 daughter. In fact, when her daughter got married, I took her wedding photographs.

Extract 13

240 JP: what were your parents like in that regard?

241 Sophie Peters *(generation 2, 58)*: oh no terribly racial, terribly racist. Like Beth – she was allowed into
242 the kitchen, but you would never have seen her walking around the lounge or anything. She could go to
243 the kitchen and she could go to the bedrooms and clean the living area but it's not a space she would
244 walk through if my parents were home or anything like that.

Here, we have two extracts relating to Sophie's domestic worker, Beth, with the first extract occurring early on in the interview and the second occurring towards the end of the interview. The first extract occurred during Sophie's telling of her early life and memories from childhood (and interestingly Beth played a central role in these tellings), while the second extract occurred after Sophie had been speaking about the changes she would like to see in society – one of which was breaking racial stigma and eliminating racism which prompted me to ask Sophie about her parents' views. What the narratives above highlight is the centrality of Sophie's domestic worker, Beth, in her socialisation as a child. This socialisation is not simply related to what Sophie learned from Beth directly (such as another language or trying different foods) but rather to what this interaction teaches individuals about the dominant ideologies in broader society. As Sarah noted in her narrative in the section on shame (Extract 6), inter-racial interactions were limited and oftentimes the only sort of inter-racial interaction a young white

individual would have was with their domestic worker. While Sophie did not have a close relationship with her mother, she emphasises how close her and Beth were and what a motherly role Beth played in her life. Shefer (2012) refers to this sort of relationship between a white child and a black domestic worker as a "fraught tenderness." (p. 307). This relationship and dynamic is a complex one, as while there is oftentimes tenderness and care, this relationship is also fraught with intricate power relations as the white child has some sort of control and power over the black adult domestic worker (Shefer, 2012). Therefore, both care and oppression are entangled in this relationship and white individuals still retain privilege and power, which mirrors relationships in broader South African society. This relationship becomes even more complicated when white individuals reflect on and recollect their experiences and relationships with their domestic workers or helpers. This is because white individuals might recall genuine love, care and feelings of connection with their helpers, but they might also feel some sort of retrospective shame and guilt in relation to the part they played in apartheid oppression (Shefer, 2012). There might therefore be a longing for this same sort of relationship because of the care and intimacy experienced, but also a recognition of the unequal and unfair power dynamics inherent in such a relationship.

However, it is interesting to note how Sophie and Beth seem to navigate and inhabit space differently. Much like the section on safety and Sarah's narrative relating to this, the above extract highlights precisely the differential navigation of space discussed in the Gender section (Chapter 2.3), and extends Shefer's (2010) argument to include the ease with which white children can inhabit and invade space, while the movements of black adults and their children were highly controlled and curtailed. In her examination of narratives explaining people's experiences under apartheid, Shefer (2010) notes how privacy and physical space were used as a means of ensuring black, female, live-in domestic workers were controlled and 'kept in their place.' Shefer (2010) also highlights the differences inherent in this privacy. While the white woman is able to enter and invade the privacy and space of the black woman's "kaya" at any time as the 'madam', the black woman is able to enter the private space of the white woman only at certain times and with certain jobs to perform – she is the 'maid' (Shefer, 2010). The above extract highlights precisely this, and extends Shefer's (2010) argument to include the ease with which white children can inhabit and invade space, while black individuals were controlled and had limited access to particular spaces. While Sophie is able to go and sit in Beth's room "every single afternoon and in the evenings," Beth is only allowed in certain areas of the home, at certain times, for certain reasons. This disenfranchisement and limited power

is, however, juxtaposed with the central role Beth seems to have played in Sophie's life, and this tense power relation is something Sophie seems to have been aware of from a young age. This tense and contradictory situation is something Cock (1980) noted in her study on domestic workers in the Eastern Cape, and is certainly something which is still affecting South African society.

One should also perhaps consider that which is not mentioned or that which is left out of the conversation related to domestic life in this case – men. While men were mentioned in relation to a number of other areas of life (such as wives mentioning their husband's careers and involvement in war, daughters mentioning the role their fathers have played in their education and career choices and various memories involving fathers as part of family holidays and family time at home), there was no mention of men in relation to domestic life. Here, men seemed to be mentioned predominantly in relation to work (either their own work or providing advice on work) and providing financial support for their families. As discussed in the literature review, apartheid valued traditional gender roles. In line with this, men needed to contribute to society and uphold apartheid values in the public sphere, while women were to remain in the domestic space to care for their families. However, this domestic sphere was also viewed as important as it was seen as a space for the creation and socialisation of children into apartheid society so that these values could be upheld and reproduced. Women were therefore seen as central to the family and while they may have been dispossessed of power in the public sphere, they are seen as wholly responsible for the private life (McClintock, 1991). Therefore, men are predominantly discussed in relation to providing the financial means necessary for this domestic or private life to continue and for the specific lifestyles of these women and their families to be maintained. However, it is the women themselves that create these lifestyles and transmit culture, values and socially acceptable ways of being to the next generation. Moreover, much mention is made of wives staying home and caring for their families, as well as giving up their jobs once they fall pregnant or have children, while men continue to work and continue to be removed from domestic life. However, Cindy somewhat challenges these traditional gender roles when she speaks of the "houseboy" who looked after her two young daughters when they lived in Zimbabwe:

Extract 14

177 JP: and did you have domestic workers?

[…]

Cindy Underwood *(generation 1, 67)*: ja we did… We had a domestic lady that came in like once a week or so to do the heavy ironing and stuff. Can't remember their names. There were a few of them… but when we went to Rhodesia, it was Rhodesia at the time, my parents (I was still not married then, I met my husband in Rhodesia – Nadia's dad) and um we had houseboys. They called them houseboys… so Kennedy was my mom and dad's houseboy and when I got married I got his cousin which was Neil who brought up my two kids. Cooked, cleaned, did motorcars, did gardening, did everything… changed their nappies! Did everything. So ja. Was lovely. You'd phone him and say 'Neil, so and so is coming for dinner' and he'd add extra potatoes and carrots and gravy and everything. Was fabulous… He was such a sweetie.

Cindy's narrative surrounding her domestic worker is interesting as she provides the only narrative involving a male domestic worker. This extract occurred following Cindy speaking of memories from her childhood and from her years as a young adult. Cindy seems to try and distance herself from referring to Neil as a "houseboy" in saying that "*they* called them houseboys" but continues to refer to Neil as a "houseboy" throughout her narrative. The issues surrounding the use of infantilising terms such as these and the effects these terms have on those they are used on have been discussed and should not be overlooked, however, I would like to consider the effects such terms have on those that use them. In deploying such a term, Cindy's privilege is clear. Her position as a woman would usually not allow her this sort of privilege to undermine a man, but it is her position as a *white* woman that allows her to undermine a *black* man. This sort of patronising discourse was available to her because of her race and it is likely that she learnt this sort of talk and way of being from her own mother and from other white women around her. In this way, the white woman learns to become a 'madam,' just as the domestic worker learns to become a 'house-boy' or a 'girl' or a 'maid.' Another less obvious example of this sort of patronising discourse is Cindy referring to Neil as a "sweetie." While one might argue that this is simply a term of endearment and Cindy might call many individuals "sweetie," one needs to consider the different levels of power and privilege at play and the history of the infantilization of black individuals by white individuals. I am not suggesting that Cindy is doing this consciously and in an intentionally derogatory manner, but rather that these ways of speaking and interacting with black individuals have become so ingrained and common-place that this way of speaking is seen as unproblematic. Moreover, the relationship between Cindy and Neil (as well as between Cindy's family and Neil's family) is a complex and intricate one, and Cindy's feelings of affection and attachment to Neil (as well as Neil's attachment to Cindy's children) should not be overlooked. The relationships between black domestic workers and white families are complex, and perhaps cannot simply and only be reduced to the categories of oppressor and oppressed. These complex and intricate dynamics are also evident in the stories of participants from generation three, as seen below in Chloe's and Bronwyn's extracts:

Extract 15

JP: mmm and then going back to your childhood, did you have domestic workers or nannies growing up?

Chloe Tailor *(generation 3, 23)*: yes. So we had Patricia. Patricia joined us when I was six months old and she lived on the premises with us since then and she was pretty much treated like one of the family – she had her own room, her own little kitchen area and my parents did a lot for her. They pretty much like sent one of her kids through school, they helped the other one find a job […]
Patricia stayed with us and she would like, look after us, she would cook for us, she was always around […]
Then last year we had to retrench her because we had to move and we couldn't afford a live-in helper anymore… so um that was a bit of an issue cause she took us to the CCMA […]

JP: do you still see her?

Chloe Tailor *(generation 3, 23)*: not anymore. So since the whole CCMA thing… she's moved back to Rustenberg… um like she didn't want anything to do with my mom. So it ended really badly which we weren't happy about um but we tried to maintain the relationship as much as possible. Like we threw her a farewell party, we gave her gifts… we like did a lot for her but she still… I think she was very upset because of the whole situation even though it wasn't because of her, it was because my mom couldn't afford her anymore... So like our parties – they [*Patricia and Tim – the Tailor's gardener]* were both always there. I have pictures of them at my first holy communion and my confirmation – they were always around.

Extract 16

JP: alright. So… What memories do you have of your childhood? What kind of things stand out when you think back to growing up; what are some things you remember particularly well?

Bronwyn Peters *(generation 3, 18)*: […] umm I also remember when I was at like primary school, or preschool actually, umm I used to go to a preschool up the road and we all used to play there and everything and then every afternoon Violet – our helper – would come and pick me up and walk me back down home

JP: and what was your relationship like with your helper?

Bronwyn Peters *(generation 3, 18)*: pretty good at the beginning. She was like a second mom – I called her mom and stuff. She used to help me get dressed for school every morning. She started working since I was like… since I was born. But I probably remember her from moving to Joburg…
She had been there my whole life. Things changed as I got older though. There was a lot of drama involving her and after that we grew apart […]
drama between her and the family. Issues with her and my parents and her sons and stuff like that. We don't see her anymore really.

What the above extracts highlight is not only the tensions between 'maid' and 'madam,' but also between 'maid' and 'madam's child.' Chloe's extract took up a significant portion of time – about four minutes. Prior to this extract, Chloe had spoken about her memories from school involving her friends, and had then moved onto new relationships she had formed at her new job. This part of Bronwyn's narrative occurred early on in her interview and was in response to one of my early questions relating to memories. Interestingly, when asked about her childhood memories, she relayed a story about her domestic worker almost immediately which perhaps indicates the significance of Violet in Bronwyn's early life. While early memories might be characterised by 'almost but not quite mother-child' relationships ("she was *like* a

second mom"), relationships changed as participants got older and became more aware of the dynamics at play within the family-helper relationship. While Chloe saw Patricia as "pretty much… one of the family" and Bronwyn saw Violet as a "second mom," they were not part of the family and their relationship with the family was abruptly ended, and in both cases, ended on fairly bad terms. This close-yet-distant relationship is a complex one, with closeness seemingly more present in childhood but dwindling over time as children become more aware of tensions and power dynamics. Also, while participants believed their domestic workers to be part of the family and believed that they were treated as part of the family, one needs to consider whether this would also be how the domestic workers would frame their experience. Not only do female domestic workers occupy space in complex and contradictory ways, but they also occupy an ambivalent space as they are constructed as a nurturing, caring, 'second mother' yet still obedient and submissive. The domestic worker therefore has power as a "second mom" and provides comfort and psychological support, but this power only goes as far as the family which employs her allows, and only within certain confines and boundaries. This discourse of being a 'second mother' and 'one of the family' also erases the actual families these domestic workers might have, and their own children and the relationships they have with these children are erased. Moreover, the relationships a domestic worker must form with the children of those who employ her often comes at a cost – the relationships with her own children who oftentimes have to live under the care of others due to the demands of domestic work. The impact of this on both the mother of these children as well as on the children is completely erased when one uses this 'one of the family' discourse and only one family is made central with this kind of discourse. There is also another power dynamic at play here which is very different to the sorts of relationships Violet and Patricia would have with their own children and with individuals from their own culture, and that is that while white children and adults use the first names of older black individuals without a second thought, this is absolutely not the case in the cultures of these women. Rather than first names, various titles would be used by younger individuals to show respect for their elders. The use of these women's first names again shows how the white family has become central in these instances and the norms for this family and culture have been used, while the helper or domestic worker has almost become absorbed into this world and made to fit as 'one of the family.' Her own family and cultural norms and values are not made mention of, and have been consumed by the norms and values of the white family.

Perhaps what should also be considered is why participants from the youngest generation (for the most part) speak of such a close relationship between themselves and their domestic workers or nannies. This could be related to the changes their mothers speak about in terms of their careers and their class (which will be discussed in the following section). Participants in generation one spoke about their focus on their family and less focus on their career, which would have meant more time spent at home with their children. Individuals from generation two, however, also spoke about this but to a lesser extent with all of these participants speaking about having their own businesses and careers. This would have meant less time spent at home and therefore more time that their children spent with their nannies – indicating some sort of inter-generational shift. While participants from generation one focussed more on their families and less on their careers, this shifted for participants from generation two who have full-time careers as well as having a family. There seems to have been a change in the domestic sphere and the roles of these women, with some movement away from traditional gender roles and notions of women staying home with the family and towards women pursuing careers. However, one must consider who has stepped in to take on these domestic roles – black women. Here, intersectionality is important to consider as while the women in this study speak of moving towards careers and out of domestic roles, this is not the case for all women of their age and their different movements are largely related to race. In line with Crenshaw's (1991) and Mama's (1995) arguments, one needs to consider who the women are that participants speak of when they note their changing opportunities and movement towards careers outside of the domestic world. The experiences of these women are not representative of a 'universal woman' and do not mirror the experiences of all black women. Participants from generation three mirrored their mothers' narratives in speaking about the importance of their careers as well as their families. While none of the participants from this generation have their own children yet, it seems that their thinking is in line with this shift away from a sole focus on the domestic sphere. In contrast to this inter-generational shift, however, both Bronwyn and her mother (Sophie) seem to have had similar experiences with their helpers while they were growing up. Both these individuals speak of their helpers as raising them, being like a mother to them and forming a significant part of their childhood. Additionally, while Sophie spoke of her mother being "terribly racist" and treating Beth badly, Bronwyn avoided calling her mother racist but pointed out that some of her mother's views cause tension:

Extract 17

JP: and are there any things that cause disagreements between you two? Any major differences that cause issues?

Bronwyn Peters *(generation 3, 18)*: I think there are some things, like some of her views are quite different to mine, um, like regarding like gender and race especially […]
um ja and with race I think she… not like… I wouldn't say that she's racist, like no, but I would say that she does see that there's a difference between white people and people of different colours. Like some of the things she says I'm just like 'no you can't say that'

JP: and does it ever cause tension or a fight?

Bronwyn Peters *(generation 3, 18)*: I wouldn't say it causes a fight but if I do say 'you can't say that' then there's a bit of tension.

Just as Sinead speaks of tensions within her family, Bronwyn speaks of similar situations whereby she challenges what her mother says and her mother's frame of reference. This extract occurred towards the end of Bronwyn's interview and sprung from Bronwyn discussing her relationship with her mom and the differences in their lives. Again, this situation leads to family tension and we see members of the youngest generation attempting to shift the viewpoints and positionings of members of the older generation. It is also interesting that the relationship between Bronwyn and Violet changed and was cut short due to issues between Bronwyn's parents and Violet. While Bronwyn speaks of this relationship as important to her and as very close to her, it is also clear that this relationship is heavily influenced by the rest of her family and is not fully her own relationship. It exists under employment arrangements and this means that the relationship can be terminated at any point. It seems that not only are domestic workers themselves heavily controlled and regulated by the family, but the relationships between the domestic worker and the family (particularly children) is controlled and regulated by the family. To some extent, this helper-family relationship is forced out of mutual need – the helper needs a job and the family needs a helper. Therefore, this relationship does not begin completely organically and perhaps this is why the end of the relationship between Bronwyn and Violet could be terminated so easily and become a non-relationship so quickly. Chloe seems to have experienced a similar situation in that her relationship with Patricia was also terminated due to dynamics between Patricia and Chloe's mother, Catherine. These examples show how white women continue to play a role in the regulation of the relationships between their children and black domestic workers and how the agency these helpers have and the role they play in the white children's lives continues to be under the control of the white women they work for.

4.5 Changing Opportunities & Changing Class

As briefly discussed in the above section, the changing opportunities (in terms of careers) for participants meant that generational shifts occurred, such as some women spending less time at home and some children forming stronger bonds with their domestic workers. This is only one example of some of the shifts which have taken place and this section considers these shifts in opportunity and class for these women. Sophie's extract below follows on from a discussion of her time after school and the jobs that she held.

Extract 18

173 JP: and what made you go to college after school?

174 Sophie Peters *(generation 2, 58)*: it was kind of just – there were only a few options. It was teaching,
175 secretarial or nursing and that was it. And because my mother and my aunt were PAs, um… that was it
176 for me. It was kind of decided. You weren't really asked what you wanted to do; it was more like 'well
177 we've gotten you into secretarial college' so that's where you go

Extract 19

61 JP: and then after school, what did you do?

62 Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: I went and did a secretarial course, and then went to work at an
63 insurance company. Looking back, I should never have done a secretarial course

64 JP: what should you have done?

65 Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: I should have been in the hospitality industry. I was never terribly
66 bright, but there was nothing for us. You know, there weren't many kids that went to varsity. The ones
67 that did were really super, super bright. It wasn't given as a norm. So it was either teaching, nursing or
68 secretarial work. And I tried… I was a nurse aid at the Joburg Gen during the holidays and I
69 thought 'this is not for me.' Found it interesting but definitely not for me. So uh I did a secretarial
70 course. I don't think there was much… there probably was a lot out there but you didn't go and
71 investigate and I think now, you can do anything.

Prior to this extract, Sarah had been speaking about memories from school and family holidays during her childhood. In these extracts, both Sarah and Sophie highlight the limited opportunities and options they feel they had as young women coming out of high school (in the early and late seventies, respectively). Interestingly, they both offer exactly the same jobs as being available to them – teaching, nursing or secretarial work. Sophie also speaks about her lack of agency in deciding her career path. Rather than it being her own choice or in collaboration with her parents, her parents decided on her career for her. This choice was informed by her mother's job and her aunt's job, and Sophie followed this same path and became a personal assistant because it was what her mother and aunt had done. Here, the powerful influence of the older generation on the younger generation is made evident and if Sophie had been interested in other options (albeit these options were limited) these were not

really available to her. Additionally, these particular options were available to her because they were jobs reserved (or thought to be appropriate) for white women. Sarah indicates the same but also takes some of the responsibility for going into a career which was not quite right for her because she did not investigate other options. One should also consider the gendered nature of the jobs which were available to Sophie and Sarah. For example, nursing was regarded as a job for a woman, while becoming a doctor would be reserved for a male (Atwater & Van Fleet, 1997). Teaching often also has gendered undertones, as does the role of the secretary. Again, the job of a secretary would often be seen as a woman's job, while her boss or manager would be a male (Atwater & Van Fleet, 1997; Cross 2002). This can be seen when one considers the gendered division of labour in the South African job market. As mentioned, in 2018, 97% of domestic work jobs were held by women, while only 32% of managers in South Africa were women (StatsSA, 2018). Women dominated positions in domestic and clerical work, while men dominated all other positions (such as managerial roles, work as doctors, and positions in agriculture and in engineering) (StatsSA, 2018). Moreover, women made up only 31% of advocates, 32% of Supreme Court of Appeal judges, 24% of heads of state-owned companies and 30% of ambassadors (StatsSA, 2018). Furthermore, 55% of people involved in unpaid work are women and more women rely on the informal sector for an income than men do (StatsSA, 2018). This means that their source of income is far more unstable and unregulated than those in the formal sector. Of course, these are not hard and fast rules and there are obviously male nurses, teachers and secretaries, but generally these roles are still seen as women's roles. Additionally, the attributes which are believed to be required to succeed in some of these jobs are traditionally thought of as female attributes – nurturing, patient, good with children and caring (such as the role of a nurse or teacher would be thought to require) as well as quiet, calm and supportive (attributes a 'good' secretary should possess) (Atwater & Van Fleet, 1997). Moreover, these jobs are also historically lower-paying jobs, which means that the higher paying jobs have been reserved for men, feeding the idea of the male as the head of the household and as the breadwinner. However, Sarah feels that there are more options available today, and that one can "do anything."

Extract 20

73 JP: alright, and so what led you to pursue further qualifications after school?

74 Bronwyn Peters *(generation 3, 18)*: basically, I didn't really think there were many other options other
75 than going to university, especially in South Africa, you have to be qualified for everything, pretty
76 much. Um, so ja I didn't really feel like there was another option for me that I would enjoy. And all my
77 friends and pretty much everyone went to university […]
100 um I feel kind of stuck at the moment – like I don't have a lot of options and a lot of choices. I'm kind

101 of stuck in the BA at university for at least three years but after that I think more options will open up.

This segment of Bronwyn's narrative occupied four minutes of her interview and followed on from discussions of her memories from school and her family life. This is a significant portion of time, especially considering her interview was the shortest. It seems that this is an important topic as it warranted much discussion and much thought and reflection on Bronwyn's part. Bronwyn's narrative is interesting to consider in relation to her mother's narrative and that of Sarah. In a very short space of time, going to university has shifted from being something that only a few "super super bright" individuals were able to do, to something that all of Bronwyn's friends are doing. While there are certainly more young individuals entering university, Bronwyn speaks of this as having become expected and as though university has become the natural next step after high school. Along with this, Bronwyn feels that although there are many options, these options are also limited because "in South Africa, you have to be qualified for everything." This is a major shift and not only shows the changes in education in South Africa, but also highlights the changes in class of these families. What is interesting here is that although Bronwyn speaks of going to university, she also speaks of feeling limited, just as her mother did. While Sarah speaks of being able to do anything now, Bronwyn does not seem to share this feeling and mirrors the same feeling of being stuck and being forced onto a path because it is what is expected of her. Perhaps this is similar to Sophie's parents and Sarah's parents encouraging them to pursue secretarial work, nursing or teaching – their parents believed these to be good and respectable professions for young, white, middle-class women and as the 'natural' step after high school. Rather than entering these careers straight out of high school, the new pressure seems to be entering university straight out of high school and again, having to select a career without "a lot of options and a lot of choices." While the above extracts and analysis have considered some of the inter-generational shifts and changes, the following extracts highlight how these shifts may occur, as well as how they may lead to tension and misunderstandings:

Extract 21

71 Nadia Underwood *(generation 2, 49)*: […] and so I guess that's how, when you say, when you're a
72 parent you're gonna try and stop all those… those things that you want your kids to have… that much
73 more and better you know? You want them to be self-sufficient, you don't want things to be a struggle
74 and I think the biggest thing for us, and when I say us, Andrew [husband] is the same – he also came
75 from poverty, very poor home but lots of love and lots of support and support and all the things you get
76 in an upbringing but it becomes such a focal thing because you hear your parents talk about it all the
77 time. How much they don't have, how much this cost… you become so consciously aware of it that

you say ‘that will not happen with my kids’ and sometimes you over-compensate which is also sometimes not a good thing but you try and balance it you know.

Extract 22

JP: and how do you feel towards generations that are younger than you?

Sarah McCarthy *(generation 1, 67)*: mixed. I think that they’re more confident… better educated… but spoilt. Um, more indulged. And I think that’s because as a generation we didn’t have much, and we were determined to give your children what you didn’t have. But I don’t know if that’s such a good idea but if everyone’s doing it, you don’t want your child to be the odd one out.

Nadia’s extract followed on from a discussion of her lack of opportunities in terms of going to university because of academics not being a focus in her family, as well as financial constraints her family had. Sarah’s extract follows on directly from Extract 9 which was discussed in the section ‘The Privilege of Feeling Safe.’ Both Sarah and Nadia highlight how they came from poorer backgrounds (predominantly working-class backgrounds) but how they moved to a space where they are able to give their children a lot more than what they themselves had while growing up. However, it should be noted here that the white working-class was very different to the black working-class under apartheid. While I am not denying that white individuals in the working class would have faced financial struggles and would have not had access to much of what middle- and upper-class individuals would have had, black individuals in the working-class would have faced far more severe financial struggles and would have had far less access than white working-class individuals. This should be remembered when one considers participants’ ability to change their class and to move upwards in terms of social status and social class. Participants did not acknowledge the role their race played in their social mobility, and instead spoke about rather abstract and general changes in their gendered positionings, hinting that this has been the case for all South African women. Here, the invisibility of race for these women is apparent, and again (as mentioned in the section Domestic Work(ers)) it is important to consider what has been left out of the conversation. Sarah and Nadia also both note how their desire to give their children everything they possibly can was largely motivated by their own childhoods which were difficult and fraught with money issues, but how this desire perhaps becomes problematic and leads to generational gaps. This is interesting to consider as it clearly highlights the generational changes as well as how these changes come about. Nadia points out that her desire to provide as much as she can for her children became almost ingrained because of the constant focus on a lack of money during her childhood. Her desire to provide for and indulge her children stems from this and seems to be related to her

own feeling of a lack or of missing out on something. Nadia also points out that although her and her husband came from very loving and supportive households, the lack of money was still a prominent feature and could not be overlooked. Just as Nadia speaks about "over-compensating" and this not being a good thing, Sarah states that she feels "mixed" about younger generations because while they are "confident" and "better educated," they are also spoilt and "more indulged." Perhaps important to mention here is a common social script amongst white South Africans which relates to entitlement, specifically of young black South Africans. The implementation of various reparative measures (such as BEE and AA) has meant that more black individuals have access to better jobs and to education. While during apartheid being white meant one had first pick at these better jobs and opportunities for education, certain spaces are now reserved for individuals of colour and individuals of colour may be given preference for certain positions because of their race (B-BBEE Commission, 2016). This means that opportunities in the present are still mediated by race in some instances, and this system has led to some individuals feeling that black individuals are undeserving of these positions because they believe these positions to be offered based on race and not on merit. While there are undeniably issues with the implementation of BEE and AA (see Alexander, 2006; Farmer, 2013 and Krüger, 2016), the pervasive discourse of black entitlement and of white individuals having to work harder with little hope of being offered a good job or a space in university, negates the facts clearly evidenced in the employment and unemployment statistics outlined earlier. These data also clearly show that white individuals remain the wealthiest racial group in South Africa, and so race continues to be a predictor of wealth and therefore whiteness could also be linked with this sense of entitlement. If one has grown up wealthy and has been a part of a certain lifestyle and social economic position, one expects to continue this lifestyle and wealth, and perhaps progress even further. Sarah takes some of the responsibility for causing this generational change (and gap) in relation to her own children and states the same reasons as Nadia – wanting to make up for a lack during her own childhood. However, Sarah also highlights that the desire to spoil her children came from another form of pressure – other children were being spoilt. Sarah states that not wanting her children to feel left out or be the "odd one out" motivated her to give more to her children. This is of course in line with class changes, as these mothers were able to provide more because of their better class and presumably higher income than that of their parents at their age. Here, the on-going or 'hangover' effects of apartheid are clear. Even though these individuals came from what they considered "poor home[s]" and had little while growing up, contrary to the expressed BEE-related anxieties, they have been able to reach a higher class status and increased levels of

wealth today because of the privileges and advantages they had as younger individuals. This is not to say that hard work and effort did not play a part in this – these women attended courses, held multiple jobs, started their own businesses and upskilled themselves over time so that they could remain in their jobs or achieve better positions. However, one must consider that if these white women felt limited in their choices under apartheid, black women would have been even more limited. These women still had options available to them and courses which they could attend. They were educated in maths and science and English (a privilege not afforded to all black South Africans under apartheid or now) which enabled them to apply and be accepted for courses post-high school. One therefore needs to remember that the hard work put in by these women is accompanied by their privilege and advantage as a white individual under apartheid, while their options are still limited because of their identity as women. Important to consider alongside this is the notion of meritocracy. Meritocracy refers to a system whereby individuals are able to access wealth and power through merit (such as their talent or achievements) regardless of their starting position (Young, 1958; Piketty, 2014). Individuals are therefore rewarded based on their performance, rather than their social status and in theory, everyone should be able to progress and move up the social ladder (Young, 1958). However, if one is to consider the potential benefits of meritocracy, one must also consider the issues inherent in such a system. While it seems an unobjectionable system – those who deserve it are rewarded – a meritocratic system can overlook certain aspects of one's identity which influence just how easy this meritocratic system is to enter, whether or not one will be rewarded, and how much one will be rewarded (McNamee & Miller, 2009; Piketty, 2014). If every individual were to enter the system from the same starting point (such as having the same amount of wealth and same history, for example), then meritocracy would be more appropriate and fairer. However, certain individuals (such as white, middle- to upper-class individuals) have certain advantages which mean they can enter the meritocratic system a lot more easily than black, working-class individuals, for example (McNamee & Miller, 2009). Again, Bourdieu's notions of social and cultural capital are relevant here as the inter-generational influence of capital is important to note. One's networks and relationships are relevant when considering meritocracy and the ways in which such networks influence an individual's success is particularly important. One does not enter any system as a 'blank slate' – one's race, gender, relationships and social class influence access and how one is perceived by others. This not only relates to wealth and using this wealth to create more opportunities to be recognised and rewarded, but also relates to how others view an individual (McNamee & Miller, 2009). Due to various histories such as colonialism and apartheid for example, certain individuals are still viewed

very differently compared with other individuals and may not be viewed as deserving of recognition and reward by the individuals who are in positions of power to provide this recognition. In terms of this research, these women had a better starting point because of their race (for example) which afforded them certain opportunities that black women (and men) would not have been afforded, and this forms part of why they were able to be recognised and rewarded and move up the social ladder in line with meritocratic ideals. Clearly, it is not only hard work and talent or merit that enables one to succeed, but it is also one's inherent advantages and privileges which include how one is viewed by others and one's likeness to those who are powerful enough to recognise and reward. Here, the complex intersection of race and gender is clear and while their gender certainly limited the options that were available to these women, their race (in part) allowed for these positions to be available and for them to be able to progress in terms of their wealth and class more so than a woman of colour would have been able to. Therefore, it is the combination of their femaleness and their whiteness which has enabled (but also limited) their opportunities, their changes in wealth and their ability to achieve class mobility. Their closeness to white men (largely the predominant holders of wealth in South Africa) has also assisted in their class changes and changes in their wealth, and this closeness is enabled precisely because of their gendered and raced identities.

CHAPTER 5

LIMITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter aims to describe and discuss potential limitations of this research before making recommendations for future study which might be related to this research report. Finally, this section will briefly summarise the findings which were discussed in Chapter 4 and draw conclusions based on the preceding sections.

5.1 LIMITATIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

This section is an important one, as it allows the strengths and weaknesses of this research project to be assessed, and informs the following section on future recommendations. While some might point out that this research report is based on a very small number of participants, I would argue that this has allowed for deep analysis and, although only a few individuals took part, the data which were wielded are rich and deserve intensive analysis and unpacking. One potential area of concern involves the subjective process of selecting themes and threads of narratives to analyse. These themes and threads do not simply emerge from the data – they were actively sought out in relation to the theoretical framework of the study and specific extracts are selected which were thought to be relevant and useful. This must be made explicit and while this is certainly a part of this research and subjectivity is oftentimes considered to be embedded in this sort of qualitative methodology, it is also hoped that due to this research being supervised, important elements have not been overlooked and the analysis which has been conducted is of a high standard.

As part of researcher reflexivity, I must also consider my position as a white researcher writing about and researching whiteness. This almost makes it seem as if I am separate from or outside of this category, which is certainly not the case. At times, it seems as though I am assuming outsider status even though I am very similar to my participants. This was not easy for me, and the process of data collection and analysis was certainly challenging as I often felt connected to the participants, and also to what they had to say. My own identity certainly shaped how discussions took place during data collection in terms of a focus on and emphasis of certain issues, as well as the degree of elaboration and time spent on certain discussion points both during data collection and analysis. Wanting to defend my participants was a path I attempted to steer clear of but one I know was a very real possibility. Mumby (1993) notes that as researchers, "we are never neutral, dispassionate observers of behaviour but are always heavily implicated in the construction of the narratives (petit or grand) that provide insight to the social

reality that we inhabit" (p. 4). Again, while the implication of the researcher can never be ignored, the involvement of my supervisor and input from moderators throughout this research process has hopefully aided in alleviating this.

There are also issues surrounding narrative research itself which are not only specific to this research, but should still be mentioned because they are relevant. When one is considering and analysing the stories individuals construct and comparing these to the stories constructed of these same individuals by others – whose version of 'me' do I choose to pay attention to as the researcher? In other words, if a grandmother positions herself as anti-racist, colour-blind and as having changed significantly but her granddaughter describes her grandmother as racist and as hyper-aware of race, whose version of this woman do I use? It is difficult to decide whose narrative or perspective should be privileged over someone else's and whose version of a self should be paid attention to, however, this was partially managed by providing a description and analysis of the ways individuals saw themselves and how others saw them. In this way, it is hoped that no one narrative is privileged over another, but rather that these narratives have been structured in particular ways for particular reasons and the 'selves' which have been created have been constructed in that interview space for a specific purpose. Therefore, this is not an analysis of an entire individual as they are in their day to day life, but rather it is an analysis of the self created and presented in the particular interview context. Individuals therefore represent themselves in certain ways and knowing that their accounts are going to be analysed certainly structures how individuals tell their narratives.

There are a number of recommendations and routes for potential study which can be suggested which are in line with this research report or feed on from it. To begin, it is thought it might be useful to add to the number of participants in future research, and create a collection of these sorts of narratives in a similar fashion as the Apartheid Archive Project (Stevens, Duncan & Hook, 2013) has done, as well as the work Steyn (2001; 2004) and Dlamini (2009) have done. The collection of individual, every-day narratives of life both during and postapartheid is incredibly valuable and so it is thought that adding to this collection would be both useful and interesting. Additionally, future research could perhaps consider white women from various contexts and socio-economic status brackets. This research focussed on very similar women, and so it might be interesting to consider and compare this with research related to women who are different to the participants in this study. Some sort of parallel or comparative study might be useful to see whether these inter-generational shifts are more common or what kinds of shifts are taking place within families outside of this particular type of participant. So, while

this study focussed on white, middle-class, English-speaking South African women, another study could consider white working-class women or black middle-class women, for example. Having these various narratives to compare and contrast would be valuable as the similarities and differences in individual and inter-generational shifts would become apparent. Again, the importance of these every-day and micro stories helps to shed light on broader society and offers a window into the personal which is so intertwined with broader society. Finally, perhaps investigating the above or something similar and utilising a longitudinal study approach would also be useful and interesting. Here, one would be able to map individual as well as inter-generational shifts over time, noting when these shifts take place and how individuals continually make sense of this change. This of course would be extremely time-consuming and is beyond the scope of this research report, but it is felt that this would be a valuable narrative study nonetheless.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

This research aimed to understand and explore how white women from three generations make sense of their racialised and gendered identities in South Africa, and whether race was a prominent aspect of their narrative identities. This research investigated how participants positioned themselves in terms of their race and gender in their narratives, how experiences of race and gender have changed over time, as well as how these shifts and changes in experiences and understandings are made sense of by participants within the same families. The title of this research is particularly useful in considering the conclusions which can be drawn from this research. “But I Know It’s Not Just That” points towards the shift in raced thinking, talk and identities over time, and highlights the generational changes this research has considered and made evident. Moreover, this title also hints at the complicated and intricate landscape of our postapartheid society. This study has offered a nuanced view of this postapartheid world – a world in which not everything has changed, but also not a world where nothing has changed. This title points towards the attempts made by individuals to shift and change their thinking, talk, positions, understandings and perspectives, and also how this has not been completely successful. However, this shift is still a shift – it is just not a total shift. The ways of the past continue to be a part of the present (and future), and the influence of the older generations and their ways of thinking and being continue to filter into younger generations despite attempts at change. Participants repeatedly emphasised the changes they have made and how different they are from their parents, but their parents’ views and perspectives continue to influence and shape the perspectives of the younger generations, no matter how hard they may try to escape these

and distance themselves from these. Van Der Westhuizen (2017) speaks of this distancing as a technique as an attempt to absolve younger individuals of any sort of guilt or shame associated with the actions and/or positions of their older family members. In Van Der Westhuizen's (2017) study that focusses on Afrikaans-speaking women, younger participants try to displace their Afrikaner identities by taking on an English identity which is considered less implicated in our immediate racist history. In this study, these displacement techniques are not quite as tangible, but the attempts at self-exoneration and distancing by the younger generation are clear. This is not to say that shifts have not taken place and the section on Changing Opportunities and Changing Class provides a clear example of shifts that have taken place in the opportunities young (white) women have now, compared to what was previously available. Moreover, the section on Shame highlights how individuals' positions and understandings have shifted and new perspectives have been brought about which were not previously present. However, these sections also provide clear evidence of the influence of race and gender in structuring opportunities, experiences and perspectives and that while some shifts have taken place, these shifts are heavily influenced by race and gender and therefore, further structural changes have been less comprehensive. Participants do not always seem to be aware of these more intransigent macro structures and the way in which historical privilege continues to shape their own lives.

Five main themes were selected and these were analysed using narrative methods to consider the shifts, trajectories and narrative strands within these broad themes. These themes were Non-racialism and Nostalgia, Shame, The Privilege of Feeling Safe, Domestic Work(ers) and Changing Opportunities and Changing Class. The first section on 'Non-racialism and Nostalgia' highlights the attempts made by participants to escape the racialised thinking of their parents and to present themselves as having changed significantly when compared with older generations. However, participants often continue to reproduce the thought patterns and perspectives of their parents and the more they try to escape race, the more prominent it becomes. Their efforts to avoid acknowledging race and to present themselves differently from the older generations fail and younger generations see through their façade – they know "it's not just that." Non-racialism seems to be held as the ideal by members of generations one and two and they maintain that not only do they want their children to be colour-blind, but that their children *are* colour-blind. Members of the older generations hinted that they try to be colour-blind, but also that they see colour and this was picked up on by their daughters (and granddaughters) who emphasised that not only do their mothers and grandmothers see colour,

but that this causes them to treat and view individuals differently. Participants from the youngest generation did not seem to mirror this emphasis on colour-blindness and non-racialism, and instead noted their awareness of race. However, what seems to be the issue here is not the acknowledgment of differences, but that these differences are used by some individuals to argue that one race is superior to another, or that certain individuals are better than others. It seems that members of the older generations might be trying to employ colour-blindness and non-racialism as a way to avoid engaging with these differences and with their racialised thinking, but that this fails and their racialised and racist viewpoints prevail. Failing to engage with and acknowledge race also poses certain issues when one considers the type of nostalgia some participants spoke of, as this avoidance of race does not allow participants to see how their nostalgic past might have been better or easier because of their whiteness. Rather than being a progressive and unifying ideology, colour-blindness leads to individuals failing to engage with this prominent aspect of their identities and in fact, hinders important shifts and changes. Therefore, although there is some sort of attempt at a shift amongst members of the older generation (in terms of changing their racialised thinking to non-racialised thinking) race thinking is not erased. The youngest generation seem to be aware of the problems entailed in 'colour-blindness' and are aware of their whiteness in a more conscientized way.

This same point is evident in the 'Shame' section which highlights the kinds of shifts and changes that might come about if individuals are willing to critically reflect and engage with the influence of their whiteness on their past and present. Participants spoke about shame which occurs because of their lack of action in the past. This shame seems to come about in retrospect and reflection, and in speaking of this shame, individuals positioned themselves as different from their past selves. This does point towards a shift, but also highlights that further shifts and changes might not occur because individuals may regard themselves as racist in the past, but now see themselves as non-racist (or even anti-racist) and use very specific and narrow definitions or examples to define what 'a racist' is. This of course makes personal change difficult, but also makes it difficult for members of a particular individual's family to call them out for racism. Moreover, the section on 'The Privilege of Feeling Safe' provides us with another example of the influence of race as well as the failure of engaging with race, and also highlights how feelings of safety have and have not changed. All participants spoke about feeling safer in their childhoods and when they were younger. For the older participants, this must be considered in relation to their race as their ability to feel safe during a time of war and during a time of atrocity is directly related to their whiteness. However, this general feeling of

being and feeling unsafe is also related to gender and as all participants are women, there are particular experiences and fears they might have due to the climate of South African society and how it affects women. This discussion of safety also included discussions of members of the younger generations leaving South Africa to travel and to find employment abroad. This has been carefully considered in relation to race, and the desire individuals in this study might feel for a home and for belonging cannot be separated from their whiteness. Furthermore, participants all nostalgically noting that they felt safer when they were younger hints towards the very nature of this research – that things change but also stay the same.

The section 'Domestic Work(ers)' provides us with another instance of the changes and similarities over time, as well as the ongoing necessity to consider race as a prominent aspect of identity not only during apartheid, but in postapartheid society too. Participants spoke about close relationships between themselves and their black domestic workers and the complicated and intricate nature of these relationships was evident. While participants spoke about these relationships being especially close when they were young children, participants highlighted that these relationships were very much mediated by their parents and that while domestic workers were described as 'part of the family' and as 'second mothers,' there were also clear boundaries with racialised and gendered power dynamics at play. Moreover, the families of the domestic workers become eclipsed in this sort of talk and in a society where this domestic work is predominantly carried out by black women, this means that black families are eclipsed and the white families (and their values) remain central. Participants spoke about their awareness of the racialised nature of these relationships, but did not seem to totally connect their own advance in opportunities with the stepping up of black women to assume domestic roles. Here, the links with the final section on 'Changing Opportunities and Changing Class' are clear. Older participants spoke about the range of opportunities available in present day, especially for women, and how this has changed compared to their past experiences. Additionally, older participants spoke about the changes they have experienced in terms of their social class, with many of these individuals noting that they came from humbler backgrounds and have now reached a higher social class. However, what is not mentioned (but which is vital to consider) is the intersection of these changing opportunities and class mobility with race, and as these white women leave domestic roles behind, many black women must remain locked into these roles. These women have had particular options available to them because of their race and while hard work and individual effort are of course a part of their change in class, their

whiteness certainly played (and continues to play) a role in the opportunities available and being able to enter such opportunities.

Participants navigated their narratives with a mix of nostalgia, shame, complacency, faith in old worldviews and faith in new worldviews, confusion, hope and uncertainty. This highlights the contradictory nature of these narratives and the ways in which one's self is not unified and stable, but that there are constant shifts and multiple selves, which is in line with the focus on narrative identity throughout this research report. Younger participants both did and did not reproduce the same positionings and understandings that their mothers and grandmothers reproduced and, as has been illustrated, this is largely related to the "narrative unconscious" (Freeman, 2010, p. 344) and second-order memories informing individuals of the younger generations. Instead of these old systems and beliefs disappearing, individuals inhabit them differently and select some old systems and ways of doing things to bring into the present. In this way, individuals are able to hold onto older traditions but also create new ways of doing things. Part of this seems to be related to the inability of the 'ignorance contract' (Steyn, 2010) to be sustained and maintained, as individuals develop more awareness throughout their lifetimes and must integrate this awareness into their lives and selves. Considering how these narratives have been created in relation to inter-generational movements and broader societal movements provides us with a way of considering how new narratives might be possible and what these new narratives might be. The difficulty of labelling a society as "post-" when the hangover effects of previous generations is glaringly obvious, and the links and connections between inter-generational thinking and ways of being cannot simply be severed in the hopes of sprouting new ways of doing things. This research has therefore aimed to shed some light on movements inter-generationally which are in line with societal movements, and how individual stories move and shift depending on society's narrative templates and patterns and how indeed, the personal is political. While this study does highlight the shifts and changes which have not taken place, it also highlights those that have taken place and this has implications for the future. Society does not remain static and while participants might emphasise the changes that either have or have not taken place, shifts have occurred and will continue to occur. However, it is a question of which shifts will occur and which will remain resistant to change. This study has presented concentrated personal narratives which provide insight into the national landscape. These micro examples of the experiences and understandings individuals have of Non-racialism and Nostalgia, Shame, The Privilege of Feeling Safe, Domestic Work(ers) and Changing Opportunities and Changing Class provide us

with a view of broader society and broader generational changes and similarities in gender positions, as well as raced talk and identities. With this, we are able to begin to answer the question of who white South African women are, how they are (and are not) changing, and how this might impact the future of a postapartheid society.

CHAPTER 6

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Interview Schedule





- Explaining the research:

The purpose of this research is to explore your experiences as a white South African woman and how these relate to other women in your family, as well as to women in other families. Specifically, I will be doing a narrative analysis based on the information from this interview.

- Going through the forms:

Your participation is completely voluntary and, if you begin feeling uncomfortable or distressed in any way, please feel free to withdraw.

I need to be able to voice record the discussion so that I can get a trustworthy account of what is said. This is important to ensure that I understand and reflect on your views and feelings accurately. Do you consent to this?

Although covered in the information form, I would like to highlight the following:

- Your identity will remain anonymous in the final write up of this project and I am the only person who will know your name and who you are.
- You are free to discuss anything you wish and if there are questions asked that you are not comfortable answering, you are fully within your right to decline answering.

- Guiding questions:

- Can you tell me about your life at the moment? Where and with whom do you live?
    - Can you tell me about the friends you have?
- Where did you grow up? What memories do you have of this area?
- What kinds of things did you do for fun as a child?

- Where did you go to school? What are some memories from school that you have?
    - Was your school racially integrated?
    - Can you tell me about the friends you had at school?
- Tell me about your family, both immediate and extended. What is your family history that you know of?
    - Did you have any domestic workers or helpers when you were growing up?
- Can you tell me about one of your earliest memories? It can be related to anything, as long as it is of importance to you.
- Did you pursue any further qualifications after school?
- Have you ever worked?
    - If yes, what jobs have you had? Are you working at the moment?
- In what ways do you think your own life has changed significantly over time?
- What are some aspects of your life today that you would like to change?
- What are some aspects of your life today that you are happy with?
- How do you think your life has been and is different to your daughter's and/or mother's and/or grandmother's life?
- How do you feel towards generations that are older and/or younger than you? Do you find it easy or difficult to relate to them?
- What are some of your hopes and/or worries for your family members?

Appendix 2

Participant Information Sheet

Date:



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



Good day

My name is Jessica-Leigh Paul and I am a Psychology Masters student in the Department of Social and Community Development at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project. This project is investigating the stories of white South African women from various generations. The aim of this research project is to find out how understandings and stories have changed over time and generations, as well as what the current understandings are.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in a once-off interview. This will involve me asking you a number of questions. This interview will not take longer than 60 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a cell phone. This audio recording will be used later when I transcribe the interviews.

Taking part in this study is voluntary and you will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. Furthermore, if you experience any distress during or following the interview process, you are free to request recommendations for counselling services from me as the researcher. The interview will be confidential and the information you give to me will be held securely on a password locked cellphone and computer. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report and if you provide any identifying information that is not relevant to this study, it will be removed or altered to protect your identity. If you decide to take part in this research, you will be asked to sign this document and a consent form to confirm that you understand the study and agree to participate.

If you have any questions about this research, feel free to contact me or my supervisor using the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available upon request and should you wish to receive a summary of the report, I will send this through to you once it is complete.

If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) on +27(0)11 717 1408 or via email on Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely

Jessica-Leigh Paul

Researcher: Jessica-Leigh Paul, jessicaleighpaul18@gmail.com

Supervisor: Professor Jill Bradbury, Jill.Bradbury@wits.ac.za

Appendix 3

Consent Form





Narratives of life in South Africa: An inter-generational study of white South African women

Jessica-Leigh Paul

I, ……. agree to participate as part of Jessica-Leigh Paul's research project on narratives of white South African women. This research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

Please read through the following:

- I agree that my participation is voluntary
- I understand I may refrain from answering questions
- I acknowledge that I can withdraw my participation and/or my responses at any time before the final report is submitted
- I understand there are no risks or benefits associated with my participation
- I understand that all information provided will remain confidential
- I understand that results will be communicated in a research report
- I agree that the researcher may use quotes in his/her research report under a pseudonym
- I understand that data collected during this study and the subsequent research report will be stored on a password locked laptop
- I understand that I am free to request a copy of the final research report as well a summary if I wish to

Signature ……..

Date ……..

Appendix 4

Permission to Audio Record





I, …….. consent to having my interview audio recorded by Jessica-Leigh Paul as part of her research on narratives of white South African women.

I understand that:

- The audio will be stored on a password locked cell phone and computer.
- The audio will not be heard by anyone other than the researcher
- The audio will be transcribed (using pseudonyms) and these transcriptions may be shared with the research supervisor
- The transcriptions will be stored in a password locked computer
- Any identifying information that is not relevant to the study will be removed from the transcripts
- Direct quotes will be used but I will be referred to using a pseudonym

Signature ……

Date …….

Appendix 5

Ethical Approval

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MPSYC/19/001 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Narratives of life in South Africa: an inter-generational study of white South African women
INVESTIGATORS	Paul Jessica-Leigh
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	12/06/19
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

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

DATE: 12 June 2019

CHAIRPERSON
(Dr Peace Kiguwa)

cc Supervisor:

Prof. Jill Bradbury
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2021

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES