

# **WHITENESS AND EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN SPACES: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHY**

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## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree.

B.J. Jarvis

Date: December 2014

As the candidate's supervisor I hereby approve the submission of this thesis for examination.

Professor J.M. Wassermann

Date: December 2014

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother and father without whom my journey would never have begun. I also dedicate it to my grandchildren in the sincere hope that they may feel inclined to want to read it one day and take from it that which will help them on their own journeys.

## SUMMARY

In this thesis I use the autoethnographic genre to interrogate the process by which I was socialised into whiteness. I situate my study in the literature on autoethnography and write a personal narrative which traces my socialisation through the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my lived experience, namely Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa.

I began by wanting to interrogate the degree to which my whiteness had been shaped by the educational spaces I had experienced. I soon realised however, that these spaces were so interconnected with geopolitical spaces that these had also to be studied, the more so because each of the spaces in question experienced substantial socio-political change as I moved through them. The role played by the geopolitical and educational spaces accounts for the distinct 'spatial turn' of my study.

Understanding how each of the spaces impacted on me, especially as they interacted with each other, necessitated the analysis of my socialisation using the theoretical lens of Symbolic Interactionism. Doing so helped me to understand the degree to which I had also been complicit in my socialisation and by extension, in the oppression of non-whites, especially Africans. It is significant in this regard, that my study embraces times in my life when I learnt whiteness, as a school pupil and university student, although also as an adult, as well as times when I was an agent of whiteness as a professional educator.

I have been greatly encouraged by the realisation that just as educational spaces were manipulated to shape my whiteness with all of its associated hegemony, they can also be manipulated to create a self-reflective, empathetic self-awareness in young people. This is the kind of critical consciousness I believe I have gained as a result of my having completed this autoethnographic study. A defining feature of good autoethnography is that it should touch those beyond the self of the autoethnographer as they co-produce with him or her. If education professionals are touched by this work such that schools in South Africa can become learning communities which facilitate the teaching of self-reflection and enhanced self-awareness they will contribute significantly to the actualisation of a social environment in which South Africans of all races can live together with empathetic understanding and respect.

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2. I wish to acknowledge the support and encouragement of family members and friends who have been interested in my journey from the start. I want to make special mention of my mother who was always fascinated with what I was doing, the more so because it took her on a journey of her own. Thank you Mom for the sharing and the support.
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6. Finally, as a committed Christian, I acknowledge that Jesus Christ stood at my side throughout to prod and to nudge and to clarify thinking. What lies ahead is as much in His hands as was this.

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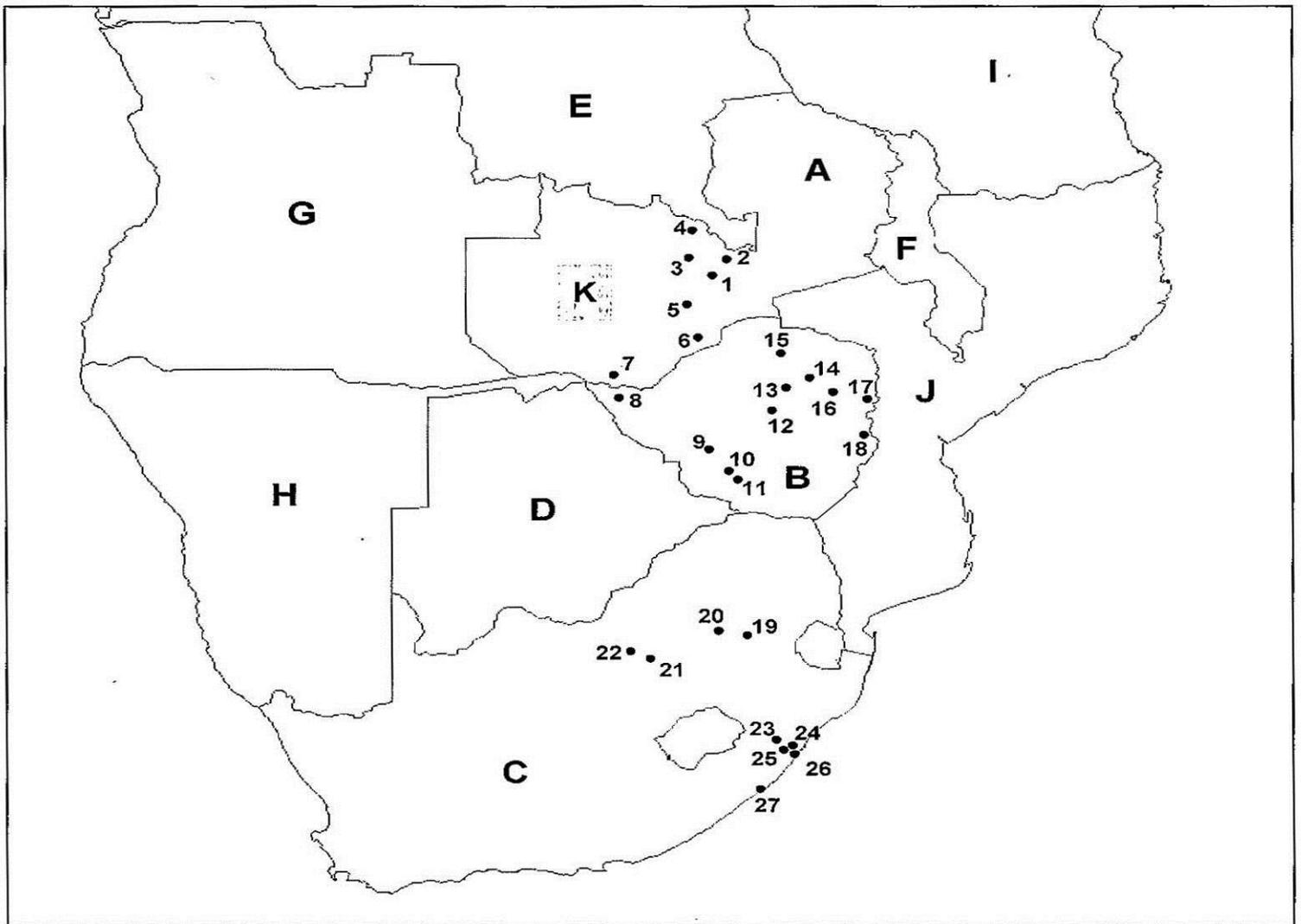
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FIGURE 1

Map of southern Africa showing significant places referred to in my narrative



KEY TO MAP	COLONIAL NAME	POST COLONIAL NAME
<b>A</b>	Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
<b>B</b>	Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia	Zimbabwe
<b>C</b>	South Africa	
<b>D</b>	Bechuanaland	Botswana
<b>E</b>	Belgian Congo	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>F</b>	Nyasaland	Malawi
<b>G</b>	Angola	
<b>H</b>	South West Africa	Namibia
<b>I</b>	Tanganyika	Tanzania
<b>J</b>	Mozambique	
<b>K</b>	Kafue Game Reserve	

	COLONIAL NAME	POST COLONIAL NAME		COLONIAL NAME	POST COLONIAL NAME
<b>1</b>	Luanshya		<b>15</b>	Sinoia	Chinoyi
<b>2</b>	Ndola		<b>16</b>	Marandellas	Marandera
<b>3</b>	Kitwe		<b>17</b>	Umtali	Mutare
<b>4</b>	Mufulira		<b>18</b>	Chimanimani	
<b>5</b>	Lusaka		<b>19</b>	Springs	
<b>6</b>	Chirundu		<b>20</b>	Johannesburg	
<b>7</b>	Livingstone		<b>21</b>	Stilfontein	
<b>8</b>	Victoria Falls		<b>22</b>	Klerksdorp	
<b>9</b>	Bulawayo		<b>23</b>	Pietermaritzburg	
<b>10</b>	Essexvale	Esigodini	<b>24</b>	Kloof	
<b>11</b>	Balla Balla	Mbala Mbala	<b>25</b>	Pinetown	
<b>12</b>	Gatooma	Kadoma	<b>26</b>	Durban	
<b>13</b>	Hartley	Chegetu	<b>27</b>	Scottburgh	
<b>14</b>	Salisbury	Harare			

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **OUTLINING MY STORY**

Since the ideology of whiteness has become thoroughly internationalised as a result of the forces of colonialism and globalisation it is appropriate, if it is to be meaningfully understood, that it should be interrogated at both its centre, in Europe and North America, and its various diasporic settings, including in southern Africa.

My study is spread over three diasporic geopolitical spaces in southern Africa. It takes the form of an autoethnographic inquiry into how my whiteness has been shaped by spatial and educational forces and it anticipates a future in which I am able to live in South Africa by dis-identifying with whiteness.<sup>1</sup> While my central focus is with myself and the journey of transformation upon which I have embarked, there is the hope that as others read my work they may be stimulated to themselves engage with forms of inquiry associated with autoethnography in order to commit to new ways of being white in South Africa. As a professional educator I hope that educational institutions will be able to play an appropriate facilitating role.

In this chapter I begin by placing my study in its southern African context before articulating the focus and purpose of the study and posing the research question. This is followed by an explanation of the rationale and motivation for the study and an outline of the conceptual framework I use. The chapter ends with an exposition of the research design, methodology and methods which I employ and with a chapter by chapter outline of the study.

#### **1.1. THE GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY**

My narrative is set within the geopolitical spaces which are occupied by Zambia (Northern Rhodesia before independence on 24 October 1964), Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia until the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965 and Rhodesia until Zimbabwean independence on 18 April 1980) and South Africa (which became a Republic outside the British Commonwealth in 1961). It unfolds during

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<sup>1</sup> In this regard I follow Pecheux's (1982) use of the term, namely that one works to transform and undermine an ideology by being positioned within it.

times of considerable social and political change in the whole southern African region. It begins with my arrival in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) as a five year-old, just two years after that British colony had become part of a federation with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi) (Fig. 1). It follows me as I move through different geopolitical and educational spaces within the three countries during different times of my life. It finds me in the present in South Africa as a sixty-three year-old white man engaged with this autoethnographic project. This journey, which I undertake in space and time, is accompanied by a journey which I undertake within myself. This is a journey of considerable personal change, conflict and turmoil, a journey borne of dialectical interaction with people in different geopolitical and educational spaces at different stages of my life. It is a journey which traces how I have been socialised into whiteness in each of the spaces and it is given form and structure by my writing of this autoethnography.

The British established the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in an endeavour to strengthen a white British presence in Central Africa. Their intention was to build what they said would be a 'racial partnership' in an enlarged territorial and economic space. They wanted this to stand in contradistinction to the apartheid variation of whiteness the Afrikaner dominated National Party was pursuing in South Africa. It was a short lived political arrangement, however. African nationalists within each of the constituent spaces, particularly in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, had opposed it from its inception (Griffiths, 1995; Shillington, 1995). This, along with the British resolve, which became particularly apparent from the late 1950s, to dismantle their empire and grant independence on the basis of majority rule to their many colonies sealed the fate of the partnership. 'The Federation', as it became known colloquially, ceased to exist in 1963 after just ten years.

The whites of the region felt particularly betrayed by Britain's changed stance on the empire. The few who lived in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were disorganised and unable to offer any resistance. Theirs had not been designated as 'settler colonies' as such and most responded by simply leaving (Ghurs, 2004). The Southern Rhodesians, by contrast, lived in what the British had developed, most decidedly, as a 'settler colony'. They passionately resisted what they saw as a betrayal of the civilised standards of the empire, drawing on their greater numbers and organisational strength, as well as their much mythologized pioneering resolve, to do so (Caute, 1983; Smith,

1997). When the British insisted that they would only grant independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of African majority rule the whites, under the leadership of Prime Minister Ian Smith, opted for a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in November 1965. In order to sustain the rebellion against Britain, Smith's Rhodesian Front Party built a fierce white Rhodesian nationalism around notions of white supremacy and what was sold as the inability and unpreparedness on the part of Africans<sup>2</sup> to rule themselves (Caute, 1983).

UDI intensified African opposition to white minority rule and a protracted war of liberation followed. Repeated talks between the Rhodesians and the British aimed at ending the impasse failed. Rhodesia faced a concerted United Nations sanctions campaign which it managed to neutralise quite effectively with the help of South Africa, but only initially. By the late 1970s the war had started to take its toll and the economy was in ruins. Smith was left with no option but to concede to the holding of 'one person one vote' elections, by which time white emigration had soared. Those whites who remained were fully expectant that Smith's preferred candidate, Bishop Abel Muzarewa, would win the elections. They were devastated by Mr Robert Mugabe's victory and, on hearing of this news, many more made a quick decision to leave the country (St. John, 2007).

Most emigrants drove across the border into South Africa where the ruling National Party government was beginning to experience tensions of its own. South Africa had supported the Rhodesians in the early UDI years, both economically and militarily, but had subsequently dropped the Rhodesian 'cause' in what Smith described as the 'great betrayal' (Smith, 1997). Significantly, this was to him a betrayal of whites by fellow whites in southern Africa. He reasoned that South Africa betrayed white Rhodesians because of apparent assurances from the United States of America (USA) that such action would help to ease South Africa's own passage through tumultuous waters, especially in respect of world opposition that was beginning to tighten around apartheid (Smith, 1997). Nothing seemed to come of this for the anti-apartheid campaign only

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<sup>2</sup> I acknowledge that the nomenclature relating to racial categories in present day South Africa is problematic and fluid. In this thesis I have elected to use the terms Africans, whites, coloureds and Indians, unless the terms are otherwise used. In respect of the coloured people, I acknowledge the controversy centred on the use of the term 'coloured' to indicate people of "mixed descent" (Erasmus, 2001, p. 12). My use of the term 'Africans' refers to black Africans as distinct from Indians and coloureds who would, in certain contexts, refer to themselves as blacks. African is a preferred popular term and is also the official government term.

intensified after the collapse of Smith's government. The National Party government attempted a myriad of reform initiatives but had themselves to concede to the inevitability of majority rule in the early 1990s.

In the post-independence period in Zambia and Zimbabwe only a few whites have remained. In the case of Zimbabwe they have been confronted with much hostility from the Mugabe regime. This was particularly the case during the time of the forced farm evacuations from 2000 to 2004 and even more whites left the country as a result. In the case of South Africa in the post-apartheid period, most whites have remained in the country where successive African National Congress (ANC) governments have at least paid lip-service to the ideal of building on the principle that the country belongs to all who live there regardless of their race (Sparks, 1990).

It is significant to note that in all three of the geopolitical spaces of my experience the white populations always constituted small demographic minorities. This was particularly so in the case of Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia, especially the former.<sup>3</sup> Statistics to this effect are presented as each geopolitical space is dealt with in Chapter two. I strongly contend that this minority status of the white populations in the geopolitical spaces of my experience sets them apart from white settlement in countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where whites have long constituted majorities. Of particular significance, in respect of my own experience, the minority status of whites meant that I was fully aware of my being a white person from a young age. The fact that I was always taught that white people were threatened needs to be seen in this context. The minority status of whites also determined the nature of my socialisation at school and beyond, and also my reaction to what I learnt. It also has a direct bearing on how I find myself responding to my life in South Africa at the present time.

## 1.2. FOCUS AND PURPOSE

My study focuses on my socialisation into whiteness in southern Africa and how the process was shaped by geopolitical and educational forces. It traces my experience in

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<sup>3</sup> 'Southern Rhodesia' was the colonial name of the colonial space in question. After UDI in 1965 the term 'Rhodesia' was used by whites and the white government. 'Zimbabwe', the African nationalist term for many years, was officially adopted as the name for the country once it gained independence on the basis of majority rule in 1980.

Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa, in a time period which extends from 1955 to the present. As it does so it is sensitive to how this experience impacted me, not least as a result of the substantial social and political changes which occurred in each of the geopolitical spaces during my time as pupil, student and educator. While there is a particular interest in my experience of the educational spaces I also pay careful attention to the role of the geopolitical spaces, at the macro, meso and micro levels, for in addition to these impacting me directly, they also influenced the educational spaces. How I responded to the various forces at work is a further focus. The dialogical interaction between the diverse spaces, and between the spaces and me, is explained more fully in Chapter 2.

The role of this autoethnography in helping me to 'narrativise' myself and thereby gain an enhanced understanding of myself as a white male educator is also a focus of my study. As I have worked with my past there is a sense in which I have done so in such a way as to be able to engage in 'future oriented remembering' (Mitchell, 2004, p. 460). This has enabled me to use my past to involve myself in a process, built upon my learning that I have been socialised into whiteness, of developing a new identity for myself. I also want others to be touched, however. As my study unfolds I consider the degree to which my own experience might have implications for educational practice, most especially in respect of how individuals, not least white males, might learn how to free themselves from past shaping influences as they construct new South African identities.

### 1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

As a white male educator who has lived through much change in the geopolitical and educational spaces of southern Africa, I am interested to know, in respect of my whiteness, how it has been shaped by, and experienced in, education and why it happened in the way it did. With this in mind the following research question is posed:

**How has my whiteness been shaped by my experiences in southern African geopolitical spaces, with special reference to education, and why did it happen in the way that it did?**

In endeavouring to answer this research question my study focuses on my experiences of whiteness in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia, which

were the geopolitical spaces of my childhood, and South Africa, which is where I have lived my adult life and where I am anticipating a better future for myself as a result of having embarked upon this autoethnography. I focus on my experience of educational spaces and the intersection with geopolitical spaces because of these shaping influences on my life.

#### 1.4. RATIONALE AND MOTIVATION

The geopolitical and educational spaces in which I grew up were highly charged politically and I was, as a result, always keenly aware of my being a white person. Growing up in Northern Rhodesia (1955-1964), I was aware that the position of whites, and the power they were able to yield, was constantly under threat, despite the early hopes and assurances of Northern Rhodesia having become part of a federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I have memories of hearing adults, friends and acquaintances of my parents in the main, discussing what they regarded as their unsure future in the colony. There was invariably talk of where they should go once the Africans took over for no-one, so they said, was prepared to live under 'them'. South Africa was always seen as a safe haven and Southern Rhodesia also to some degree. When the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was dismantled and Northern Rhodesia was set on its path to becoming an independent Zambia, many whites did in fact leave and most went to South Africa.

Meanwhile whites in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa were determined that they were not going to allow "their" countries to be transferred to African majority rule in the same way as Zambia. In Southern Rhodesia, Ian Smith eventually declared independence in order to say "...thus far and no further to the British and stem the racing tide of black nationalism" (Joyce, 1974, p. 17), while in South Africa the Afrikaner nationalists embraced apartheid as their panacea. I show in due course how education at the time was used in both countries to contribute to the securing of white confidence, a confidence in the superiority of whites and in the right of whites to be securing their settlement in Africa and indeed the need for them to be doing so.

By the time I began my university studies at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg in 1970 my socialisation was well advanced and I had become totally convinced that 'white was right and might' and that whites should continue to wield power in Rhodesia and South Africa, the more so because of what 'we' had lost in Zambia. It was not long

however, before the balance of power began to change in both countries. Ian Smith eventually had to concede defeat against the African liberation fighters and Robert Mugabe was swept to power in 1980. After the Soweto uprising in 1976 South Africa faced its own rollercoaster of change before it too had to prepare for the prospect of elections on the basis of one person one vote.

By the time South Africans went to the polls in 1994, I had been living in South Africa as an adult for some twenty-one years. I had embarked upon my teaching career in 1975. I was married with two daughters. I owned my own home in Kloof, one of Durban's more exclusive 'leafy' suburbs, and regarded South Africa, the land of my birth, as my home. I was keen for President F.W. de Klerk's 'New South Africa' to work. For one thing I wanted my 'good life' to last. For another, I had begun the process of interrogating my whiteness and my attitudes had begun to change. I had no idea of the nature of the journey which lay ahead of me however, and of the degree to which my understanding of myself still had to be so thoroughly transformed.

I had begun the process of questioning aspects of the nature of my socialisation into whiteness as a university student and this intensified once I had started teaching at the Edgewood College of Education in 1980. This was where I began my career in teacher education and I stayed on the Edgewood site for some thirty-one years. It was during the Edgewood College era that I came under the influence of Professor Andre Le Roux, the rector of the College for fourteen of those years. He was a confirmed liberal and did everything possible to set the college on a liberal multi-cultural path through the tumultuous decade of the 1980s. Largely under his influence, I found myself increasingly questioning my past overtly racist attitudes and values. My completion of two further post-graduate degrees, a Bachelor of Education in 1978 and a Master of Social Science in 1984, exerted a further influence upon me, most especially the latter, as is explained in my personal narrative in due course.

As a result of the demise of apartheid and the emergence of the new democratic political dispensation in South Africa, Edgewood soon became a multi-racial institution in respect of the composition of its student population. In typical liberal mould, however, I had an assimilatory view of what this meant and of my position within the institution, having by now become a member of its senior management. I was shocked and offended by the student unrest which occurred in the mid-1990s, within two or three

years of the presence of African students on campus. The students were sometimes quite violent and intimidating in their stance, protesting against what they claimed was unequal treatment. I remember asking myself how they could be so ungrateful and unappreciative. The environment became racially charged and remained so for some time.

I have a clear memory of an exchange with one of my students during a lecture at this time. We were engaged in a class discussion about what it meant to be an African. "But you are not an African, you are white", was his comment. "You live here", the student continued, "but it can never be as an African". I was greatly affronted by this comment. Many white South Africans had opted to leave the country in the early post-apartheid years because they could not see how they could ever gain a sense of belonging in the much changed new dispensation. Several of my friends were among them. I had argued long and hard with them, trying to persuade them to stay as we had every right to do. It had been us whites after all, I argued, who had brought so much to the country and it actually needed us to stay on. I reasoned that if we bound together, and committed to the new democratic dispensation, it would be well worth us staying on and we could do so as Africans. Wasn't that what the new post-1994 'rainbow' nation was supposed to be all about? I convinced myself that the student in my class had no right to say what he had and remember thinking that it was a very racist comment.

As I continued to struggle with the situation there were times when I thought that those who had left the country may have been right after all and I found myself wondering about my own long-term future as a white person in southern Africa. As the new millennium dawned and we began to hear of whites being forcefully evicted from their farms in Zimbabwe my concerns intensified. I became very interested in the whites of Zimbabwe and Zambia, since these were the compatriots of my childhood. The eviction of white farmers from their land in Zimbabwe caused a renewed interest in the plight of whites who remained in that country, and elsewhere in Africa, and several biographies and novels were published.<sup>4</sup> As I began to read them so my interest grew and I felt a compulsion to know how whites were coping with the realities they faced. I needed to know if and how they had found a way of belonging in changed circumstances which

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<sup>4</sup> These are listed in Chapter 3. They are by white authors who write about their experiences of southern Africa. I list those which I read further on this chapter.

were often hostile towards them. I made comparisons with South Africa and it was almost as if I needed to draw them into my own struggles and the personal journey I was beginning to embark upon. Inwardly I knew that I wanted to stay in South Africa and I wanted my fellow whites to do the same. It did not take long however, for me to realise that I needed more than I was gleaning from the novels and biographies. I found myself wanting to inject more structure and rigour into my inquiry.

It was Professor Claudia Mitchell, from McGill University in Canada, who had been appointed as Honorary Professor and Chair in the School of Education at the University of Natal, who introduced me to the idea of an autoethnography. She had heard me, in casual conversation in our staff-room, recounting some of my schoolboy memories and expressing concerns about the future in South Africa. She was particularly interested in my Northern Rhodesian/Zambian and Southern Rhodesian/Rhodesian connections since she believed that there were many stories from those settings that needed to be told. She recommended a few texts and engaged me in several interesting and informative conversations long before I finally began my study.

Professor Mitchell introduced me to some broad general readings on whiteness and also some on the nature of autoethnography. As I read I was intrigued to learn that whiteness was a social construct which was integrally linked with power and privilege. I learnt of how it could be shaped and formed in various ways in different geopolitical and educational spaces. As a professional educator I was particularly interested in the role played by individuals' school experiences, and I started to reflect on how my own schooling might have impacted me. As I began to read I became interested to inquire if schooling might be able to play a role in helping whites, such as those who had stayed on in newly independent countries, to engage with new ways of being white in the circumstances in which they now found themselves. It was not a big step for me to start interrogating my socialisation more critically and to become convinced of the need to pursue an autoethnographic inquiry of my own.

Subsequent to this initial input from Professor Mitchell there were developments, which are described in my narrative, within the Faculty of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which impacted me personally and which were difficult for me to understand and come to terms with. After a delay of some years in initiating my study, these developments added a sense of renewed purpose for my wanting to do so.

It took me a while to come to an understanding and acceptance of the nature of autoethnography. My initial academic training during the early 1970s was as a geographer. At the time, the discipline was passing through a 'quantitative revolution' and as students we were firmly drilled in its methods of inquiry and analysis. Everything we did had to be capable of quantification and the 'I' of the researcher had to be held firmly at bay in the interests of so-called scientific objectivity. When I first heard of autoethnography as a research genre therefore, I was hardly surprised at myself for responding with scepticism. 'Weren't autoethnographers self-indulgent and self-absorbed', I wondered, and 'why didn't they simply go off and write an autobiography or, for that matter, a novel?' 'Could anything they produced ever be academically substantial'? My attitude began to change as I read further and certainly more so once I had embarked upon the journey which was so greatly facilitated by my writing my own autoethnography.

I trust that my readers will find that I would have been selfish not to have shared my narrative. I trust also that I have indeed risen above self-indulgence as I interrogate my past with its unique mix of personal experiences and relationships in southern African spaces, a mix which spans both an empire in decline and a republic desperately holding on to white political power but losing it in the end. I trust that they will realise the same as I negotiate a future which is both built on these experiences and relationships and yet seeks to break from them in important ways. I want my readers to see me finding a way to be white in South Africa in such a way that I dis-identify with whiteness. I hope that they will discern the 'heart' component of my journey as I make myself vulnerable to the public gaze. I hope that they will recognize the 'head' and 'conceptual' components as they find me trying to make sense of where I have been and where I am going in terms of my being a white South African. I also want them to find the professional component as I scrutinise the role of education in both the construction of my whiteness and the possibilities which exist for me to find a new identity.

### 1.5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

My personal narrative tells the story of my growing up in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa and of my adult life in South Africa. The storyline unfolds chronologically and as it does so the role of three discernable spatial threads in shaping my whiteness become apparent. These are:

- My experience of the political spaces which have shaped my whiteness.
- My experience of the geographical spaces which have shaped my whiteness.
- My experience of educational spaces which have shaped my whiteness.

I discuss each of these spaces within Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa.

My conceptualisation of 'space' needs clarification. My study takes what Gulson and Symes (2007, p. 1) call a 'spatial turn' in that space emerges as a significant variable in shaping my whiteness in the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my lived experience. The reference here is to geographical space, and more significantly, to a theoretical view of it which allows there to be a dialectical understanding of the relationship between space and society (Armstrong, 2007; Green & Letts, 2007; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Gulson and Symes (2007) observe that social scientists also use 'space' metaphorically to add understanding to social experience. I do the same to make meaning when I use the terms 'political space' and 'educational space', in addition to the geographical meaning explained above.

While my primary focus is on the educational spaces of my experience I also focus on the ways in which geopolitical spaces shaped my whiteness, both in their own right and in respect of how they have been complicit in shaping the educational spaces themselves. While these spaces have acted alone it is the fact that they have interacted in complex ways which is more important. In the next chapter I explain Symbolic Interactionism as the theoretical framework which explains the nature of this interaction between the spaces as well as the interaction between them and me. The strong presence of the geopolitical spaces within my narrative is a reflection of my interest in them and the importance of the role they have played in my life. Their presence gives structure to my Literature Review/Theoretical Framework in Chapter 2 and to the analysis of my narrative in Chapter 6.

My interest in the political component of the geopolitical spaces of my experience emerges from my always having been acutely aware of being white, given the many political struggles which were centred on whites and white minority rule in southern Africa. I believed that my own personal survival depended on the ability of whites to be able to continue to maintain their rule, especially in the geopolitical spaces in which I

lived. I identified strongly with the whites of my southern African experience and with their endeavours to assert themselves and maintain their control and power in the particular contexts in which they found themselves.

In respect of the geographical component of the geopolitical spaces of my experience there is wide support in the literature for the notion that geographical spaces, and the actual places within them, are more than mere abstract locations since they become loaded with values which individuals ascribe to them as they are experienced (Davies, 2009; Featherstone, 2003; Green & Letts, 2007; Haggett, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Mitchell, Strong-Wilson, Pithouse, & Allnutt, 2011; Singh, Rizvi, & Shrestha, 2007; Smith, 1990; Soja, 1996). As values are ascribed to spaces and places, and meaning made, individuals draw them into the process by which they construct their identities (Ballard, 2004; Davies, 2009; Featherstone, 2003; Haggett, 1990; Mitchell et al., 2011; Smith, 1990; Usher, 2002). I have felt such spatial identification to be true of my own experience and have been interested to focus on how the spaces and places of my experience have played their part in the construction of my sense of who I am, not least in respect of my whiteness.

This process of spatial identification, which is comparable to the deepest of feelings and emotional ties, occurs at various spatial levels, which range from the small and intimate, to the larger and more distant (Haggett, 1990; Smith, 1990). In respect of my own experience, the largest and most distant spaces were those such as countries or even groupings of geopolitical spaces such as empires. My engagement with them was more remote and less personal but this made them no less influential than my engagement with smaller and more intimate spaces. In fact, developments in larger, more distant spaces indeed influenced those which were smaller and closer to me. Developments within the British Empire, for example, had a direct bearing on national developments in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia as well as South Africa. These in turn caused changes at the level of provinces and regions, towns and neighbourhoods, schools and classrooms. It is quite possible, furthermore, for a person to be influenced simultaneously by developments at all levels and this adds further complexity to the identification process.

The strong presence within my narrative of my experiences within different educational spaces is born of an interest in education which can be traced to my decision to become

a teacher. My interest grew once I had begun my professional career as an educator, the more so as I saw education becoming embroiled in political struggles in the different geopolitical spaces of my experience. It is apparent from my narrative that two educational spaces stand out as having exerted the strongest influence over me. The first was St. Stephen's College in Rhodesia where I was a pupil from 1965 to 1969. The second was the Edgewood College of Education and the Faculty of Education on the Edgewood campus of the Universities of Natal and KwaZulu-Natal where I was both lecturer and education manager from 1980 to 2010. I learnt whiteness at St. Stephen's College and I both learnt and taught whiteness at Edgewood.

My interrogation of each of the geopolitical and educational spaces which have been active in my socialisation into whiteness gives my personal narrative an appropriate conceptual frame. It becomes apparent that as I have moved between different spaces at different times so I have also been on an inward personal journey. Delport (2005) makes much of the importance of inward personal journeys of deep reflection. She contends that they are essential if individuals are to be able to come to terms with their past in such a way as to enable them to adapt to present realities in their lives and consciously anticipate a better future for themselves. Her application of this to her own situation in South Africa is discussed later in Chapter 2. My own reflective journey reveals my different states of mind as my story unfolds in time and space. As it exposes the nature of my socialisation I learn more about myself, most especially in respect of how I have related to Africans as my primary 'others'. Changes in my thinking become evident, as does a greater understanding of the socialising forces themselves. The different ways in which I have responded or assumed agency also become evident.

My personal journey is a journey through different local variations of whiteness in different spaces at different times. It is layered with complexity by virtue of the fact that the spaces changed as I moved through them and as they did so did the nature of the variations of whiteness within them. So my story of struggle and change is entangled with the struggles of the variations of whiteness which I experienced. It must be expected therefore, that my narrativisation of myself incorporates an accumulation of layers of consciousness left by all the variations of whiteness, and my acting back on them, in their various expressions of confidence, hope and arrogance as well as struggle, loss and adaptation.

Integral to my personal journey has been the notion of 'othering'. This is of central importance in identity construction and is built around difference and exclusion with power being integrally involved. With the power vested in me as a working class white person socialised into bourgeois whiteness it was common practice for me to 'other' those whom I regarded as different from me and inferior to me. The nature of my socialisation was such that most often it was Africans who were 'othered' but I also 'othered' women, gays and lesbians and non-Christians. Significantly, there were also times, when power relations changed, when it was me who was 'othered'. I discuss this notion of the 'other' in detail in Chapter 2.

## 1.6. RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

### 1.6.1. Research Design

My study is located within a critical research paradigm which is distinguished by its critical interrogation of unjust and oppressive grand narratives in society. Such a paradigm has a strong transformative and emancipatory ingredient since it is concerned with overcoming injustice, transforming society and empowering individuals (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Neuman, 1997).

Working within this paradigm, critical pedagogues recognize that consciousness raising is key. They seek out injustice within traditional education systems and develop pedagogies which enable individuals to reflect critically upon their situations and locate themselves in their own history. As they do so they free themselves and can potentially become change agents in society (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Freire, 1970a, 1970b, 1996, 1998; Giroux, 1997a; hooks, 1989; McLaren, 1995, 1998; Tate, 1997; Wise, 2008). Critical pedagogues have a keen interest in relationships between schools and society. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 27) elaborate on this when they explain that critical pedagogues are keen to interrogate

...how schools perpetuate or reduce inequality; the social construction of knowledge and curricula; who defines worthwhile knowledge, what ideological interests this serves, and how this reproduces inequality in society; how power is produced and reproduced through education; whose interests are served by education and how legitimate these are (e.g. the rich, white, middle-class males rather than poor, non-white females).

This is congruent with my intention since, as I interrogate my whiteness, I want to understand how it was formed, not least by my experience of school, and how it can be

transformed as I develop a new consciousness of myself. As I do so I am interested to see how my own experience and insights may have relevance for my practice as an educator and that of others. This is, in this respect, an emancipatory dimension to my research.

Within the critical paradigm an autoethnographic research design is used. Autoethnography is particularly well-suited to the nature of my study since it is a genre of writing and research which links the autobiographical and the personal with the cultural, social and political dimensions of life (Coia & Taylor, 2009; Ellis, 2004; Grossi, 2006; Holt, 2003; Reed-Danahay, 1997). It is a genre which enables me to understand where I have been and how I have been 'formed'. It does so by helping me to peel back and expose layers of consciousness, and move into and then out of myself and educational events of my life, conversing with myself, and with my readers, in the process. It is also a genre which can help me to negotiate what I might become in the future (Ellis, 2004). The narrativisation process in which I engage is integral to this because it is able to facilitate the emergence of new levels of consciousness (Hall, 1996; Kiesinger, 2002; McAdams, 2011; McLaren, 1993; Paul, Christensen, & Falk, 2000) and I trust that this will enable me to engage in the reconstruction of my own whiteness particularly if I am able to engage with 'others' in the process (Ballard, 2004; Halasek, 1999; White, 2012). As I 'author' myself in this way I hope to be able to contemplate a new way of being white.

Autoethnography is not only written for the self however, since the self is invariably a social being which can never exist only in the private domain (Anderson, 2006; Brink, 1998; Church, 1995; Coffey, 1999; Delamont, 2009; Ellis, 2004, 2009; Holt, 2003; Mykhalovskiy, 1996; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Sparkes, 2002; Tsang, 2000). It is important to be reminded, in this regard, of the 'ethno' dimension of autoethnography (Coia & Taylor, 2009; Ellis, 2004; Gergen & Gergen, 2002; Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Weber, 2005). Ellis (2004) points out that while a story might be initially autobiographical and written for the self it needs to be, in its final rendering, ethnographic in that it should address both particularities and commonalities in our lives. Another sense in which autoethnography is relevant beyond the self is found in the degree to which stories evoke responses from their readers. Ellis (2004) contends that this has the potential to facilitate the emergence of social justice and equity, since readers might be prompted to change institutions and relations in society.

I contend that autoethnography opens up possibilities for constructive change in education and schooling. Just as the genre is able to expose the dominance of modernist 'master narratives' in imposing conformity and control (Mitchell, 2004), so encouraging individuals to sit down and write their stories and to contextualise and share them, has the potential to dislodge those narratives and allow for new levels of social consciousness to emerge. There is much scope for such practice in South Africa for, as Vandeyer (2008) notes, pupils in desegregated schools are way ahead of their teachers in blurring the boundaries between races and between races and cultures. Mitchell (2004) argues that teachers, like their pupils, can learn much about themselves as they use narrative and other possibilities opened up by the autoethnographic genre to both understand their past and gain a sense of control over the way things might be in the future.

#### 1.6.2. Methodology

My selected methodology is narrative inquiry which foregrounds the voices of individual people who tell their stories. The premise is that if people are to be understood the voices they raise in their stories need to be heard, including what they have to say about people, places, events and time periods. It is a methodology which is well suited to my purpose, which is to tell my story so that it can be heard and analysed by myself and others.

It needs to be stressed however, that while I give my story primacy I acknowledge that there are indeed other voices about me and my context which need to be heard. I give attention to these in Chapter 6 where I think 'about' the narrative I have written.

#### 1.6.3. Methods of data collection

I used the following methods to assist me in gathering the data I needed to produce my autoethnography in respect of both the production of my narrative and my thinking about it subsequently.

- Pursuing memory work
- Engaging in memory sharing conversations
- Reading published material, including academic literature and biographical and autobiographical material

- Pursuing archival material
- Visiting key places from my past
- Engaging with personal field notes
- Pursuing responses from people who were asked to read my narrative.

The pursuing of memory work was particularly important. Apart from serving as data sources in their own right, the other methods listed above were instrumental in helping to prompt, verify, embellish and reflect upon that which I remembered and wrote. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

#### 1.6.4. Data Analysis

In order to analyse the role of the geopolitical and educational spaces which weave their way through my personal narrative, and the personal journey which is also evident, I employ 'narrative analysis'. In this, I follow the guidelines set down by Ellis (2004), most especially her distinction between thinking 'with' a story and thinking 'about' a story. In the case of the former, an individual experiences the events and situations of the story as they help him/her to understand his/her life. The individual is able to be both within and out of the experience (Ellis, 2004). Richardson (2000) adds in this respect, that an individual should be able to both understand and feel with a story, while Denzin (2000) notes that a good story should articulate a politics of hope in that it should be able to show how people can be empowered by its content. It becomes apparent, as my narrative unfolds, that I indeed think 'with' my story. In respect of my thinking 'about' my story, following Creswell (2012), I reduce it to its content, focussing on its themes and the degree to which it is 'situated' and 'contextualised'. My thinking 'about' my story constitutes the substance of my analysis chapter (Chapter 6).

#### 1.7. OUTLINE OF STUDY

This chapter has presented an introduction to my study. It has clarified what I have wanted to know and explained how I set about achieving it. The study has been contextualised and its conceptual framing explained. An indication has been given as to how my data have been gathered and analysed.

In the paragraphs which follow an outline is given of the direction to be taken by the thesis from here on.

Chapter 2 provides my literature review and theoretical framework. I begin with an interrogation of the nature of identity and the ideology of whiteness and then move onto an exposition of education's role in reproducing whiteness. Since, in my own case, my whiteness was constructed in particular geopolitical and educational spaces in southern Africa I then explain the 'spatial turn' of my study. The different spaces are held together by 'symbolic interactionism' which provides the theoretical framework and lens through which the rest of the chapter, namely an exposition of the particular variations of whiteness of my southern African experience, is read.

In Chapter 3 I provide an outline of the research design, methodology and methods of data collection which have been employed. I also give an indication of the limitations to my study as well the ethical considerations associated with the undertaking.

Chapters 4 and 5 are my personal narrative chapters, where I think 'with' my story. Chapter 4 focuses on my experiences as a pupil and a student, a time when I was primarily a learner of whiteness. In Chapter 5 the focus is on me as a professional educator. This was a time when I was primarily a teacher and agent of whiteness although it was also a time when I continued to be a learner of whiteness.

In Chapter 6 I think 'about' my narrative. I identify key themes and analyse these using the lens of the 'spatial turn' of my study and the theoretical framework of Symbolic Interactionism in order to understand the nature of my socialisation into whiteness.

In Chapter 7 I bring my study to a close. I present a brief overview of the study and reflect on the appropriateness of autoethnography in relation to what I set out to achieve. I summarise my main research findings and point to their relevance. I conclude the chapter by making recommendations for further research and sharing personal reflections on my study.

## 1.8. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have introduced and contextualised my study and I have explained why and how I embarked upon it. In respect of the conceptual framework which I use, mention is made of the 'spatial turn' and its importance in adding to the understanding

of the process by which I was socialised. Symbolic Interactionism is introduced as the theoretical lens I use to understand the influence of the 'spatial turn' in my narrative. In the next chapter I proceed to my Literature Review/Theoretical Framework.

## CHAPTER TWO

### FRAMING MY STORY

A literature review frames a study and places it into its context. In building on the principle that knowledge accumulates, and the notion that academic studies build on each other, a literature review shows what work has been done in the field in question. Key issues, theories, concepts and methodologies are highlighted and gaps and omissions come to light (Cresswell, 2012; Karichi, 2006).

My literature review begins with an examination of the concept of identity as a basis upon which to understand race and whiteness as social constructs. I distinguish between the category 'white people' and the ideology of 'whiteness' before embarking upon a review of whiteness in its international and southern African contexts. Proceeding from here I consider education's role in the reproduction of whiteness.

I then explain the 'spatial turn' of my study and Symbolic Interactionism as the theoretical lens through which I view the interaction between the geopolitical and educational spaces of my study, this being pivotal to an understanding of the reproduction of my whiteness. I then move to a consideration of whiteness and its reproduction in the geopolitical spaces of my southern African experience. In respect of each of these, namely Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa, my literature review proceeds thematically in that it is structured around the three spatial threads which are so strongly evident in my narrative, namely political space, geographical space and educational space.

#### 2.1. IDENTITY AS A CONCEPT

Identity-based forms of oppression have been at the root of much human suffering through the pages of history and many are the identity based political movements that have fought, and continue to fight, for human rights on the basis of race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, nationality, disability, age and other forms of socially recognized identity (Alcoff, 2003; Hall, 1996; Kearney, 2003; Wetherell, 1996). It is important to realise, in this regard, just how important identity is. Wetherell (1996) contends that it is impossible to understand people's lives without making some

reference to one or other of the social markers referred to above. Identity is the central organiser in people's lives, reaching out into their life history, their personality, their group membership and their life chances.

The concern in this thesis is with 'social identity' which is premised upon the broad agreement among sociologists that the relationship between individuals and society is central to an understanding of how identity is constructed and experienced (Francis, 2006; Neuman, 1997; Wetherell, 1996). Such agreement is built upon the conviction that there is a reciprocal relationship between the individual and the social arena, or, as Wetherell (1996, p. 300) puts it "...how all that has made my society might connect with all that has made me".

Up to the 1980s a dominant line of thinking was that people's identities were fixed or bounded (Francis, 2006; Kearney, 2003). Scholars caught little of the dynamic nature of society or identity and tended to see individuals as static portraits. A related line of thinking was that identities were constructed by powerful social influences bearing down on individuals. There was little recognition that within social contexts individuals could also be responsible for their own identity construction (Alcoff, 2003; Brown, 1996; Kearney, 2003). Alcoff (2003, p. 5) contends that this reduced individuals to social objects which could gain "...their intelligibility and force only within a social realm", and adds that the foundations of this kind of thinking were laid by the likes of Hegel, Marx, Freud and Mead.

Since the early 1980s, post-modernist thinkers have reacted strongly to this modernist view of the nature of identity. They have argued that notions of culture and identity are constantly changing and have rejected modernist grand narratives of historical progress which posited permanency and constancy and which spoke for others, often setting people's goals and priorities, and dictating their values and priorities (Alcoff, 2003; Bauman, 1996; Kearney, 2003). They have preferred to articulate a diversity and fluidity of voices and see identity as a subjective formation since just as individuals might be 'made' by the organising structures and relationships of society, so too they can 'make' themselves, depending on how they respond to what society would try to make of them (Alcoff, 2003; Austin, 2001; Connell, 1987; Giroux, 1997b; Hall, 1996; Kearney, 2003; McLaren, 1993; Mendieta, 2003; Wetherell, 1996).

To see identity as a subjective formation is to focus on the “...endlessly performing self” (Hall, 1996, p. 1). It is to see individuals as being continually engaged in an on-going identity project as they try to build on what has gone before in their lives. It is to recognize that far from being fixed identities are constantly evolving. It is also to recognize that identities are fragmented and that there are shifting understandings and constructions of personality (Mendieta, 2003; Wetherell, 1996). It is to acknowledge furthermore, that as identities are constructed a certain degree of conflict and contradiction is inevitable as individuals weave their way through a complex range of societal relationships and pressures (Connell, 1987). It is too often assumed that identity is homogenous and that individuals are marked off in clear cut ‘either or’ terms, black or white, or man or woman, or heterosexual or homosexual or working class or middle class, for example (Connell, 1987). Wetherell (1996, p. 307) notes, in this regard that, “...social identity is not necessarily evenly distributed in this way”, and that it is more of a mix of positions, with some combinations being particularly difficult for individuals to accommodate.

Kearney (2003) worries, given the stress in post-modernist thinking on identity on the diversity and fluidity of voices, about whose voice it is that comes to dominate in a sea of alternatives. There is a danger that those with more power might come to dominate those with less. He believes however, that ‘storied identities’ are important in this regard since they enable individuals to come to the centre of their identity formation. This is important, given the focus of this thesis, and the notion is dealt with in detail further on.

Of central significance in identity construction is the idea that identities are constructed through difference, or in relation to the ‘other’ (Apter, 2007; Beddard, 2000; Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Chennault, 1998; Ferguson, 2006; Giroux, 1998; Hall, 1996; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; Rodriguez, 1998; Roman & Eyre, 1997; Rutherford, 1990; Said, 1978, 1993; Spivak, 1990). It is only “...through the relation to the ‘other’, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside that the positive meaning of any term - and thus its identity-can be constructed” (Hall, 1996, pp. 4-5). Giroux’s (1998, p. 42) take is that “...we know ourselves through others and how we define the others affects how we define ourselves”. Building on this, Hall (1996, p. 5) contends that identities are only able to operate as points of reference and attachment “...because of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render outside”. It should be

added that while difference is key in identity construction fear is as well since that which is feared is also placed at the margin (Roman & Eyre, 1997).

In respect of the construction of white identity, which is discussed in detail further on, the notion of the 'other' became especially marked as whites came into contact with non-whites as they moved beyond the confines of safe, 'civilised' Europe from the 16th century (Apter, 2007; Beddard, 2000; Chennault, 1998; Ferguson, 2006; Gillborn, 2007; Giroux, 1998; Hall, 1996; Holmes, 2007; Keating, 1995; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; McLaren, 1998; Said, 1978). It was beyond Europe, in the 'barbarian' worlds of non-whites, "...that white people's sense of themselves as being white became contingent upon a negation of a corollary blackness and an assertion of that blackness as the basis of a competing racial identity" (Chennault, 1998, p. 300). As Giroux (1998, p. 42) puts it, "...white identity has relied on the control and subjugation of other bodies to define itself".

Power and exclusion are key concepts here. Hall (1996) explains that constructing an identity involves power in that as something is excluded a polarity, which might well contain an element of conflict and violence, as between blacks and whites, or between men and women, for example, emerges. Identities always emerge "...within the play of specific modalities of power" (Hall, 1996, p. 4). Foucault's (1980) point in this regard is that power is not something that one person exerts on another. It is rather that power emerges from a situation in which all people engaged in interaction are positioned to influence each other. So, just as society may have power on its side when it 'makes' individuals, to varying degrees, so too do individuals act from a position of power when they respond in various ways to the organising principles of society, especially when these are used to create opportunity and advantage (Crenshaw, 2003; Hall, 1996; Wetherell, 1996).

Hall (1996) demonstrates the point by noting that while the British, for example, might have exercised disproportionate amounts of power over people in their various colonies it was also true that dispossessed peoples developed strategies which enabled them to counter this, often developing new identities as a result. Crenshaw's (2003) supportive elaboration is that in identity formation the process of naming is not unilateral. Those who are subordinated can subvert the naming process in empowering ways. By declaring that they are black or women or homosexual, for example, individuals can

provide an anchor of subjectivity for themselves. They are able to make a statement of resistance and at the same time engage in a positive discourse of redefining themselves.

Yet it can also be the case that those who are oppressed in various ways may act to reinforce the relations of domination by consenting to them (Bell, 1997; Du Bois, 2001 (1915); Fanon, 1967; Gramsci, 1971b; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Woodson, 1933). This might happen when the dominant group is so successful in entrenching itself that its world view becomes accepted by all as common sense. In such cases oppressed peoples internalise the roles and attitudes that maintain their oppression to the degree that they become brokers of the same.

Nuttall (2009) argues that the absoluteness of difference as a theoretical construct in identity construction needs to be reconsidered. She believes that social markers are not immutable in time and space and that to confine one's thinking to the lens of difference all the time is to limit the pursuit of social justice. She believes that boundaries between people are actually quite flexible and porous and sees individuals as being mutually entangled as distinct from always being at opposite poles. Just as they become entangled so they can become disentangled. She believes that self-narrative has a key role to play in enabling individuals to discover and understand their mutual entanglement and the possibilities for their disentanglement. This holds out promising prospects for the renegotiation of their identities. Nuttall (2009) points to examples of white South Africans who have engaged in a process of disentangling themselves from their fellow white South Africans with racist views. This is discussed in detail further on.

I would agree with Lipshitz (1995) however, that given the nature of whiteness, as will be shown in due course, whites cannot disentangle themselves from whiteness as such for doing so would not prevent them from continuing to be privileged as white people. What whites can do is dis-identify (Pecheux, 1982) with whiteness. I would contend that a key starting point is for whites to become aware of the nature of whiteness, to understand something of the process by which they have been socialised into it and from there, in self-reflective awareness, to begin the process of recognizing the otherness of themselves as they learn of their own location of privilege (Rutherford, 1990). This will substantially change relations of domination and subordination in that it

will undermine the ability of whites to relegate their 'others' to the margins. This is a theme which I pick up and develop further on.

## 2.2. WHITENESS AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

European encounters with Africa have profoundly shaped western notions of race and racial 'otherness' (Banton, 1989; Giroux, 1998; Hall, 1997; Holmes, 2007). Up until the Middle Ages, images out of Africa were ambiguous and even fairly positive. There were, after all, African saints in the iconography of the medieval church. The Coptic Church was a well-established overseas Christian community and its leader, Prester John of Ethiopia, was regarded as a faithful Christian (Hall, 1997). Perceptions about Africa started to change as Europeans began to experience increasing contact with Africa from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Slavery, exploration and colonisation were key developments as was, much later, the migration of small numbers of Africans to Europe. Such increasing contact facilitated, amongst Europeans, a distinct consciousness of themselves as they began to cast Africans as their extreme 'others' (Bonnett, 2000; Giroux, 1998; Hall, 1997; Wander, Martin, & Nakayana, 1999).

To this it can be added that as Europeans came into contact with the Orient powerful notions of 'us' and 'them' were also developed. In this regard Said (1978) has defined Orientalism as a powerful ideological creation by Europeans by which they were able to deal with the 'otherness' of the Orient. Of central importance, as Europeans encountered "...all these non-Europeans" (Said, 1978, p. 7) was the notion of European superiority and Oriental backwardness.

The Orient emerged as

...suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theatrical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial and historical theses about mankind and the universe, for instances of economic and sociological theories of development, revolution, cultural personality, national or religious character (Said, 1978, pp. 7-8).

Such was the perceived difference between Europeans and Orientals, and such was the power differential between them, that Europeans came to feel that they could control, manipulate and even possess Orientals. For them to do so would even be, they

came to believe, to the benefit of Orientals. In this sense the Orient became synonymous with European domination and control (Said, 1978).

This kind of thinking fed powerfully into colonial and imperial discourses which "...carried forward the binary typology of advanced and backward or subjected races, cultures and societies" (Said, 1978, p. 206). There was a conviction that inferior, uncivilized peoples and areas ought to be occupied and controlled by those civilized and powerful. Such conceptualisations of difference and inferiority and superiority were used by whites to justify domination and control, colonialism and slavery (Keating, 1995; Said, 1978).

The European preoccupation with difference and the determination to mark 'us' off from 'them' is particularly well illustrated in the displaying of Sara Baartman in London in 1819. With the stage name the 'Hottentot Venus', Sara Baartman was born in the Cape colony in 1789 and was taken to London so that she could be shown to a curious and fascinated public, with special invitations being sent "...to scientists, naturalists and fashionable members of society" (Holmes, 2007, p. 5) as well as the president of the Royal Society.

The public showing was preceded by an advertisement in the *London Morning Herald*. The advertisement promised that Sara Baartman's "...contour and formation" would be sufficiently fascinating as to surpass "...anything of the kind ever seen in Europe or perhaps ever produced on the face of the earth" (Holmes, 2007, p. 1 citing the *London Morning Herald*, 30 April, 1811).

Hall (1997) observes that both in London and Paris (where she was also exhibited and eventually died of smallpox) Sara Baartman appealed to two kinds of audiences. To the general public she was a spectacle who was commemorated in various reports, cartoons and illustrations. Among naturalists and ethnologists, by contrast, she was analysed and scrutinized in every detail. Both audiences were particularly amazed by her diminutive size, her large protruding buttocks and enlargement of the labia caused speculatively by manipulation of the genitalia (Hall, 1997).

Sara Baartman was the very embodiment of difference, a difference which was distinctly pathologized since it represented such a "...pathological form of 'otherness'" (Hall, 1997, p. 265). She was compared with apes and orangutans and was considered to be

proof of an irreversible difference between races. She was infantilised and fetishised and granted no existence as a person.

Reports from explorers and colonial authorities in Africa were such that assumptions of racial hierarchies and notions of racial inferiority and superiority, which were perceived to be so powerfully seen, and so strongly supported by the showing of Sara Baartman could easily be corroborated (Wander et al., 1999). The situation was such that accounts reaching Europe from Africa were descriptive of a continent and peoples desperately in need of European civilization and control.

Several explanations were advanced to try to explain such difference. One was that Africans belonged to a different genealogical lineage. They were descendants of Ham who had been cursed in the Biblical account in Genesis to be the servants of others in perpetuity (Hall, 1997). Another was that humans were divided into distinctive racial types with some being superior to others. Whites were at the pinnacle of the hierarchy and blacks at the base. Yet another was that some humans had evolved further than others. Dyer (1997, p. 22) notes in this regard that a “Great Chain of Being”, the notion of which enjoyed a popular following during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, placed Africans just above apes with whites at the highest point of earthly creation. He adds that studies in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which focussed on race as ‘status’ and ‘class’ further reinforced the superiority of whites.

Hall (1997, p. 245) stresses that regardless of how racial differences were perceived and understood they were seen to be ‘natural’ in the sense that they were “...beyond history, permanent and fixed”. This made it possible to regard the status of Africans, as the servants or slaves of whites, as being part of the natural order of things and requiring no comment or explanation. Africans could also be regarded as innately primitive, being “...genetically incapable of ‘civilised’ refinements” (Hall, 1997, p. 244). They could, furthermore, be infantilised, even by white children, this also being a way of exerting control over them, especially in respect of the need to protect white women from what were regarded as the rampant sexual appetites of African men.

Such ideas and explanations of racial difference and associated notions of inferiority and superiority have subsequently been widely rejected by scholars. Apart from being regarded as being thoroughly unfounded they are seen as having been used to justify the worst possible racist atrocities and injustices (Hardiman, 1982; Holmes, 2007;

Wetherell, 1996). Race is now widely held to be nothing more than a social construct (De Cuir-Gunby, 2006; Du Bois, 1999 (1920), 2001 (1915); Locke, 1992 (1925); Omi & Winant, 1994). DeCuir-Gunby's (2006, p. 93) elaboration is that race is "...a socially and historically constructed ideological system that permeates all social, cultural, economic and political domains". As such it is a major determinant of power.

It follows that as a racial sub-category the category 'white people' is also a social construct (Bonnett, 2000; Hardiman, 1982; Leonardo, 2002; Moon, 1999; Steyn, 2001; White, 2012). To be labelled 'white' is to say that one possesses agreed upon phenotypical features associated with being white. Examples include skin colour, hair texture and facial features. Certain agreed to cultural aspects such as language and aesthetic forms and dietary types might also be included (Leonardo, 2002).

Whiteness is different from the category 'white people' and the following conceptualisation by McLaren (1998, p. 6) is immediately helpful.

Whiteness is a socio-historical form of consciousness, given birth at the nexus of capitalism, colonial rule, and the emergent relationships among dominant and subordinate groups. Whiteness constitutes and demarcates ideas, feelings, knowledge, social practices, cultural formations and systems of intelligibility that are identified with or attributed to white people as 'white'. Whiteness is...a lived domain of meaning...an ideological formation...which represents particular social and historical formations.

Several other scholars have reflected on the nature of whiteness. Leonardo (2002, p. 31) refers to it as "...a racial perspective or world view which shapes the interactions and paradigms of its members". McIntyre (1997) builds on this when she notes that as an ideology of white domination whiteness centres whites and marginalizes non-whites. Hollins (2000) observes that as it does so it draws on such core values as individualism, self-reliance, competition and materialism.

As a social construct the category 'white people' is not a fixed identity which is impervious to the context in which it is found (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Hage, 1998; Ignatiev, 1996; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; Roediger, 1994; Sacks, 1997). Marx (2006, p. 6) sees whiteness as "...an amalgamation of qualities including the cultures, histories, experiences, discourses and privileges shared by whites". Those who do not possess such an amalgamation are excluded from being regarded as 'white people' by the gatekeepers of the construct. The necessary qualities of whiteness may be acquired

by people over time however, depending on the socio-political circumstances which prevail in particular places at certain times. Delgado and Stefancic (2001, p. 77) speak, in this regard, of the "...the shifting and malleable nature" of the construct. I return to this further on.

In explaining whiteness, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998, p. 5) indicate that the notion of reason, which grew out of the European Enlightenment, emerged as the "...dominant impulse" in the construction of white identity. They explain that "...whiteness deployed reason - narrowly defined Eurocentric reason - as a form of disciplinary power that excludes those who do not meet its criteria for inclusion into the community of the socio-politically enfranchised" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998, p. 23). From this perspective, in colonial contexts following the Enlightenment, encounters with non-whites were framed in terms which had "...whiteness representing orderliness, rationality and self-control and non-whiteness indicating chaos, irrationality, violence and the breakdown of self-regulation" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998, p. 5).

Steyn (2001) argues that whiteness defined in this way is integral to the development by whites of a master narrative of whiteness which is such that whiteness is experienced by whites and others as a condition that both inhabits and defines normality. What this means is that whites see the world as having been constructed in their image and they do not see themselves as possessing racial identity as such (Bonnett, 2000; Dyer, 1997; Kapoor, 1999; Lopez, 2005; Marty, 1999; Rothenberg, 2012; Steyn, 2001; White, 2012). They see themselves instead as "...a defining, not a defined category" (Bonnett, 2000, p. 12). As Delgado and Stefancic (2001, p. 80) put it: "Whites do not see themselves as having a race, but being, simply, people. They do not believe that they think and reason from a white viewpoint but from a universally valid one - the truth - what everyone knows".

In many ways the essence of whiteness, and this has already been touched upon above, is that it captures the privilege which is the lot of those seen to be sufficiently white by the gatekeepers of whiteness. Those judged to be not white enough are excluded from the privileges of whiteness. McIntosh (1990, 1993, 1995, 1997) has led the way in contending that whites are the recipients of unearned privilege in that they are privileged simply because they are white. To be born white is to be born into a set of social structures and relationships which have been specifically set up by whites for the

benefit of white people. Whites are able to both inherit advantages from the past as well reap the benefits of on-going privilege. Such privilege has a material component, such as better housing and schooling provision, and a psychological component, such as being able to be free of negative stereotyping. Since whites do not see themselves as being raced they do not recognize such unearned privilege and the relations of domination and subordination that go with it. They believe that their position in society, the progress they make and the rewards they receive are due only to their own individual efforts. Many other scholars have written supportively in conceiving whiteness as privilege (Bell, 2000; Bradley, Golner, & Hanson, 2007; De Cuir-Gunby, 2006; Fox, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Manglity, 2003; Rains, 1998; Razack, 2002; Rothenberg, 2012; Solomon, Portelli, & Daniel, 2005; Wise, 2008).

Referring to the dominant hold whiteness has over the lives of people in the USA, McIntosh (1990, 1993, 1995, 1997) argues that the meritocracy that is available to whites is not available to non-whites and that this is because of the way that white power is built into the structure of American society. She notes, furthermore, that intersections between whiteness and other social markers serve to add to the privilege enjoyed by certain white people. Thus white, male, heterosexual and middle or upper class individuals, for example, are extra privileged.

Whiteness is so strongly associated with privilege and rights and power that it can be regarded as a form of property ownership in its own right (Harris, 1993). Referring also to the situation in the USA, Harris (1993) reminds her readers of the history of ownership by whites of black slaves, the extermination of indigenous Indians and the confiscation of their land along with widespread race-based oppression and segregation. In such a climate whites were supremely privileged and powerful. Advantage was strongly stacked in their favour, so much so that whiteness became a form of property. In supporting this position, Bell (1987) points to the tension in American society between property rights and human rights. He notes that successive American governments lacked incentives to secure the human rights of black Americans who were constructed as property to be possessed and owned during the period of slavery.

Conceived of as property, various property functions of whiteness have been identified. Rights of disposition are conferred. These refer to those property rights which are

transferable, as in the case of students being rewarded for conformity to perceived white norms. Another group of rights are those which grant access to specific social, cultural and economic advantages. Reputation and status rights are those which protect whiteness against being defamed by being associated with blackness, while rights to exclude refer to those which protect white spaces and facilities (Bell, 1987, 2000; De Cuir-Gunby, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

A significant function of whiteness conceived of as property is to confer and maintain the 'social capital' and 'cultural capital' that whites possess (Yosso, 2006). Such forms of capital were conceived of by Bourdieu (1986), with 'cultural capital' consisting of such cultural facets as taste, attitudes, dispositions, language and accents, qualifications and skills, and 'social capital' referring to the degree to which benefits accrue to individuals by virtue of them being connected to particular social groups, such as families or schools or ethnic groups. Bourdieu (1986) contends that it is differences in capital conceived in these terms that mark off differences between classes. Drawing on this, Yosso (2006, p. 168) observes that "...the knowledges of the upper and middle classes are considered capital valuable to a hierarchical society". As this is applied to whiteness the reference is to its content, to the norms it generates, to "...the ways of understanding history, ways of thinking about self and other, and even ways of thinking about the notion of culture itself" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 231). Thus equipped, whites are able to purchase advantage and privilege while those who do not possess the requisite capital are seen in deficit terms.

It relevant to note at this juncture, some of the ways in which white privilege can be recognized in the daily living experiences of white people. These are important in that they constitute the substance of white identity and also serve as a manifestation of the expression of whiteness as a social marker. Writing of the privileged lives of white Americans, McIntosh (1990) describes their privileges as being contained in an invisible 'knapsack'. These are unearned and unrecognized by whites and can be readily drawn upon on a daily basis.

Examples of the contents of the 'knapsack' are considered here in order to give substance to McIntosh's depiction. Certain of the privileges are economic in nature. Most whites, for example, can be confident of being able to purchase a home in an area of their choice and of being welcomed by their neighbours. They can be assured that

their skin colour alone will not count against them in respect of their financial standing when applying for a loan to secure their purchase. An additional point which is also made by Howell (1998) is that American whites are far more likely to be in higher paid employment and to enjoy more employment security than non-whites. They know that they are not appointed for reasons of affirmative action and benefit considerably from the notion that competency and efficiency is widely held to be associated with white people being in charge.

Certain of the privileges in McIntosh's invisible 'knapsack' are cultural in nature. American whites can confidently expect their language and culture to be well represented in the daily media and in the nature and variety of goods they regularly purchase. Examples include foodstuffs, magazines, toys, greeting cards and books. Of particular significance is that they also know that they can expect the nation's schools to represent and reinforce their language and culture. Such is the confidence whites feel about their own culture, furthermore, that they are easily able to marginalise non-whites by disregarding their languages and cultures. These are dismissed as being backward and inferior (hooks, 1994).

It is McIntosh's contention that the privileges contained in the invisible 'knapsack' are regularly reinforced by messages white Americans receive about their national heritage. The notion of 'being American' equates with being white, and both whites and non-whites are constantly told that it is white Americans who made America what it is. This is discussed more fully further on. Further privileges are added to the 'knapsack' as a result. One is that when they are pulled over on the road whites can be assured that it is not because of their race. Another is that they do not need to be made acutely aware that their shape or bearing or how they smell will be taken as a reflection of their race, or that being late for a meeting is a reflection of the same. Non-whites are unable to draw on such assurances and this speaks loudly to issues of national identity and national belonging (McIntosh, 1990).

While these are American examples it can be safely assumed, given the degree to which whiteness has become internationalised, that there will be broad similarities with whites in other settings. A little further on I refer to the privileged lifestyles whites in post-mastery colonial locations are still able to enjoy. My own privilege is a distinctive thread which runs through my narrative and my analysis of the same. Much of what I

have to say about the topic, not least in Chapter 7, where I consider the relevance of my study, is informed by the discussion which has taken place here.

It is relevant to ask at this juncture whether all whites receive privilege in the same ways. To answer this question it is necessary to consider various gradations of whiteness. In this regard it is argued by Bonnett (2000) that in its most mobilised form whiteness is a bourgeois construct. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Britain it was bourgeois whites who positioned themselves as being 'hyper-white', "...the phenotype of civilisation" (Bonnett, 2000, p. 32). Bourgeois whiteness symbolised a healthy, vigorous form of civilisation. It was ambitious and expansionist and inherently capitalist. It was the form of whiteness which has been "...historically complicit in the oppression, colonisation and outright genocide of non-white peoples all over the world" (Lopez, 2005, p. 18).

The explanation for this, according to Bonnett (2000), is that prior to the emergence of racial science and the advent of Empire and colonialism, a pre-modern non-bourgeois notion of whiteness existed in Britain. It was sometimes associated with purity and religious devotion and often with the aristocracy whose members were considered to lead such sheltered and privileged lives that their blood could be seen flowing in their veins. Bonnett (2000, p. 32) explains further that as the bourgeois rose to prominence so the aristocracy came to be seen in corrupted terms "...as a metaphor for the decadence of the upper class", a people who were without drive and energy, "...without blood, dusty and crumbling".

As bourgeois whites developed their master narrative of whiteness, key intersections with gender, sexuality, Christianity and nationality emerged. In respect of the first, bourgeois women were required to be pure and genteel, industrious and submissive to their husbands (Moon, 1999), who in turn were expected to be loyal and brave, the authors and constructors of bourgeois identity, nation, realm and Empire (Dyer, 1997; Randall, 1982).

Sexuality was difficult for the gatekeepers of whiteness to deal with. It was associated with the 'dark', and as such, was projected on to the dark races, with African men portrayed as being unable to control their sexual appetites (Dyer, 1997; Jansen, 2009). White men had the 'dark' within them but also a white spirit which placed them near to God and gave them possession of a spiritual light which enabled them to keep base

sexual instincts, which they possessed as men, under control. This was a key determining feature of their whiteness (Dyer, 1997). Such control was couched within a compulsory framework of heterosexuality (Halperin, 2003), the church having had much to do with the creation of this expectation (Giddens, 1993). Bourgeois women were supposed to have no sex drives at all, their role model being the pure Virgin Mary (Dyer, 1997). They were seen as having the responsibility of reproducing bourgeois whiteness and of satisfying their husband's sexual desires. In this capacity, they had to be protected by their white men from any form of sexual contact with African men (Dyer, 1997).

In respect of the intersection between bourgeois whiteness and Christianity, Biblical and theological teachings were used to justify notions of white bourgeois superiority (Steyn, 2001). The Biblical account in Genesis of Noah cursing his son Ham, to whom reference has already been made, for example, was widely used to justify notions of racial 'otherness' and to explain away ideas of slavery and human inequality (Banton, 1989; Hall, 1997; Steyn, 2001). The theological dualism of good (symbolised by God) and evil (symbolised by the devil) furthermore, was also important in linking good and light on the one hand, and bad and dark on the other (Steyn, 2001). Whites came to believe that this kind of association gave them moral authority. Many Christian missionaries justified their work and teachings in Africa on this kind of thinking (Steyn, 2001).

hooks (1994) writes of a similar master narrative of whiteness which has been developed by bourgeois whites in the USA. She contends that while white Americans, like non-white Americans, are taught and encouraged to see American society as a democratic space in which all are equal, it is bourgeois whiteness which is invested with the social and cultural capital of the form of whiteness which symbolizes all that the American dream has come to mean. It is all powerful and is the whiteness of domination and oppression.

Working class whites in both Britain (Bonnett, 2000; Moon, 1999) and the USA (hooks, 1994) were historically denied access to bourgeois whiteness on the grounds that they did not possess the necessary social traits. In the case of Britain they were perceived to be somewhat darker than bourgeois and upper class whites (Bonnett, 2000; Dyer, 1997) and they also lived in industrial cities where they were obliged to live alongside

migrants from less desirable parts of Europe (Bonnett, 2000). In the case of the USA, class and race have been similarly conflated. White has been synonymous with bourgeois whiteness (hooks, 1994) while whites of a darker complexion were well represented among the working classes, many of whom had southern and eastern European origins and were not regarded as being white when they first arrived in the USA (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998). Some whites were granted access to whiteness with the passage of time, however. I discuss this further on when I show how race and nationalism have been conflated.

Some whites have been labelled with the epithet 'white trash' (Allison, 1998; Hage, 1998; Hartigan, 2005; Howard, 2004; Newitz & Wray, 1997a, 1997b; Pitcher, 2009; Wray, 2006). Hartigan (2005) observes that if nothing else this is a label that serves as a reminder that there are important class divisions within whiteness. In common usage, in the context of the USA, the term overlaps with terms such as 'cracker', 'lubber', 'hillbilly', 'okie', and 'redneck', depending on the geographical area of origin, while examples of comparative terms in other parts of the world include 'chav' in Britain, and 'bogan' in Australia. Regardless of where they come from, these are whites who are much maligned by dominant whites to the degree that they have become white 'others', with whites using such stereotypes as dirty, poor, ignorant, violent, incestuous and deviant to bolster and defend their whiteness (Wray, 2006). In the USA the defence has often gone as far as members of the group being referred to as white niggers and being regarded as not quite human (Allison, 1998).

Wray (2006) explains how in the USA the eugenics movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Hookworm movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were important historically in delineating the group and offering competing explanations for the difference between such whites and dominant whites. He observes that the epithet speaks to the tension between race and class, with 'white' being the racial signifier and 'trash' the signifier of class status. In this sense, Newitz and Wray (1997a, p. 4) comment that white trash "...speaks to the hybrid and multiple nature of identity" and the ways in which people's selves "...are formed and shaped by often contradictory and conflicting relations of social power".

Despite its derogatory connotations the term is often used self-referentially by those with whom it is associated to anchor their own sense of who they are. It is invariably the

case that this is bound up in some way with them either seeing themselves as victims, of affirmative action, for example, or as a people seeking the kinds of coherent identities they see other minorities presenting (Newitz & Wray, 1997a, 1997b; Pitcher, 2009).

It is the case, nevertheless, that the substratum of whiteness to which those who carry the label are exiled is still a privileged one (Allison, 1998; Hage, 1998; Howard, 2004; Pitcher, 2009). Writing of the experience of upward social mobility of a group of 'Okies', Allison (1998, p. 242) notes that they were the beneficiaries of racism in that "...they were pushed by people of colour up the social hierarchy" into the middleclass. The suggestion is that those who are labelled 'white trash' are never permanently unwhitened and that even 'white trash' has power. It is the privilege conferred by whiteness that is the key.

It is worth noting that in the same way whites who are classified as working class, as distinct from those are 'white trash', are also able to benefit from the power and privilege associated with their being white. Writing of working class whites in the USA, Wise (2008, p. x) is supportive of this when he observes that:

Although whites are often poor their poverty does not alter the fact that, relative to poor and working class persons of colour, they typically have a leg up. In fact studies suggest that working class whites are typically better off in terms of assets and net worth than even middle class blacks with far higher incomes, due to past familial advantages.

Whilst I discuss the presence of 'poor whites' in South Africa further on it is appropriate to mention them here as well because there are distinct similarities between them and 'white trash' in America. Malherbe (1981, p. 119) refers to them as "...a menace to the self-preservation and prestige of our white people". Upliftment programmes by successive Afrikaner dominated National Party governments led to many being 'rewhitened' and being able to benefit fully from whiteness (Cilliers, 2008; Giliomee, 2003; Malherbe, 1981; Sparks, 1990). It is relevant to note that most were Afrikaners (Giliomee, 2003). This too is discussed later but it is appropriate to mention it here since it is an example of whites being distinguished from each other on the basis of language and culture in addition to class. English speaking white South Africans, who enjoyed political and economic power until 1948 when they lost political power to the white Afrikaner nationalists, attached a stigma of negativity, ignorance and poverty to all Afrikaners who were regarded as being not as white as they were (Sparks, 1990).

Links between whiteness and nationalism have been hinted at in the discussion thus far and it is now appropriate to explore them further. It is observed by several scholars, such as Chennault (1998), Dyer (1997), Ignatiev (1996), Rodriguez (1998) and Roediger (2002), that in the case of the USA, for example, the millions of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who arrived in the country between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 1920s were initially regarded, by whites born in the country and older immigrants, as being not white enough to secure citizenship status in that certain of their cultural features and working attitudes and behaviours were seen as being similar to Africans. In time such immigrants, along with Jews and the Irish, whose racial status also came under scrutiny, were granted whiteness as they became Americans. Americanisation and the whitening of immigrants was an entangled process which conferred both new national status and a new racial identity upon the people concerned (Chennault, 1998; Dyer, 1997; Ignatiev, 1996; Rodriguez, 1998; Roediger, 2002). Significantly, this process greatly strengthened the social and economic position of whites in relation to imported blacks and indigenous Indians (Dyer, 1997).

Class was integrally involved in this process for to be American was to have access to an American standard of living, resting as this did on what were considered to be white men's wages (Chennault, 1998; Roediger, 2002). It is not surprising to read, therefore that once immigrants had attained American and white status it was prized enormously since, apart from anything else, it conferred considerable advantage. This was so especially in respect of employment prospects as race-based struggles over jobs were typical of long periods of American history (Chennault, 1998; Harris, 1993; Roediger, 2002). It is significant to mention also that fears by English speaking white Americans that they would be swamped by 'less pure' admixtures introduced by the arrival of other Europeans, and their living standards threatened, lead to the curtailing of immigration from the 1920s (Dyer, 1997).

It is against this backdrop that an understanding of the conceptualisation of whiteness as property is enhanced. In the climate described above it was crucial to be white for it was whites who had privilege and power so heavily stacked in their favour. Hage (1998) writes, in this regard, of whiteness as a form of national capital which is made up of looks, accent, demeanour and tastes, for example. New arrivals accumulated such capital in time and were able to convert it into a symbolic capital which conferred national belonging upon them.

It is clear from the example of the USA that in striving for national belonging immigrants were striving for whiteness. The same is true of other national contexts in the world's white empire. In Australia, for example, whiteness has been made the invisible Australian norm. A colourless Australian identity is celebrated but because of the invisibility of whiteness the identity in question automatically ties being Australian to being white (Kelen, 2005). In discussing this further Kelen (2005) indicates that history before the arrival of whites is denied and whites have effectively written themselves in as natives. To maintain Australian whiteness immigration has been tightly controlled in the past (Anderson, 2002; Hollinsworth, 1998) and while many immigrants have striven for whiteness and been granted it, there remains a sense in which authentic Australianness is white British Australianness (Hollinsworth, 1998). In writing the Aboriginal people out of this, and to justify doing so, they have been powerfully constructed as inferior so that they can be effectively silenced (Kelen, 2005; Stephenson, 1997).

Links between whiteness and nationalism can also be detected in the construction of white Rhodesian nationalism. Whilst this nationalism is also discussed in detail further on it is relevant to mention here that Portuguese whites entering Rhodesia from Mozambique as immigrants were initially a concern to the Rhodesian authorities because of their dark complexion. They were eventually granted whiteness as they became Rhodesian citizens and they were welcomed as a means of strengthening white Rhodesian nationalism in the face of a persistent threat from African nationalism (Caute, 1983). Rhodesians were similarly concerned, in the earlier history of Rhodesia, about whether Afrikaner immigrants from South Africa could be accorded the status of whites, this because of their different language and culture and also because of the stigma of South Africa's 'poor whites' being mostly Afrikaners (Shutz, 1973).

In a similar vein programmes by the Afrikaner dominated National Party in South Africa to uplift 'poor whites' and draw them into full whiteness were integral to its nation building endeavours. Also integral were attempts to reach out to English speaking white South Africans in the face of growing opposition to apartheid so that a common white South African national identity could be forged (Sparks, 1990).

It is clear from the discussion of the foregoing examples of the conflation between whiteness and nationalism that the category 'white person' is non-biological. It is a highly fluid identity, a social construct, and it is not seamless and unified.

It is appropriate to add to the above discussion a consideration of colonialism since whites have, to very large degree, created themselves as possessors of whiteness by setting themselves off against the racial others they encountered in their various colonial settings (Apter, 2007; Beddard, 2000; Chennault, 1998; Ferguson, 2006; Gillborn, 2007; Giroux, 1998; Hall, 1996; Holmes, 2007; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; McLaren, 1998; Said, 1978). Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998, p. 6) capture the essence of what has been involved when they explain that in order for whiteness to maintain its dominant position it has had "...to construct pervasive portraits of non-whites (Africans in particular) as irrational, disorderly and prone to uncivilized behaviour". Whiteness has, in short, constructed itself by producing and marginalizing others. It did so with particular zeal in its dealings with its 'others' in the colonies, most particularly its African colonies (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998).

Africa as a continent has been constructed by whites in extremely negative terms (Apter, 2007; Ferguson, 2006; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; Mbembe, 2001; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Rutherford, 2001; Stowe, 1996; Woodson, 1933). Africa "...has served as a metaphor of absence, a dark continent against which the lightness of western civilization can be pictured" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 2). It has been portrayed as a continent "...of lacks and absences, failings and problems, plagues and catastrophe" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 2), a "...bottomless abyss where everything is noise, a yawning gap and primordial chaos (Mbembe, 2001, p. 3). Apter (2007) builds on this imagery when he asserts that Africa's pre-colonial history has been constructed by whites to suit themselves. Where necessary they exaggerated the pre-colonial negatives so as to cast colonial rule favourably and even necessary. A refusal by Rhodesian whites to credit Africans with having built the intricate stone buildings of Great Zimbabwe (referred to by them as the 'Zimbabwe Ruins') and the assigning of the origins, in official texts, to the work of early Arabs or Phoenicians, is a good example of the refusal to acknowledge the presence of anything worthwhile in Africa before the whites arrived (Rutherford, 2001).

As the process of colonialism got underway, driven as it was by the need for raw materials in industrializing Europe (L'Ange, 2005), and by a belief by Europeans that they were morally obliged to spread their civilization, technology and Christianity (Apter, 2007; Ferguson, 2006; Rutherford, 2001; Said, 1978), whites were faced with a dilemma. While it was possible to 'other' certain whites at home in Europe it was difficult to do the same in African and Asian colonies, for there it was necessary to present themselves to their racial 'others' as a strong united imperial race, despite the fact that behind the scenes class divides may have existed (Bonnett, 2000; Kennedy, 1987; Wander et al., 1999). All whites were those who would lead humanity forward because of their leadership ability, their determination and their far sightedness and drive. All whites needed to be invested with whiteness simply because they were white and they were so heavily outnumbered by non-whites (Bonnett, 2000; Kennedy, 1987; Wander et al., 1999).

Lamb (2004, p. 10) captures this well when she quotes from a letter written in 1914 by an eccentric British aristocrat, Sir Stewart Gore-Brown, to his aunt in England. Gore-Brown had not been in the colony of Northern Rhodesia for long and he writes of some of his first impressions in the following terms:

The most remarkable thing of all is the sensation of British rule and frankly it stirs you. When the magistrate sits up in the courthouse, trying men for murders, rapes, witchcraft and such like primitive things, absolute governor of 20 000 wild black men who he never sets eyes on and then turns to you and says 'You see it is all bluff, I have only one white native commissioner and 10 native policemen and there is not the slightest reason anyone should do what I tell him'. And yet the same magistrate is merely an ordinary Scotsman, not by any means a gentleman but an enthusiast and real ruler of men.

While the "ordinary Scotsman" was not "...by any means a gentleman", he had to be portrayed as if he was. He certainly had as much power at his disposal as a gentleman in his position would have. I refer to Sir Stewart Gore-Brown again when analysing my narrative in Chapter 6.

It was white men in particular who featured in the imagination of empire and who set themselves up as having the superior white identity. White women in colonial settings were cast as their 'others', being required to play subordinate and supportive roles so as to maintain and produce patriarchy and colonial power (Bonnett, 2000; Dyer, 1997;

Supriya, 1999). As they did so they were expected to fulfil a civilizing function through their example of social refinement. They were always secure of their social position, regardless of their class background, in relation to non-whites whom they 'othered'.

It was white women who served also as the conscience of empire when they believed the 'natives' were being unfairly treated (Dyer, 1997). Furthermore, they played a role in disturbing the sexuality of the colonies, curtailing, especially as white settlement numbers increased, white men's sexual use of non-white women and also introducing notions of obligation and mutuality into colonial heterosexual relations (Dyer, 1997). It is significant in this regard that miscegenation came, in time, to be strongly outlawed in colonial settings as white authorities strove to protect white purity (Dyer, 1997; Morrell, 2001; Supriya, 1999).

It was not long however, before the interest of Europeans in their African colonies began to decline. It could be detected shortly before the Second World War and was related to difficulties of control and administration in return for smaller than anticipated material gains (Arnold, 2005; Meredith, 2005). The war itself ensured a further and more substantial decline in interest. Worthy of particular note for my purposes was a significant challenge to whiteness itself. Germany, for all the Nazi claims to Aryan superiority, was eliminated from the colonial scene, as was Italy. French losses in Europe challenged the relationship between France and those it had colonised in Africa while, for all that Britain might have gained, she still lost to the Japanese, who were regarded as non-whites, at Singapore. Africans, thousands of whom had had exposure to the world beyond Africa by the end of the war, saw for themselves that Europeans were not automatically accepted as superior beyond the boundaries of Africa (Arnold, 2005). Another consideration was the signing of the North Atlantic Charter, by Britain and the USA, supporting the rights of all peoples to choose their own government, which African nationalists began to use to support their own claims to national rights. The shifting of the balance of power, after the war, away from Europe towards the USA and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was also important (Meredith, 2005).

Despite challenges and shifts in the balance of power such as these, whiteness has continued to dominate international centres of economic, cultural, political and social power (Lopez, 2005; Razack, 2002; Shome, 1999; Steyn, 2005). It has become

thoroughly internationalized, having been “...historically sustained by the forces of imperialism and global capitalism” (Shome, 1999, p. 108). Rapid decolonisation occurred in the 1950s and 1960s but in former colonial locations whiteness has remained a power laden formation which privileges, secures and normalises the economic and cultural spaces occupied by whites despite the departure, in most instances, of the vast majority of whites (Lopez, 2005; Preston, 2007; Shome, 1999; Steyn, 2005).

Lopez (2005) reports that there are several instances where whites who have remained in post-mastery colonial locations have begun to interrogate themselves with regard to their oppression of their former colonial subjects. A new narrative of whiteness is emerging as they do so. A defining feature of this narrative is that whites are learning to ‘be with’, formerly colonised peoples in new ways. (Lopez, 2005, p. 6) cites Heidegger’s notion of ‘mitsein’ in this regard. A new anti-racism is being balanced with previous racism as those who were slaves and colonial subjects now become fellow citizens. This has relevance for what I say later about whites in the southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience staying on in their home countries and working through new ways of being white. It certainly has relevance for me in my personal capacity.

It is the case, however, that while the political status of such whites has changed radically whiteness remains behind, as has been noted above, in the former colonial spaces where they now live. This has put them in a situation of being still in power, effectively, for the residue of whiteness is a power laden formation which continues to privilege them (Lopez, 2005). Whiteness is seen (apart from the physical presence of whites still being noticeable) in many cultural and ideological features that continue to reflect the colonial presence. As examples, Lopez (2005) makes mention of the presence of colonial languages and distinctive colonial influences in education systems and administrative infrastructures. Shome (1999) writes in support of this when she reports on the on-going presence of whiteness in the languages of instruction in schools as well as in the areas of knowledge construction and dissemination and curriculum construction. A further dimension of continuing white power is seen in instances where whites still own land since this both secures their presence and gives them a degree of control over African people (Fox, 2012; Razack, 2002; Schick, 2002). Yet another dimension is contained in the fact that many whites are able to exercise their right to move on, because of their citizenship of other countries, if conditions become

intolerable for them (Razack, 2002). They are able to keep at bay those who might threaten their mastery. Blackness, in relation to this dimension of whiteness is seen as "... static and immobilizing" (Razack, 2002, p.20).

A further example of the lingering heritage of whiteness in former colonial settings is seen in the degree to which whiteness acts as a cultural trope in the sense that non-whites in former colonial settings continue to be attracted to the phenotypical characteristics of whiteness. Several scholars have highlighted the importance of a light skin colour, straight hair and European-like features as powerful determinants of status and wealth among non-whites (Byrd & Tharps, 2001; De Cuir-Gunby, 2006; Gatewood, 2000; Hernandez, 2000; Hunter, 2002; Lopez, 2005). Hunter (2002) speaks of such features as constituting a kind of social capital which adds significantly to white power and privilege. The same can be said of the copying of European dress codes and clothing fashions (Bhabha, 1994).

In seeking to understand the persistence of whiteness in former colonial spaces account should also be taken of the fact that development and development related issues throughout the world continue to be seen in white terms. Development continues to be conceptualised in white western terms and development aid has a largely white, western source. This has the on-going effect of facilitating the process by which whiteness lingers in former colonial settings and even of securing a continuing hegemony (Kapoor, 1999).

The stubborn persistence of whiteness in former colonial spaces is such that in addition to learning to be 'mitsein' whites living in these spaces need to try to dis-identify with whiteness, as has been explained earlier, whilst still living in spaces where whiteness persists as a cultural norm. This means that at the very least they need to try to join those in the metropolitan centres of whiteness who try to live as self-reflectively as possible as their contribution is made to dislodging whiteness from its position as "...an invisible omnipotent arbiter of world culture" (Lopez, 2005, p. 24). This thinking is expanded upon further on.

It is widely acknowledged in the literature on whiteness that if the hegemonizing influence of whiteness is to be ended and the dominating and oppressive master narrative of whiteness undermined whiteness itself has to be made visible and critically interrogated (see for example, Alcoff, 2006; Bakhtin, 1993; Bonnett, 2000; Dyer, 1997;

Hardiman, 1982; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; hooks, 1989, 1990, 1997; Lopez, 2005; Mazzei, 2008; McIntosh, 1990, 1993, 1995, 1997; Roediger, 2002; Scheurich, 1993; Shome, 1999; Steyn, 2005; White, 2012; Yancy, 2008). An important starting point is that whites need to recognize that they are raced. Then they will be able to begin to recognize the degree to which their being white affects their thinking, their behaviour, their attitudes and the decisions they make. They will begin to recognize the degree to which they have been, and continue to be, privileged and tied to structures of domination and oppression (Alcoff, 2006; Bakhtin, 1993; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; McKaiser, 2012; Scheurich, 1993; White, 2012; Yancy, 2008). They will see that white racism lies not, as the liberals would have it, in individual acts of hate and meanness but in invisible systems and structures in society which confer dominance (Alcoff, 2006; Bledstein, 1978; Bradley et al., 2007; hooks, 1989, 1990, 1994; Scheurich, 1993; Yancy, 2008).

It is important, in this, to dislodge the notion of individualism that liberal whites hold on to; the idea that if I do well in life it is because of my own efforts and choices alone (hooks, 1989; McIntosh, 1990, 1993, 1997; Scheurich, 1993). Whites need to acknowledge that in addition to what they may have done or do for themselves the fact that they are white gives them a head start over non-whites for whom any notion of a meritocracy in society is out of reach. The problem with focusing on white individual effort alone is that "...we lose sight of the multiple effects of our membership of a favoured social group" (Scheurich, 1993, p. 8).

In celebrating individualism liberal multi-culturalism masks the degree to which whites benefit from such exclusive group membership and so it too needs to be dislodged (Bradley et al., 2007; Dei, 2000; hooks, 1989, 1994). The idea of such a multi-culturalism, according to hooks (1994, p. 31) is "...one of a comforting melting of cultural diversity, the rainbow coalition where we would all be grouped together in our difference, but everyone wearing the same have a nice day smile". Such a superficial celebration of difference makes it possible for whiteness, and the privilege, power and domination associated with it, to remain invisible and thus uninterrogated (Bradley et al., 2007; Crenshaw, 1995; Dei, 2000; hooks, 1989, 1992; Solomon et al., 2005). The notion of colour-blindness (where the focus is on just seeing people and on seeing everyone as equal) which is also integral to the liberal position, has the same effect (Berry, 1995; Powell, 1997; Solomon et al., 2005).

For some scholars the way to undermine whiteness is for whites to choose against whiteness and become a race traitor to it. Whites need to deviate and defy the rules of whiteness, so much so that whiteness is eventually abolished. This is a strategy which involves whites distancing themselves from whiteness. It is a radical position built around the premise that to undermine and dislodge whiteness is to serve humanity well. Scholars in this camp include Ignatiev and Garvey (1996); Lopez, (1996); McLaren (1997); and Stowe (1996).

Many scholars, including Austin (2001); Giroux (1997b); Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998); Lipshitz (1995); Roediger (1994); Rutherford, (1990); Sullivan (2007); Wise (2008); and Yancy (2008) disagree with the notion of whites opting out of their whiteness. For them this seems like too easy a path for those who do not want assume responsibility for their privilege and their being implicated in domination and oppression. Lipshitz (1995) adds that whites could not fully renounce whiteness anyway for doing so would not prevent them from continuing to be accorded privilege as white people. Forcing whites into guilt and victimhood would be of no value either. A position which situates whites as guilt ridden victims could lead to anger, despair and withdrawal and so be counterproductive (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; Rodriguez, 1998; Wise, 2008).

Denial also has to be removed, for as Wise (2008, p. 69) insists, "...if racism is ever to be finally overcome we (whites)...will have to stop lying to ourselves". Similarly, ignorance cannot be tolerated. Given my focus on southern Africa it is relevant at this juncture to note Steyn's (2012) recent work on the social construction of ignorance among whites in South Africa. This is discussed in more detail further on.

The preferred position of scholars such as Austin (2001); Giroux (1997b); Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998); Lipshitz (1995); Roediger (1994); Rothenberg (2012); Rutherford (1990); Sullivan (2007); Wise (2008); and Yancy (2008) is that whites need to acknowledge their advantage, set themselves within it and work to undermine and dislodge white hegemony from there. It is in this sense that I have elected to use the term dis-identify (Pecheux, 1982) as explained earlier. A key starting point in undermining and dislodging from within is that whiteness needs to be made visible to whites, not least their own whiteness and the degree to which they have all been complicit in the oppression of others. As whites begin to acknowledge their privilege they will begin to see the 'otherness' of themselves (Rutherford, 1990) and see the need

to listen to non-whites. As they do so a process of dialogical engagement begins (Wise, 2008) and new, affirmational, emancipatory identities have the potential to emerge.

Austin (2001) develops a similar line of thinking by drawing on Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) notion of 'identity trauma'. Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' refer to the tension and trauma individuals go through when they experience something which is confusing and difficult to understand. When individuals have difficulty reconciling what they experience with who they have understood themselves to be, and as the certainties of the past are increasingly eroded, 'identity trauma' sets in as they become uncertain and anxious and even distressed. As settled identities are traumatised they are opened to reformulation and reconstruction on an on-going, sustainable basis (Giroux, 1997b).

Drawing on this, Austin (2001) contends that whites may experience confusion and trauma when they initially realise that they are racialised. Like Giroux (1997b) he is of the view that the associated trauma can be a powerful pedagogical tool in that whites can learn to re-orientate their whiteness as they unlearn the histories and ideologies of old and move into a position of being able to renegotiate their whiteness as a productive force. New white identities are born of such re-articulation.

Critical pedagogy, which is discussed in detail further on, has the potential to contribute richly to the development of such a sustainable identity (Austin, 2001; Giroux, 1997b). Such pedagogy should move individuals' identity trauma to a deeper level of understanding. There needs to be a deliberate engaging of the trauma and the tensions involved in the unsettling of identities and this needs to have a consciousness raising effect. Austin and Hickey (2008) take this further when they suggest that there is a case to be made for critical pedagogues generating discomfort and prompting moments of bafflement in the interests of the promotion of social justice. Conscientisation is key and, interestingly, they regard autoethnographic exploration as having much to offer in this regard.

The interesting and significant point is made by Austin (2001) that whites who engage in the process of identity reconstruction and who become part of supportive pedagogic programmes can always withdraw and revert to a situation where they reclaim the privilege and protection of whiteness. Austin (2001, p. 217) explains that this "...is both the power and the problematic of whiteness".

While it is important for new sustainable white identities to emerge it is equally important for new non-white identities to emerge since there is such a close symbiotic relationship between the two. As Austin and Hickey (2008, p. 135) put it whites should seek "...to examine the Self as much as the Other. In developing this Austin (2001) draws on the work of Bhabha (1990) to explain that what is ultimately needed is a situation in which whiteness shrinks from its centre stage position of constantly being able to define those who occupy what the same whiteness creates as the margin. The point is that white and non-white identities need to be able to move beyond them each feeding and sustaining the other. What is needed as a goal is an identity space which "...exists outside the dualism of Centre-Margin relationship" (Austin, 2001, p.220). This is Bhabha's (1990) notion of third space.

Also important in the dislodging of white hegemony is to acknowledge that while a distinct internationalization of whiteness exists there is also a need to particularize it so that it can be historicised and spatialised and its local variants recognized. This means that if whiteness is to be properly understood it has to be interrogated at both the 'centre', in Europe and North America, and in its many diasporic localised settings (Bonnett, 2000; Lopez, 2005; Shome, 1999; Steyn, 2005), such as the southern African geopolitical spaces of my study. This is the kind of approach I have sought to follow in the undertaking of this study.

While it is the case, as has been made clear during the course of the discussion above, that whites do not see their whiteness, non-whites certainly do see that by which they have been marginalised (Apter, 2007; Frankenberg, 1993; Scheurich, 1993; West, 1993). As Scheurich (1993, pp. 5-6) puts it "...non-whites are constantly reminded by words, deeds and gestures that they are out-group members", so much so that they have "...come to experience themselves collectively and historically as being treated differently". The many guises of white privilege serve to enhance the notion of different treatment, while the attractiveness of the phenotypical characteristics of whiteness to non-whites serves to add to the visibility of whiteness. Difference and visibility are, furthermore, reinforced by the history, certainly in the case of the USA, of white ownership of blacks (Bell, 1987; Harris, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1998) and by the fact that whiteness itself is seen as constituting a form of property ownership. hooks' (1999) point that non-whites see whites because they fear them is especially pertinent in this

regard. I discuss the fear of whites by non-whites in the Rhodesian and South African contexts in some detail further on in Chapter 6.

Whiteness was particularly visible to the non-whites of colonial settings. Magubane (2004) makes the observation that from the earliest colonial times non-whites were never completely trusting of the motives of Christian missionaries, often seeing them as also having materialistic agendas. Lending weight to this is Bashkow's (2006) observation that the Orakawa people of New Guinea viewed the accumulation of wealth by whites with much suspicion. Also relevant is Magubane's (2004, p. 113) observation that whites made themselves visible by insisting that Africans in their colonies should show respect "...with restrained and respectful eyes". The insistence was such that whites believed they could control the black gaze and by doing so maintain their superiority and control (Bhabha, 1994; hooks, 1994; Magubane, 2004). That blacks gazing upon whites became, in time, "...oppositional, a means of contestation and confrontation and a critical part of the politics of refusal", serves to further reinforce the notion that whiteness was anything but invisible to non-whites Magubane (2004, p. 113). Whites also made themselves visible during the colonial period by making no attempt to hide the privileged life styles they lead along with the superior facilities they had access to in their separate spatial enclaves of privilege (Hughes, 2010; Kalaora, 2011; Lamb, 2004; Pilosoff, 2012; Razack, 2002; Rutherford, 2001; Uusihakala, 1999).

Whiteness is visible to non-whites in the post-colonial period as well, this being part of the very nature of whiteness. Whites are visible by their continued, if reduced, physical presence. They are visible because of their continued ownership of land and their on-going occupation of privileged spatial enclaves, not only because of the physical presence which is marked, but also because this is seen in somewhat threatening terms by non-whites (Hughes, 2010; Kalaora, 2011; Pilosoff, 2012; Rutherford, 2001; Uusihakala, 1999). Finally, as has been noted above, whiteness is also made visible by the links whites continue to maintain with global whiteness and by the positions they hold within corporate organisations. The fact that to be white continues to be an aspirational identity also serves to make whiteness very visible.

Having reviewed the literature on whiteness as a social construct, I now proceed to interrogate the social reproduction of whiteness via education, prior to explaining the

'spatial turn' of my study and then interrogating the reproduction of whiteness via education in each of the three geopolitical spaces of my southern African experience.

### 2.3. WHITENESS, SPACE AND EDUCATION: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 18) opine that a conceptual or theoretical framework is a written or visual presentation that explains "...either graphically, or in narrative form, the main things to be studied: the key factors, concepts or variables and the presumed relationship among them". I give an exposition of the social reproduction of whiteness in education. Since my own whiteness was socially constructed in political, geographical and educational spaces, I then move on to give an explanation of the 'spatial turn' of my study. This spatial theorisation enhances the sociological understanding of my socialisation into whiteness by providing the theoretical lens through which my exposition of variations of whiteness in each of the southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience, and the data I provide in my personal narrative, is to be read. I also explain Symbolic Interactionism which is the theoretical framework which holds the various spaces of my study together in that it explains the nature of the interaction between them.

#### 2.3.1. Social reproduction of whiteness via education.

At its simplest level socialisation through education can be thought of as a process which teaches individuals the ways of the society they were born into, connecting the generations in the process (Giddens, 1993). Several scholars have pointed to the particularly important role of schools as socialising agents in society (Apple, 1995; Epstein & Johnston, 1998; Giddens, 1993; Jansen, 2009; Mac an Ghail, 1994; Measor & Sikes, 1992; Randall, 1982; Smith & Paul, 2000).

While the development of mass schooling has been closely linked to the ideals of equality and democracy there is agreement that education has not in fact been a powerful influence towards either. As agents of socialisation schools prepare individuals for different economic and social positions that force them into different spaces. As schools do so they typically side with those who already have power and privilege since it is they who already control education and schooling (Apple, 1995; Bourdieu, 1986, 1988; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Epstein & Johnston, 1998; Illich, 1973; Willis, 1997). My

interrogation of the educational spaces of my experience makes it clear that during the colonial and apartheid periods it was whites who, being in control of education and schooling, ensured that it was they who benefitted from the provision thereof.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that western schooling has expanded largely in response to the needs of modern capitalism. Schools consequently teach particular social and technical skills which are required by industry in a particular society. Pupils are prepared for relations of control and obedience in the workplace. While certain individuals move into 'achievement' or 'success' positions most people end up in lower paid positions. Bowles and Gintis (1976) contend, this being the case, that schools effectively legitimate existing inequalities and limit the personal development of many of those who pass through their hands. As preparation for the workplace takes place, schools play the additional custodial role of keeping children in a waiting capacity until they are old enough to start work (Illich, 1973). In their teaching, furthermore, schools teach for an uncritical acceptance of the existing social order and they do so via the kind of discipline and regimentation they set in place. The hidden curriculum is important here since it serves, when all is said and done, to teach children to accept their place in life (Illich, 1973). It is for this reason that Illich (1973) came out so strongly in favour of the deschooling of society. My interrogation of the educational spaces in the three southern African spaces of my experience makes it clear that it was whites, including myself, who were socialised into the 'achievement' positions required by capitalism while Africans, and Indians and coloureds to a lesser degree, were schooled into an acceptance of lesser jobs and of their lot in life.

While Bowles and Gintis (1976) have led the way in interrogating links between schooling and the work force needs of capitalism, Bourdieu (1986, 1988) has pioneered the theoretical perspective of cultural reproduction. Schools play a key role, through both the formal and hidden curricula, in the teaching of values, attitudes, norms, dispositions and modes of language. They reinforce variations in outlooks and values of a cultural nature which children begin to acquire in early life. Children of dominant groups benefit from being able to cash in their cultural capital in order to purchase privilege and advantage. Epstein and Johnson (1998) add a clarifying note when they suggest that the defining features of hegemonic culture are typically embedded in the rituals, practices, presumptions and expectations of schools, in addition to what they teach formally in the classrooms and on the sports fields. Over time children internalise

what they learn and they become malleable as adults and conform easily to the requirements of those with power and influence in society.

In concurring with these positions articulated by Bowles & Gintis (1976) and Bourdieu (1986; 1988), Giroux (1983) that schools are also reproductive in a political sense. They can be viewed as part of a dominant state apparatus and produce and legitimate the economic and ideological imperatives that underlie the state's ideological power.

It is appropriate, given the focus of this thesis, to consider how schooling can operate to sustain whiteness in particular. In building on the notion that schools typically side with those with power and privilege, as mentioned above, it is the contention of many scholars that schooling in western countries is on the side of whiteness. Schools are used by whites to promote whiteness as an invisible, universal norm (Beddard, 2000; Berry, 1995; Gillborn, 2006; hooks, 1989, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1998; McIntosh, 1990; Parker & Stovall, 2004; Rodriguez, 1998; Solomon et al., 2005; Yosso, 2006). Key to them being able to do so is that they operate within a liberal multi-cultural education paradigm.

A defining feature of this paradigm is that racism is regarded as no longer existing in western countries and that conditions of social equality are firmly in place (hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1998). This being the case "...school instruction is conceived as a generic set of teaching skills that should work for all students" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 19). The knowledge production, curriculum and general school policies and practices that lie behind this 'generic set of teaching skills' constitutes an unseen education norm which is that of the dominant group(s) in society which needs to maintain its position of power and influence (hooks, 1989; Tate, 1997; Wise, 2008; Yosso, 2006). A strong focus on the individual deflects attention away from such structural considerations since individuals are taught that they succeed in life through their own endeavours alone. While the diversity made up of individual differences is celebrated within the multi-cultural paradigm it is only ever in a superficial way. It is a requirement, furthermore, that individuals who differ from the invisible cultural norm should, if they wish to succeed, be assimilated so that they are brought into a state of conformity with it. In the process their own cultural heritage is seen in deficit terms (Gillborn, 2006; hooks, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1998; McIntosh, 1990; Semali, 1998; Solomon et al., 2005; Yosso, 2006). This is developed further on.

While it is indeed the case that in western societies schools are used by whites to promote whiteness it is more accurate to say that it is bourgeois whiteness which shapes and informs the schooling process (hooks, 1989; Yosso, 2006). As Yosso, (2006, p. 168) puts it "...it is the knowledge of the upper and middle classes which is considered to have capital value in a hierarchal society". The reference here is to specific forms of knowledge as well as skills and abilities which are valued by upper and middle class whites. Children who fail to measure up to the required standards need to be brought into a state of conformity. Non-white children, in particular, are seen as a threat to education standards until they have conformed and assimilation programmes are intended to bring them up to standard (Gillborn, 2006; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; hooks, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Leonardo, 2004; McIntosh, 1990; Scheurich, 1993; Solomon et al., 2005; Yosso, 2006).

hooks (1989, p. 113) adds to an understanding of what is required when she states that "...assimilation is a strategy deeply rooted in the ideology of white supremacy and its advocates urge black people to negate their blackness, to imitate white people so as to better absorb their values, their way of life". In the process, non-whites are made highly visible and are distinctly racialised while whites remain invisible, unracialised and centred (Gillborn, 2006; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; hooks, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Leonardo, 2004; McIntosh, 1990; Scheurich, 1993; Solomon et al., 2005; Yosso, 2006).

It follows from the above that multi-cultural education, "...mired in liberal ideology as it is" (Tate, 1997, p. 25) offers no challenge to the current racial order in society. In fact, it reinforces it (Beddard, 2000; Crenshaw, 1995; Gillborn, 2006; hooks, 1989; Parker & Stovall, 2004; Tate, 1997). The situation is aggravated by the fact that it is invariably the case in western countries that growing numbers of non-white children are taught by a teaching corps which is predominantly white. There is thus often a cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and racial divide between teachers and the children they teach (McIntosh, 1990). In their training white teachers are typically taught according to white norms (Ladson-Billings, 1998; McIntosh, 1990; Solomon et al., 2005). It is often the case that teachers therefore fail to critically engage with the teaching situations in which they find themselves, least of all with their own whiteness (Ladson-Billings, 1998; McIntosh, 1990; Solomon et al., 2005).

So it is that Wise (2008, p. 19), in reflecting on some of his own schooling experiences in the USA, reports that he was simply expected to uncritically accept the white world of his teachers. He notes that:

The curriculum was almost completely Eurocentric, by which I mean shot through with the perspectives of persons of European descent, to the exclusion of pretty much all others. Worse still was the implicit assumption that the white lens through which subject matter was to be viewed was not a narrowly focused one, even a myopic one, but rather a universally valid tool for observing reality.

In reflecting on the nature of the American school experience in more recent times Wise (2008) contends that nothing much has changed. Wise (2008, p. 19) notes that:

when it comes to History textbooks and Literature reading lists much about them looks exactly as it did 20 years ago...they remain top heavy with white folks' narratives, with a scattering of 'others ' thrown in ' but more as an add-on than as part of the nation's collective story.

In colonial settings, meanwhile, bourgeois whites manipulated schooling powerfully in order to suit their needs and interests as colonial occupiers. Essentially these centred on their presence and control being legitimated (Bondesio, 1990; Lopez, 2005; Said, 1978; Shome, 1999; Thompson, 1981). I discuss this in detail in due course in respect of the colonial presence in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa but it is appropriate to indicate here that schooling provision was strongly biased in favour of whites while Africans and their culture were distinctly marginalised. In some instances Africans were not even to be considered to be worth educating.

It is significant to record that in former colonies a 'lingering heritage of whiteness' in education has persisted well into the period following independence. Shome (1999), for example, has reported on strong European influences on curricula in many colonial settings, not least her native India, while Amin (2004), Chisholm (2004), Vandeyer (2008), and Wa Azania (2014) have written of the hold that whiteness continues to exert in South African schools. This is picked up again later in this thesis.

It is important to recognize, however, that schools can both reproduce and produce knowledge (Apple, 1995), or as Giroux (1983, p. 6) puts it "...schools bear the marks of both resistance and reproduction". Pupils, "...are not passive internalisers of pre-given social messages" (Apple, 1995, p. 13). Within schools, complex informal school cultures exist and these can become cultures of resistance. In taking this further, Giroux (1983,

p. 5) explains that it is essential to recognize that within schools there are "...complex and creative fields of resistance through which class, race and gender mediated practices often refuse, reject and dismiss the central messages of schools". Such resistance produces 'alternative knowledge' which is in keeping with Foucault's (1980) notion that power in society is not simply a matter of who does what to whom. Rather, power circulates through an entire society, even if it is not equally distributed.

Resistance in schools typically takes the form of students engaging in oppositional behaviour even if doing so consigns them to a position of class subordination and political defeat (Apple, 1995; Giroux, 1983; Willis, 1997). Such behaviour is engaged in by students who see schooling as being unable to offer them anything worthwhile. They feel themselves to be alienated from its culture and seek to align themselves with, and strengthen, their own alternative culture. It is often a working class phenomenon and varies in the degree to which it is overt and openly confrontational (Apple, 1995). Willis' (1997) study of 'the lads' in Birmingham is informative of the kind of behaviour that can be involved. It is interesting to note as well that 'the lads' were working class boys who went on to occupy working class jobs after school due to their poor school performance.

It is important to add that a different kind of resistance to the central messages of schooling centres on the lead that teachers and adults can take. In this regard it is appropriate to consider what has been forthcoming in the fields of Critical Racist Theory (CRT) and Anti-Racism as they have been applied to schooling. Both contend strongly that the neutrality, colourblindness (the pretence of not seeing colour) and meritocracy embedded in the multicultural education paradigm are mere "...camouflages for the self-interest of powerful entities in society" (Tate, 1997, p. 235) and excuses for not having to see the consequences of colour (Wise, 2008). For both CRT and Anti-Racism the intention is that instead of educating individuals into the logic of white domination and conforming to it there should be a focus on the development of critical consciousness (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cohen et al., 2007; Freire, 1970a, 1970b, 1996, 1998; Giroux, 1997a; hooks, 1989; McLaren, 1995, 1998; Tate, 1997; Wise, 2008). hooks (1989, p. 52) sees such a conceptualisation of education "...as the practice of freedom as opposed to education as the practice of domination". A critical pedagogy is involved, a pedagogy whose aim is to "...unveil the rhetorical, political, cultural, and social mechanisms through which whiteness is both invented and used to mask its power and privilege" (Giroux, 1997a, p. 102).

CRT was first developed in the USA in the 1970s by scholars who had become frustrated by the slow pace of racial reform. Ladson-Billings (1998) indicates that there are roots in Critical Legal Studies and that there is also a link with the work of Gramsci (1971a) and his thinking around the nature of hegemony. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) are cited by Morris (2006) for having introduced CRT to the educational field.

CRT in education brings race to the centre of critical inquiry as it seeks to undermine the dominant ideology of whiteness and secure a future based on social justice principles (Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado, 1995a; Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solorzano, 1998; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Tate, 1997). As a theoretical and analytical framework CRT in education challenges ways in which race and racism affect the structures of education and educational discourses and practices. As a social justice project CRT in education aims to secure the liberatory potential of schooling (Yosso, 2006).

A defining feature of the methodology of CRT in education is the recognition of the experiential knowledge of non-whites as being "...legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analysing and teaching about racial subordination (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26). Delgado (1989, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1996) has played a leading role in this. He observes that "...oppressed groups have known instinctively that stories are an essential tool to their own survival and liberation" (Delgado, 1989, p. 2436). Critical Race scholars working in the field of education have built on this. They have argued that such stories generate new knowledge which is able to challenge the monovocal master narrative of whiteness (Delgado, 1989; hooks, 1989, 1990; Lincoln, 1993; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Yosso (2006) speaks of the experiential knowledge of oppressed peoples as contained in their stories as constituting their cultural capital. Not only does such capital challenge whiteness and help to undermine it, it also gives oppressed peoples hope and helps them to dream of a better future for themselves (Yosso, 2006). Such capital is taken with them when they enter classrooms. When they are taught within a framework which conceptualises education as the 'practice of freedom' (hooks, 1989) so their capital becomes valued and they are affirmed (Delgado, 1989; Duncan, 2006; Giroux, 1997a; hooks, 1989, 1990; Lincoln, 1993; Yosso, 2006).

Anti-Racist education has emerged as a corollary to CRT beyond the USA. Gillborn (2006) observes that its early credentials were established by scholars such as Carby

(1982), Mullard, (1982, 1984), Troyna (1984, 1987, 1988, 1998) and Sivanandan, (2000). As with CRT, the main thrust of Anti-Racist education is that education systems are regarded as being inherently racist in respect of knowledge production and dissemination, curriculum development and the organisation and practice of schooling. The ultimate aim of Anti-Racist Education is to expose the degree to which education systems have been and are so heavily infused by whiteness (Calliste, 2000; Dei, 2000; Gillborn, 2006). A key objective is to centre everyone and to do so via interactive and cooperative learning strategies that teach critical thinking skills which focus on a questioning of the status quo (Dei, 2000). Liberal multi-culturalism is strongly criticised. In sharp contrast to multi-culturalism "...Anti-Racism explicitly names the issues of race and social difference as issues of power and equity rather than as matters of cultural and ethnic variety" (Dei, 2000, p. 27).

Critical pedagogy is the thread that links CRT and Anti-Racism. It has been mentioned that such a pedagogy is a liberatory pedagogy in that an important goal is to free both whites and non-whites from hegemonic whiteness (Beddard, 2000; Giroux, 1998; hooks, 1989; McIntosh, 1990). Such a pedagogy seeks to create space for both whites and non-whites to reconstruct their identities. It is particularly important for whites to be able "...to deconstruct their identities and decolonise their minds, creating an identity that does not rely on the bodies of non-white people but creates an oppositional space to fight for equality and social justice" (Beddard, 2000, p. 41). hooks (1989) is supportive of this and argues the case for the writing and sharing of stories in identity reconstruction. Messner (2000, p. 467) agrees and states that stories can be a powerful way of accomplishing "...the unpacking of white privilege". This is a theme I pick up later in this thesis.

It is appropriate, at this juncture, to indicate that while the primary interest of my study is with the role of formal education in producing my whiteness the place of 'public pedagogy' also needs to be acknowledged, for socialisation is greatly impacted by it. Giroux (2005) speaks of public pedagogy as the learning which is sourced in a collection of ideological and institutional forces which together make up the cultural domain which is instrumental in the formation of attitudes, values and identities. Within this cultural domain there are various public pedagogy sites such as television networks, sports and entertainment media, advertising media and social media which between them are able to exert a very strong hold over the socialisation process.

'Conversation' is central to the kind of learning that takes in realm of public pedagogy (Blyth, 2008; Jeffs & Smith, 2005; Zeldin, 1999). Blyth (2008, p. 4) defines conversation as it is intended here as "...the spontaneous business of making connections", those between people and ideas as well as those between people and places. In the process of such conversation experience is explored and enlarged and people are influenced, often in unpredictable ways.

Democracy and social justice are desirable primary outcomes of public pedagogy (Giroux, 2005; Jeffs & Smith, 2005; Sennett, 2012). This is invariably not the case, however. Giroux (2005), for example, decries the fact that at the present time in western countries public pedagogy has become so strongly aligned with, and expressive of, neoliberal politics, that democracy and social justice have suffered in the process. Later, in Chapter 6, I make reference to the degree to which I was influenced by public pedagogy in the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience and of how the influence of the same, being so strongly supportive of on-going white supremacy, severely undermined democracy and social justice in those spaces.

All the more reason, for scholars such as Austin and Hickey (2008); Giroux (1994, 2005); Gutman (1999); Freire (1998) and hooks (1994), that formal spheres of learning need to intervene so as to provide students with the ability to engage critically with the society in which they live. This is precisely where critical pedagogy, which has been referred to above, has such an important role to play.

### 2.3.2. The spatial 'turn' that enhances the sociological understanding of my socialisation into whiteness

While spatial inquiry has traditionally been the concern of geographers, there has been a trend in recent years for space to escape its geographical disciplinary confines. Social scientists working across disciplinary boundaries have found that their methods of inquiry are able to benefit from the incorporation of a spatial perspective. Gulson and Symes (2007, p. 1) describe this trend as a 'spatial turn' within the social sciences. It would seem however, that space is not often identified as a variable in studies of education and that if it were to be included more readily the understanding of such areas as education policy, social inequality and cultural practices might be considerably enhanced (Armstrong, 2007; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Soja, 1996; Usher, 2002).

Scholars including Allnutt (2011), Goodenough (2011), Kelly (2005, 2011) and Tanaka (2011), who work in the field of memory, pedagogy and place concur with this.

There is agreement among scholars in the field that the use and understanding of the spatial dimension that has the potential to be so helpful should not be theorised in the dry statistical, neutral terms with which geographers became so preoccupied during the 'Quantitative Revolution' of the 1970s and 1980s (Gulson & Symes, 2007; Usher, 2002). Nor should the debilitating effects of 'spatial determinism' be allowed to take root (Green & Letts, 2007). What should be favoured instead, is space which is conceived of as a 'spatial problematic', where space is conceived of as "...a product of cultural, social, political and economic interactions, imaginings, desires and relations" (Singh et al., 2007, p. 197). This conceptualisation of space, which is built around a recognition of the dialectical relationship between space and society (Green & Letts, 2007), is informed by the work of, for example, Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1996).

Lefebvre (1991) distinguished between three complementary levels of space, namely 'perceived' space, 'conceived' space and 'representational' space. 'Perceived' space is readily visible and apparent. It is space as it is interpreted in common sense everyday ways. An example would be a home or a school. 'Conceived' space is a more abstract notion and refers to space as it is used by designers and planners. An example would be the design for the interior of a room. 'Representational' space refers to space as it is lived and experienced. It is this conceptualisation of space which accommodates notions of political and ideological content and human agency.

A 'trialectic' theorisation of space is added to this conceptualisation by Soja (1996). This consists of what Soja (1996) refers to as 'Firstspace', 'Secondspace', and 'Thirdspace'. 'Firstspace' is the spatial dimension in which something is observable and measurable. 'Secondspace' is ideational in that it accommodates how we think about space. 'Thirdspace' is where subjectivity and objectivity come together. It is in this 'Thirdspace', as with Lefebvre's (1991) 'Representational' space, that space is perceived as being in a constant state of change and flux, informed by power struggles and competing interests. It is at this level that the relationship between space and identity formation and biography can be theorized, and the production of stereotypes understood. It is here that the infusion of space with socially constructed race, class and gendered meanings can be appreciated. It is at this level where space is located firmly in the field of power

and the social realm (Green & Letts, 2007). It is 'Thirdspace' which needs a stronger place within critical social theory. Soja (1996, p. 6) contends that:

We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with power and ideology.

This conceptualisation of space speaks to my study in significant ways. My study is in the first instance, geographically placed in the southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience. I was positioned in space in each case and as I moved through the spaces I experienced social relations as having been constituted in relation to the particular spaces. In each of the spaces, space was manipulated by whites as they sought to use their control over space to protect their whiteness in the face of perceived or real threats from African majorities. My experience of space was one of spatial privilege in segregated white spatial enclaves which were created in such a way so as to, as far as possible, exclude Africans especially. My identity formation and biography were affected by this as I became emotionally attached and politically reliant on the spaces of my experience. This 'territorial imperative' played itself out at a 'micro-scale' (as in the homes and schools of my experience), a 'meso-scale' (as in the towns of my experience) and a 'macro-scale' (as in the geopolitical spaces of my experience) (Haggett, 1990).

The notion of 'Thirdspace' speaks to my study in another sense, for just as space has been present in shaping my whiteness, it has also been at work in determining the nature of my response to shaping forces. 'Thirdspace' accommodates agency on my part. Integral to my personal journey has been a need for me to learn to release many of the spaces which exerted an emotional hold over me in the past, and to renegotiate the terms of my control and occupation of other spaces as I learn to share space with those 'kept out' by whiteness in the past. There is a resonance with Delport's (2005) journey of personal change where she argues that personal transformation is dependent on transforming the objects of our emotions, such as places and changing the way we think about them. I make more of this in due course.

According to Symbolic Interactionism, which is explained later, the way in which I have interacted with various spaces as objects of my experience, and drawn them into my being, has played a central role in determining the person I have become and am still

becoming. It is the nature of my interaction, both with the spaces themselves and with other individuals in those spaces, which is important. In this sense, Delport (2005) would be correct in arguing that my personal transformation would be dependent upon my changing the meaning I give to spaces as symbols and also how I relate to them.

Gulson and Symes (2007) aver that space is frequently used in everyday language in metaphorical terms as distinct from those which relate directly to the complex theorisations of material and symbolic life. While such usage is typically amorphous and porous it provides useful metaphors for the understanding of social experience. This kind of application has relevance for my study since I often use space to 'name meaning' in ways which are not necessarily purely geographical. In respect of 'political space' for example, space is used metaphorically to denote a political 'sphere of influence' or 'sociological footprint'. Contestation, control and power are ever present as the 'spheres' or 'footprints' expand and shrink according to the play of the political forces involved. A geographical dimension is present in that the 'spheres' and 'footprints' are geographically contained but it is not intended as the primary frame of reference. My use of 'education space' to name meaning should be understood in the same way.

I believe that the 'spatial turn' that is evident in my study adds weight to the contention that space used beyond the confines of its traditional geographic home can do much to facilitate sociological/educational understanding. I maintain furthermore, that the autoethnographic genre I have employed adds to the contribution made by my study since I have come across no other autoethnographic study which interrogates whiteness with the same focus on 'space' and 'education' in the same southern African geopolitical spaces.

Before proceeding to an interrogation of the variations of whiteness in the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience, and in keeping with the 'spatial turn' of my study, it is necessary to explain that in each case whiteness was shaped by political, geographical and educational spaces. While the spaces may have acted alone, I argue that the essence of their shaping power was born out of the interaction between them and also with the whites 'contained' by them. I argue that Soja's (1996) 'Thirdspace', and my metaphorical use of space, as described above, is sensitive to the dynamic nature of the interaction involved.

The nature of the interaction is best explained by 'Symbolic Interactionism' which provides a theoretical framework through which to view the nature of society (Blumer, 1953, 1962). The basic premise is that human beings need to be understood as social beings that are created through interaction with other human beings. 'Symbolisation' is key (Eames, 1977) in that human beings interact through symbols, such as words, gestures, roles and objects which they develop to give meaning to the world. Given the importance of interaction, human beings are seen to be active and wilful in relation to their environment. They are not merely products of their environment but thinking beings in that internal interaction takes place as they converse with and among themselves. As thinking, interactive beings humans are able to "...act back on society" (Charon, 2010, p. 167), and define the situations in which they find themselves. Such action is focused primarily on the present. The past does not cause what individuals do in the present. Rather, past experiences are seen as 'social objects' which individuals are able to use to help them to define the present and guide their actions in the present (Charon, 2010).

To show how Symbolic Interaction operated in respect of the political, geographic and educational spaces which shaped my whiteness I refer to but one example here, namely my experience of school at St. Stephen's College in Rhodesia, to which I make detailed reference in my personal narrative. As an elite private boarding school founded on British public school lines, its formal white bourgeois liberal culture was powerfully shaped by its wilful loyalty to the British Empire and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Symbols such as language, roles and rituals were used to define the environment which accommodated such alignment. The school's formal culture was alienated when the political climate changed. Interaction which once tied the federal territories together and which tied Britain to them changed as new patterns of interaction, caused by different interests, caused the old bonds to disintegrate. The school's formal culture was also alienated by the emergence of Prime Minister Ian Smith's white Rhodesian nationalism. The masters of the school rejected it because it was seen to be in rebellion against Britain and the Empire and also because of its different set of attitudes and values which were class related.

I was caught up in these changing interactions. I was influenced by the school's formal culture and I came to align myself with it in time. This alignment was, for example, largely responsible for my decision to become a school teacher. It was not an entirely

easy alignment however, for I was uncomfortable with the school's rejection of the 'Rhodie' variation of whiteness and its identification with white Rhodesian nationalism. I had strongly identified with the same and had been greatly influenced by it and I did not reject it until I had started to work as a professional educator.

St. Stephen's College meanwhile, was obliged to interact with a working-class Zambian whiteness. Owing to its inability to attract sufficient numbers of bourgeois whites from the broader Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and from Rhodesia once the Federation had ended, it was obliged to accept growing numbers of white miners' sons from the Zambia. With the federal break-up and changing patterns of political interaction, both within and between the former federal states, the school eventually had to close.

During the period of my schooling at St. Stephen's College (1965-1969) the political, geographic and educational spaces of my experience were controlled by whites, both bourgeois whites and 'Rhodie' whites. Interaction between the spaces, as well as between the spaces and individuals, was such that Africans were severed from interaction with whites except as a servant-class which meant that separate white and African societies emerged. Whites within their interactive society, had more power at their disposal, and were in a position to stigmatise and exploit Africans. Charon (2010) contends that Symbolic Interactionism is able to contribute to an understanding of racism in society. I argue that it helps to facilitate an understanding of the racism which prevailed in Rhodesia whilst I was at school there.

#### 2.4. WHITENESSES IN THE THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN GEOPOLITICAL SPACES OF MY EXPERIENCE

Having now examined whiteness as a social construct, and having considered education's role in its reproduction, and explained the 'spatial turn' of my study, I now turn to an interrogation of whiteness in each of the three geopolitical spaces of my lived experience. Given the focus of my study, I concentrate on those aspects of the different spaces which have been important in the shaping of my whiteness. In each of the three geopolitical spaces I examine the role of political, geographical and educational spaces.

## 2.4.1. Whiteness in Northern Rhodesia

### 2.4.1.1. Whiteness: The political space

Northern Rhodesia (Fig. 1) was acquired by the British South Africa Company towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century 'Scramble for Africa'. There were treaties between Rhodes'<sup>5</sup> agents and various chiefs, the collection of which gave the Company control over a vast territory north of the Zambezi River which was given the name of Northern Rhodesia (Lamb, 2004). Company rule ended in 1924 after which time the territory was ruled directly from London as a protectorate. It was not designated as a 'settler colony', as was the case in Southern Rhodesia, despite attempts by the British South Africa Company to attract large numbers of especially British settlers by the granting of large tracts of cheap land (Ghurs, 2004; Lamb, 2004). Few white people allowed themselves to be enticed because the territory was regarded as being too far away from palpable European influence (Gann, 1960) and "...the kind of law and order that makes a Westerner feel at home" (Ghurs, 2004, p. 3).

The result was that few whites ever went to live in the territory. Their numbers peaked at seventy-five thousand in 1960 (L'Ange, 2005) and most never saw themselves as being there on a permanent basis (Kay, 1967). The extent of their minority status is shown by the fact that in 1963 there were almost three and a half million Africans in Northern Rhodesia (Kay, 1967). Significantly, while it was bourgeois whites, bent upon the pursuit of monetary gain, who initiated the opening up and development of the colony, most whites who went there to live, were working-class people who saw Northern Rhodesia as their opportunity to secure financial gain of their own (Bate, 1953). While both bourgeois and working-class whites were physically present, whites went out of their way to present themselves as a united, homogenous people in their interactions with Africans.

As has already been explained earlier in this chapter, class differences among whites are such that while there are status and material differences between them it is their whiteness which binds them (Allison, 1998; Hage, 1998; Howard, 2004; Pitcher, 2009; Wise, 2008). Working class whites are able to lay claim to white privilege to the extent

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<sup>5</sup> Mining magnate, politician and British Imperialist. His British South Africa Company played a key role in the occupation of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

that they are invariably far more privileged than all non-whites. They are very loyal to whiteness as a result. This was certainly the case among Northern Rhodesian whites. Working class whites were indeed beneficiaries of whiteness, the more so because of the minority status of whites as a whole and the degree to which Africans were constructed as inferior and uncivilised. Those who worked on the copper mines in particular were decidedly better off than they would have been in non-colonial settings (Bate, 1953).

The majority of whites worked on the copper mines of the Copperbelt and their intention was to return home, typically to Britain or South Africa, after they had made their money (Gann, 1960; Kay, 1967). Bate (1953) describes the financial rewards available to whites working on the Copperbelt as being particularly lucrative. Their wages and salaries were high and they enjoyed generous housing, medical and leave benefits, along with 'copper bonuses' (related to the prevailing price of copper on world markets) which were often in excess of their monthly earnings. White jobs were also protected from African competition, this being important for the many who worked in less skilled positions (Bate, 1953).

Whites who did not live and work on the Copperbelt were resident in Lusaka, where the majority were civil servants. A small number of whites lived in a few other towns along the 'line of rail' between Livingstone and N'dola (Fig. 1) (Bate, 1953). Land was not racially apportioned in the same way that it was in Southern Rhodesia and few Africans were displaced spatially by the activities of the few whites who were mostly engaged in the mining industry (Kay, 1967).

A very limited number of whites were born in Northern Rhodesia and most came from either South Africa or Britain. They maintained frequent contact with their home countries, their whiteness being connected to, and drawing from, the construction of whiteness in both South Africa and Britain, as well as Southern Rhodesia (Gann, 1960; Kay, 1967). Kay (1967, p. 24) notes that they were particularly vulnerable to "...the climate of settler opinion in settler dominated countries". As expected in a colonial setting, racist thinking abounded and, as was the case with their compatriots in Southern Rhodesia, they feared that the British government would, as it had begun to do elsewhere in Africa with decolonisation, hand the country over to African majority rule in the near future. However, they lacked the numbers and organisational coherence

to be able to offer any resistance to British intentions in this regard (L'Ange, 2005). For a brief time there was an alignment with the Southern Rhodesians, especially during the Federation years, but it was short-lived and largely ineffectual (L'Ange, 2005; Welensky, 1964).

It is observed by Hall (1965) that a small number of whites was not in favour of forming an allegiance with whites in Southern Rhodesia. He quotes an editorial in the *Central African Post* (3 March, 1949) in which the editor wrote "...It is our money that Southern Rhodesia is after. Does anyone believe for a moment that she would have the slightest desire to federate with us if we had no very profitable copper mines?" (Hall, 1965, p. 145). Several of the whites in this camp favoured the development of a partnership with Northern Rhodesian Africans, although they clearly saw themselves as the senior partners (Hall, 1965).

It is clear therefore, that most Northern Rhodesian whites were aligned, at least in respect of their racial attitudes and the privileged lifestyles they claimed for themselves, with their compatriots in Southern Rhodesia, Empire and South Africa. However, their small numbers, and their lack of permanence and poor organisational coherence, prevented them from being able to protect their white political power and way of life in the same way as the Southern Rhodesians tried to do.

#### 2.4.1.2. Whiteness: The geographical space

While there were some attempts by the small number of whites in Northern Rhodesia to organise themselves politically, a sustainable nationalism failed to emerge (L'Ange, 2005). Their small numbers and the transitory nature of their tenure were largely responsible for this (Bate, 1953). In the early 1950s there was a conviction among those who favoured the concept of a Federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that the same would strengthen the political position of Northern Rhodesian whites, especially if the Federation was to be granted dominion status, as many believed it should (Welensky, 1964). Federal protagonists were convinced that the three federating territories of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would together constitute a state large and strong enough to enable the British presence in Africa to resist moves towards African majority rule (Shillington, 1995). It is explained by Smith and Nothling (1985) that the federal arrangement was premised on the notion of a racial partnership coming into being, as distinct from what was regarded as the extremist

apartheid policy of the Afrikaners in South Africa. What happened in reality was that whites became the senior partners and remained so for the ten year lifespan of the Federation. This proved to be the undoing of the political arrangement as it fuelled the endeavours of the African nationalists to hasten its demise. Consequently the proponents of Federation were unable to resist a rising tide of African nationalism that was sweeping across Africa. Amongst Northern Rhodesian whites, Federation was only minimally successful in galvanising a sense of territorial belonging and pride. When it ended in 1963, they were unable to resist moves by African nationalists to establish the independent country of Zambia.

The calling up of the Northern Rhodesian territorial forces to protect the Northern Rhodesian-Congo border (Fig. 1) during the Congo independence crisis of the early 1960s caused some temporary upwelling of white Northern Rhodesian pride. The crisis was precipitated by a violent struggle between groups competing for the control of the Katanga province following the granting of independence to the Congo in 1961 by the Belgians. Since whites were caught up in the struggle, and had to flee the Congo, the crisis only served to eventually further undermine any sense of sustainable white Northern Rhodesian nationalism. It undermined white people's confidence in the future and caused many to reaffirm their transitory presence in the colony (Scannell, 1960). The crisis also triggered memories of the earlier Mau Mau<sup>6</sup> uprising in Kenya and this was a further undermining factor (Scannell, 1960).

The phenomenon of 'localism', which is important in fixing identity among individuals (Davies, 2009; Featherstone, 2003), found expression in the towns and localised public places of the colony. The towns of the Copperbelt were racially segregated spaces. Whites mainly lived on mine residential estates or in smaller segregated municipal areas. Africans lived in separate 'compounds' or in small *khias* (small single-roomed 'houses') situated at the bottom of the yards of white occupied houses. Africans entered white spaces as a servant class only, and were not even permitted to shop in the same shops as whites (Kay, 1967). The white spaces were effectively 'little Englands', where whites attempted to make themselves feel as much at home as possible whilst simultaneously doing what they could to live their particular version of the 'Rhodesian

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<sup>6</sup> An uprising which took the form of armed resistance to white domination, particularly among the dominant Kikuyu tribe.

way of life' (Kay, 1967). The 'little Englands' were neatly gardened and manicured and engendered a sense of local pride which was fuelled by inter-town gardening competitions. There was a sense of control over the spaces which these competitions engendered, and white standards were maintained accordingly. Few whites owned property however, and this served to detract somewhat from the sense of pride and control that was experienced (Kay, 1967). I discuss the notion of 'little Englands' and the 'Rhodesian way of life' more fully in the context of Southern Rhodesia further on as they were a stronger feature of that space.

A showing of embryonic local pride manifested itself when the decision was taken in 1931 to move the capital of the colony from Livingstone to Lusaka (Fig. 1). There was widespread opposition from the few whites who lived in Livingstone and who perceived the move to be an undermining of 'their' town (Kay, 1967). Rivalry between Kitwe and Ndola for the dominant position in the Copperbelt urban hierarchy was another example (Hywel Davies, 1971) of territorial pride, as was the local neighbourhood pride which could sometimes be detected in Lusaka's white suburbs (Kay, 1967).

Northern Rhodesian whites attempted to use their geographic spaces to secure control over Africans, to preserve their way of life and express who they were as whites, but they were unable to secure long-term control over the territory. Joining the Federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was their best hope of doing so but, as has been noted, this was short-lived. Their small numbers, the temporary nature of their tenure, and their poor organisational coherence were once again the main contributing factor.

#### 2.4.1.3. Whiteness: The education space

The white children of Northern Rhodesia who went to state schools in the 1950s and 1960s had a similar experience of school to that of their Southern Rhodesian counterparts. Schools were racially segregated. There were only a few schools for whites and they were all comparatively new. In 1958 white children had access to only 44 primary schools in the colony and 9 secondary schools (Brelsford, 1960). The fact that they were only for whites prepared children for separate, privileged lives as adults. The schools were established by the white bourgeois elite to prepare children, most of whom were of a non-bourgeois background, for the places they would one day occupy as whites in society (Atkinson, 1982; Brelsford, 1960). There was control in this, for

there was a sense in which bourgeois whites used their control over schooling to teach working-class whites to be race loyal rather than class loyal. The schools were all neat, well-equipped establishments, bastions of relative privilege, set within a sea of neglect and inadequacy as far as African schooling was concerned. In respect of African schools there were, in 1958, only 15 African primary schools and no African secondary schools in the colony (Brelsford, 1960).

White children wrote the external examinations of the Cambridge Overseas Examining Authority. Accordingly, they studied a curriculum which was saturated by a European worldview (Brelsford, 1960). They learnt little about Africa and the African people who they regarded as a servant class (Kay, 1967). What they did learn was informed by the negative white constructions which have been referred to previously. By contrast, they saw and learnt about themselves as a unified, superior people and they identified strongly with the pioneering mythology which prevailed in Southern Rhodesia (Kay, 1967).

Steyn (2012) writes of white children during the apartheid period in South Africa learning an inverted epistemology, as blank spaces in their social and political awareness were purposefully created by omission, evasion and misrepresentation. The intention was to use their experience of school to make it possible for them to be dislocated from the world of those oppressed by whites. I contend that the same was true of the schooling experience of white children during the colonial period in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and it is for this reason that I mention it here.

The private school sector was poorly developed and the few children who attended private schools during the colonial era went to elite boarding schools, mainly in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa (Atkinson, 1982; Hall, 1965). Such children were the children of the professional and managerial classes (Hall, 1965).

It is apparent that the schools attended by white children in Northern Rhodesia were segregated, privileged spaces which were geared to providing an educational experience which prepared children for the adult roles anticipated for them by a white bourgeois elite whose own children attended elite private schools out of the country. Children had to conform to what was expected of them, but were also taught to assume individual responsibility for their lives (Brelsford, 1960).

#### 2.4.1.4. Zambia: Remaining whiteness

Northern Rhodesian whites had strongly supported the efforts of the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, to resist Britain's resolve to end the Federation. After it became clear that the colony would become the independent country of Zambia in October 1964, most of the whites left to return to their home countries. Those who stayed on to work on the mines became expatriates who worked on a contractual basis. They continued to be able to live in their 'little England' enclaves and, within these, to lead privileged lifestyles. A 'Zambianisation' programme was put in place immediately after independence by the new government of Dr Kenneth Kaunda and this was intended to ensure the non-renewal of white expatriate contracts once Zambians were able to perform the work (Kay, 1967). A small number of bourgeois whites continued to hold economic power, through their ownership of land and business enterprises, for example, and through the managerial executive positions they held on the mines (Kay, 1967).

The few whites who have remained on a permanent basis are described by Taylor (2000, p. 238) as "...a ghostly little band of old hands, the remnants of Livingstone's tribe". They have managed, to varying degrees, to dis-identify with the colonial whiteness of the past although there is a sense in which they do not feel as though they belong, precisely because of their being white (Robins, 1995). They live private, reclusive lives. They stay because they wish to even though they feel that they only stay because no one else will have them. L'Ange (2005) considers that they have become locked into Africa and even though their ancestral roots in Europe have been severed there is still a sense in which they feel disconnected in Africa. In this sense, Ghurs's (2004) description of them as a lost tribe of Africa seems apt.

State schools in the post-independence period were rapidly desegregated. There was much infrastructural development as the education system underwent large-scale expansion to make up for the backlogs of the colonial era. Curricula change was geared more to the needs of the new elite than the masses however, and this meant in practice, that there was no substantial change compared to the colonial days (Thompson, 1981). Shome's (1999) observation that a 'lingering whiteness' can often be detected in post-colonial schooling systems is relevant here. Whites responded to the changes in education by sending their children to schools outside the country.

The nature of whiteness is that in the post-independence period it lingers as a power-laden formation in former colonial spaces. It can be seen in many areas of life, including the on-going economic influence of whites and their hold over the aesthetics industry, education systems and cultural products such as the media, language, fashions and academic texts. This has already been discussed (see Byrd & Tharps, 2001; De Cuir-Gunby, 2006; Fox, 2012; Gatewood, 2000; Hunter, 2002; Kapoor, 1999; Lopez, 2005; Schick, 2002; Shome, 1999) and can certainly be seen in the case of Zambia in its post-independence period (Robins, 1995; Taylor, 2000).

Significantly, once Zambia gained independence it was placed on a completely different political trajectory to Southern Rhodesia where whites managed to resist African majority rule for a further sixteen years. It will be seen below that the two countries, once together in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, were drawn into increasing conflict with each other during this period.

#### 2.4.2. Whiteness in Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia

##### 2.4.2.1. Whiteness: The political space

It was sometimes said that the 'officer class' of Englishman had gone to Kenya while the 'ordinary men' had gone to Southern Rhodesia (L'Ange, 2005). The 'ordinary men' of Southern Rhodesia, nevertheless, set about portraying themselves as a 'master race' (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; St. John, 2007). Central to the logic of the accompanying narrative was the notion of whiteness being cast in normal, unmarked, homogenous, unified and superior terms (Aduboahen, 1987). Africans were cast as their 'extreme others' (Caute, 1983). Whites had brought Christianity and western civilisation and it was they who had developed the country. They believed that the superior status which they accorded themselves was thoroughly justified.

In fact there were two principal white groupings in Southern Rhodesia, a bourgeois grouping, broadly conservative, and in the minority, and a larger and more conservative working-class group, the 'Rhodies' as they referred to themselves. The former had been Federation and Empire loyalists and it was they essentially, who had held political power during the federal years. They regarded UDI in 1965 as a rebellion both against the Queen and themselves (Todd, 1982). It was the 'Rhodies' who held the ascendancy after UDI.

It all began when whites settled in Southern Rhodesia from 1890 after Rhodes' Pioneer Column had secured land concessions from Lobengula, the king of the Amandebele people in 1888. The concessions gave the settlers prospecting rights and on this basis Rhodes secured a Royal Charter which the colonists interpreted as giving them the right to establish a fully-fledged colonial enterprise (Hall, 1965; L'Ange, 2005). Rhodes viewed the acquisition as an integral component of his imperial Cape to Cairo dream. The Charter said nothing about land rights as such but Rhodes proceeded as if it did. Attempts by Lobengula to resist him securing the Charter, based on the initial land concessions, proved fruitless (Aduboahen, 1987; L'Ange, 2005) since Queen Victoria was strongly persuaded that the same should be granted. The wording of a petition to the Queen requesting the Charter is telling of prevailing attitudes. The petitioners, led by Rhodes, wrote the following to the Queen (as cited by Hall, 1965, p. 59):

Your Majesty's petitioners believe that if the said concession, agreements, grants and treaties can be carried into effect the conditions of the natives inhabiting the territories will be materially improved and their civilisation advanced and an organisation established which would tend to the suppression of the slave trade...and to the said territories being opened to the immigration of Europeans, and the lawful trade and commerce of Your Majesty's subjects and other nations

When the first settlers found no minerals they took to farming. Rhodes' British South Africa Company allowed them to peg out huge farms, and a popular notion was that a man's farm should be as big as the distance he could ride on horse-back in a single day (Caute, 1983). If Africans resisted by trying to reclaim their land they were arrested as trespassers at the very least. In addition, hut taxes were imposed as a means of forcing Africans to sell their labour to white farmers and others involved in commercial enterprises. This was a form of slave labour (Lessing, 1992).

Rhodes' engagement, and that of his British South Africa Company, was such that it was the interests of capitalism and imperialism, bound up as they were with the interests of bourgeois whites, which were the driving force behind the opening up of Rhodesia. The members of the 'pioneer column' that first crossed the Limpopo River from South Africa are described by Paxman (2012) as a Rhodes' 'irregular army'. They, and most of the settlers who followed, were not typically of a bourgeois background, but went on to claim membership of the elite formation for themselves as they laid claim to vast tracts of the country in the name of Queen and Empire (L'Ange, 2005).

From the outset the white settlers set about establishing themselves as members of a master race. They set themselves apart as Rhodesians (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; St. John, 2007). Africans were cast as their extreme 'others'. Everything that was African in the social and cultural fields was either condemned or marginalised as the settlers constructed Africa in their own image and on their own terms (Aduboahen, 1987). They were quickly able to strengthen their position when, having rejected the possibility of becoming part of the Union of South Africa, they secured self-governing status for themselves when the British South Africa Company rule ended in 1923. The Land Apportionment Act of 1931 (succeeded and extended some years later in 1969 by the Land Tenure Act) was perhaps their most significant piece of legislation aimed at protecting their status and interests. It gave whites about half of the land area of the country for their exclusive settlement. Some 6 000 farms were eventually carved out of the available land (Meredith, 2005). In urban areas white workers were protected from African competition by the Industrial Consolidation Act of 1934 (Meredith, 2005). A further protective measure, particularly in view of the thinness of the 'white line' of colonial rule and settlement, was the early outlawing of miscegenation.

Although it was important for the white settlers to present themselves in homogenous, superior terms in relation to Africans as their 'extreme others', the farmers among the white settlers saw themselves as a somewhat elite 'warrior class' (Caute, 1983). This was so particularly among those who had carved their farms from virgin bush. They were sometimes disdainful of their white suburban compatriots, most of whom were much more recent settlers (Caute, 1983) and many of whom had working-class backgrounds (L'Ange, 2005). Among urban settlement dwellers themselves social class divisions were marked by differences between suburbs, particularly in respect of the size of residential plots and houses (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). While they were aware of a degree of class differentiation among themselves, all whites regarded themselves as being superior to Africans. They believed that it was they who had had the intelligence and enterprise to drive progress. The very existence of their empire was ample proof of what had been achieved by the labour of a superior people (Dyer, 1997).

The Anglican Church was the established church of the British state and it was the Anglican Church which provided the moral authority for, and the compassionate face of, the empire and the people behind it (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 1998, 2012). As a British colony, Rhodesia was officially a Christian country and remained so after UDI in 1965.

Some 92% of white Rhodesians in 1969 classified themselves as Christians (Godwin & Hancock, 1993) and the biggest single group were Anglicans. However, few Rhodesians were profoundly concerned with spiritual values. They understood Christian to mean 'western' and 'civilised' and 'anti-Communist' (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). The churches entered the political arena with caution and did not often do so (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). Even after UDI the Anglicans complained more about individual injustices than the political system as such (Godwin & Hancock, 1993).

It is observed by Dyer (1997) that it was white bourgeois men, in particular, who featured in the imagination of Empire and who set themselves the task of constructing a superior white identity. This was also true within Rhodesian society. It was the men who were portrayed as having played the leading role in opening up the country and subjugating the uncivilised tribes (Caute, 1983). Rhodesian men were portrayed as lining up to serve their country (Godwin, 1996; Lamb, 2006; St. John, 2007) with the 'Rhodies' being cast by their women as being individuals "...of decision, initiative and resolve, husky, tough, good-looking and sexy, and so beautifully tanned" (Caute, 1983, p. 389). When not absorbed in the task of building and protecting the nation they were engaged with the great pastimes of rugby and cricket, hunting or fishing, or going to a club. St. John (2007, p. 37) notes that they often liked nothing better than having a *braaivleis* (barbeque) at home and adds that they would appear dressed in their khaki shorts, knee length socks and *veldskoene* (bush shoes), beer always in hand and their "...bellies like women's in the advanced stages of pregnancy".

Whilst the braais were in progress African servants needed to be constantly ready at the fringes, to be of service whenever the need arose. From within their nationalist construct and their racially segregated spatial enclaves, white Rhodesians would not allow themselves to enter the corridors that constituted the humanity of their servants. A good distance had to be maintained if control was to be kept and if womenfolk were not to be raped and have their throats slit. They nevertheless believed that they knew their 'Afs' (a derogatory term for Africans) and were convinced that their servants would support them if ever there was a struggle against African nationalists. The key lay in dealing with the useless 'munts' (a stronger derogatory term for Africans) who were considered to be disrespectful and less easy to tame (St. John, 2007). Any notion that a term like 'munt' might have been considered disrespectful was allayed by the comforting fact that it was, after all, in the *Fanagolo* handbook "...meaning nothing more sinister than a person or

human-being” (St. John, 2007, p. 38). No thought was given, of course, to the fact that the creole language *Fanagolo* or *Chilapalapa*, as it was also called, might have been offensive in itself.

As in the empire at large white women were cast as men’s ‘others’ to the degree that they were required to play supportive, subordinate roles so that colonial patriarchy could be reproduced. In colonial settings women were supposed to be socially refined, this in itself being a product of the universalization of white ways. While they were subordinate to their men, in their ‘othering’ of all Africans, including African men, they found social security and a status they would otherwise not have had (Dyer, 1997). Rhodesian society mirrored this closely (Caute, 1983; Godwin & Hancock, 1993). Women could also draw on the status they had as the ‘bearers of whiteness’ and to this end their white purity had to be maintained at all costs. They were protected by laws banning miscegenation (Todd, 1982). The integrity of the racial aristocracy they shared with their men folk was further secured by powerfully communicated expectations that sexual relations had to be conducted on a heterosexual basis (Caute, 1983; Godwin & Hancock, 1993). Homosexuality was both illegal and regarded as a perversion. White Rhodesians could hardly be expected to uphold civilised values if homosexuality was tolerated and so officially it did not exist in the country (Godwin & Hancock, 1993).

If white Rhodesians clung to whiteness, and the political power and privilege associated with it, during the colonial period they did so with more tenacity once the independence process had begun and they began to feel themselves threatened once the British government decided to end the Federation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Caute, 1983). After the British government insisted on African majority rule in an independent Zimbabwe, white Rhodesians spoke of the British as traitors to the white race (Caute, 1983). In a desperate bid to prevent such independence becoming a reality they unilaterally declared a Rhodesian independence of their own, firm in the belief that they were “...striking a blow for the preservation of justice, civilisation and Christianity” (Smith, 1997, p. 106). As Ian Smith defended this action he emphasised Rhodesians’ membership of the ‘Anglo-Celtic Family’ and declared that Churchill, had he been alive, would surely have chosen to settle in Rhodesia since it represented all that Britain had represented during the halcyon days of the empire (Caute, 1983). Smith enjoyed the support of the vast majority of white Rhodesians (Caute, 1983), although some,

bourgeois Rhodesians of a more liberal persuasion, opposed the move on the grounds that they believed it would take Rhodesia closer to the racial politics of South Africa (Todd, 1982).

As the Rhodesians under Ian Smith moved to defend their political actions and strengthen their power they went out of their way to unite whites behind a white Rhodesian nationalism (Smith, 1997; St. John, 2007). As they did so they drew heavily on a pioneering mythology, which if it did not exist, they created (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; Liebenberg, 2008; St. John, 2007). They constructed themselves as an energetic, motivated people who built Rhodesia out of virgin bush (Godwin, 1996). They were totally convinced of the rightness of their actions, even "...the need to protect our munts from themselves" (Fuller, 2004, p. 37). They were the bearers of civilisation and Christianity.

It can be concluded from the above that white Rhodesians used their political power, derived initially from their attachment and loyalty to the British Empire and later sourced in their rebellion against the same, to protect their privileged economic standing along with what they perceived to be their racial and cultural superiority. Since they viewed themselves as being racially superior their political ascendancy was logical to them and was necessary in order to maintain their position of power and privilege.

#### 2.4.2.2. Whiteness: The geographical space

The seeds of the whiteness which were to germinate amongst Rhodesians were sown with the pegging out of the first farms. A tough, independent frontier mentality prevailed then as it did later when they secured self-government in 1923. White Rhodesians did this when they rejected the option of becoming part of the Union of South Africa once the British South Africa Company rule had ended. They did not favour the idea of joining up with what they regarded as extremist Afrikaner forces in the south (Griffiths, 1995). In this sense they rejected a southern African whiteness of another kind. It will be seen in due course that white Rhodesians were later to go out of their way to embrace Afrikaner nationalists after UDI. In the meantime, they chose to remain more firmly aligned to the British Empire, going as far as to regard it as "...the greatest force for good the world had ever known" (Smith, 1997, pp. 2-3). The Union Jack fluttered at the forefront of all public buildings and pictures of the head of the royal family adorned the foyers of

government buildings and schools as well as postage stamps and coins. In support of such a declaration of loyalty all formal occasions, even cinema shows, were introduced by the playing of the British national anthem (Smith, 1997). Rhodesians were also proud of the Federation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland since they regarded it as a spatial extension of the empire in their particular part of Africa (Welensky, 1964). At the same time however, they were always mindful of the distance between themselves and London and claimed a superior knowledge of Africa and its peoples, because of their direct and close involvement (Griffiths, 1995).

From the earliest days of their settlement white Southern Rhodesians, like their Northern Rhodesian counterparts, set themselves the task of creating a home away from home by building 'little Englands' in Africa. These are described by Kay (1967, p. 29) as "...secure islands of civilisation within a primitive and undeveloped country". Within these segregated spatial enclaves whites lived what they came to regard as their unique 'Rhodesian way of life' (L'Ange, 2005; Weinrich, 1979), a way of life which conferred on white Rhodesians a standard of living much higher than they would have enjoyed elsewhere (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; L'Ange, 2005; St. John, 2007; Weinrich, 1979). L'Ange (2005, p. 280) describes this "Rhodesian way of life" as "...a rare and satisfying existence made possible by an equable climate, largely beautiful scenery, good farming country, relatively rich mineral resources, plenty of cheap labour, and superb recreational amenities". Some Rhodesians lived this way of life on their farms. Most lived in towns and most of these, in turn, lived in either Salisbury or Bulawayo (Fig. 1) (Kay, 1967).

When the British began the process of granting independence to their colonies and the geographical space harbouring the 'Rhodesian way of life' became threatened, Ian Smith declared UDI and promised that the way of life in question would last a thousand years. The incorporation of a powerful sense of geographical space and the need to protect it at all costs, not least from guerrilla incursions from bases in Zambia and Mozambique, was a noteworthy feature of the nation building project which followed the declaration of independence (Smith, 1997). A sense of the white Rhodesian nationalism that was encapsulated by this is captured by St. John (2007, pp. 191-192):

All my life I'd been taught to value and hold sacred the name of Rhodesia and the history and blood-ties that bound me to it. I'd been raised on the belief that ours was the very best country on earth, with

the best climate under God's sun, and that everything about it was special: our landscape, our wildlife, our green and white flag, the living flame that was our national flower, the flame lily, our national anthem, set to Beethoven's 'Ode to Joy'. And that because these things were so special, they were worth fighting for and worth dying for. Even our war was better than anyone else's war, because we had the best songs and the most cheerful 'troopie canteens' and the bravest, most dedicated soldiers. And because we were told these things so often and saw all of this beauty and courage and magnificence with our own eyes, our land became our life; our nationality, our identity.

St. John (2007) focuses on the romantic and emotional call of Rhodesia's landscapes in the building of Rhodesian whiteness. Frequent other references in the biographical literature bear testimony to the same (Baker, 2000; Godwin, 1996; Liebenberg, 2008; Megahey, 2005; Taylor, 2000). I return to this in Chapter 6.

The contention of Hughes (2010) is that white settlement depended not only on seizing power, wealth and territory from Africans but on finding some way of including whites. Whites had to establish a geographical form of ownership and they achieved this by narrating the land. An ability to control territory was integral to this and as the Rhodesians marked out their territory they were able to engender a patriotism which harked back to the time when the conquering pioneers made the land their 'own' for the first time (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; Liebenberg, 2008). The position of Pilosoff (2012) on this is that Rhodesians used the landscape as a means of engaging with Rhodesia without having to engage with the African people. Many have continued with the same in present day Zimbabwe.

As a mark of taming and controlling their landscapes Rhodesians established distinctive farmsteads and colourful gardens on their farms. The signs could be traced by "...the bright scarlets, mauves and pinks of the bougainvillea...the corrugated tin roofs of their homesteads peeping through thickets of mimosa trees" (Godwin, 1996, p. 63). The houses themselves were typically "...without architecture or design...long and sprawling, with random additions" (St. John, 2007, p. 104). As they marked out their geographical presence in this way Rhodesians formed deep attachments to the environments they built. St. John (2007, p. 119) describes her deep attachment to her family farm, Rainbow's End, which she refers to as her "...Enid Blyton idyll of niceness". Fuller (2002) tells of her deep attachment to her parents' farm on the Mozambique

border, an attachment which became all the more absorbing by its situatedness at the epicentre of the liberation war which she witnessed as a child and in which her father fought. Rhodesians also established distinctive towns to which they became equally attached. St John (2007, p. 26), for example, is impacted by the "...low colonial-style buildings in washed-out colours, like some sun-faded postcard from the fifties", which she finds in her home town, the quintessentially Rhodesian country town of Hartley (now called Chegutu). Taylor (2000, p. 213) identifies with the "...rough, open feel of the frontier", which he finds in Bulawayo, the country's second city. In a similar vein, Godwin (1996) feels intimately connected to what he calls his spiritual home, the village of Chimanimani, set in its mystical mountain setting in the Eastern Highlands of the country (Fig. 1).

'Localism' was a much stronger phenomenon among Southern Rhodesians/Rhodesians than it ever was among Northern Rhodesian whites. It found expression in the pride Rhodesians had in their white towns and cities, their 'little Englands', as has been noted above, and in the spaces occupied by such public places as schools. Such local places were typically beautifully landscaped and evoked much pride among those white Rhodesians who were associated with them (Lamb, 2006). Localism also found expression in clubs and societies and was strongly manifested in sporting affiliations at town, district and provincial levels.

In reality, whether Rhodesians lived on farms or in towns and cities, they lived in scattered, racially exclusive spatial enclaves. The much flouted 'Rhodesian way of life', as has been noted, meant a lifestyle of exclusiveness and privilege. It was lived within these enclaves where, if they were allowed entry at all, Africans were not even permitted to shop in the same shops as whites (Todd, 1982). They were artificial worlds, completely disconnected from African realities (Caute, 1983). Furthermore, the nationalist project with which Rhodesians became preoccupied was built on insecure, tenuous foundations since not only were their white numbers minimal, but only about 40% of them were actually born in Rhodesia (Caute, 1983). There was also a high turnover of population as people came and left the country in not insignificant numbers (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). As a result, "...when they spoke of 'everything we built up here', that first person plural depended on a self-serving osmosis" (Caute, 1983, p. 88).

From the above it is apparent that geographical spaces were not neutral abstractions for white Rhodesians who formed emotional attachments to their spaces and drew them into their conceptualisations of who they were. The control of space was tied to the exercising of political control and was also a means of asserting white control and occupation without whites having to engage the majority African people in any capacity other than as a labouring class.

#### 2.4.2.3. Whiteness: The educational space

Integral to the creation and maintenance of white Rhodesian nationalism was an education system which catered separately for whites and Africans. This in itself set white children apart and prepared them for separate, privileged lives as adults (Caute, 1983). Whites regarded themselves as being superior and they believed that they needed an education system which could safeguard the moral stamina of their children as they negotiated their way through a sea of degenerative African influences (Atkinson, 1982). It was also necessary for Africans to be educated to believe that whites were superior.

Most white children attended state schools at no cost to their parents and attendance was compulsory for children between the ages of 7 and 15 years (Megahey, 2005). Most state schools were bilateral in nature, offering both 'academic' and 'practical' streams (Winch, 1982). Some however, focused purely on academics. Such schools went out of their way to set themselves up along the same lines as British grammar schools and portrayed themselves as bastions of privilege and custodians of British bourgeois heritage (Caute, 1983).

Umtali (Mutare) Boys' High School was one such school and I describe it here so as to provide an insight to what was involved. Although it was a state school there were distinct similarities with St Stephen's College, the private school I attended in Rhodesia. It sought to fashion itself along British grammar school lines, although a distinct public school 'feel' could also be detected. It provided a fine example of what many white Rhodesians regarded as their ideal in respect of state education. Caute (1983, p. 403) demonstrates the point by citing an advertisement for the school to show how the school marketed itself and its mission and the educational experience it offered. The school's many achievements are highlighted and it is described as "...a paradise of games fields, tennis courts, and squash courts set down in 120 landscaped acres", a

setting becoming of a school which produced gentlemen. The advertisement was published in August 1980 just as the new state of Zimbabwe was being born. It was now for the first time that Africans were allowed to attend the school and the headmaster was concerned about a 'sudden influx'. He was interviewed by Cauter (1983, pp. 402-403) and his responses to questions are particularly telling. He refers to a brochure which declares that pupils will be accepted to his school as long as they "...accept and fit in with the traditions, way of life, discipline and type of curriculum as have hitherto prevailed at the school". Insisting on the fairness of this, the headmaster said it was "...a question of preserving your westernised, Christian concept of education". He hastened to add that "...we might be forced to play soccer here instead of rugby...if we suffered an influx", soccer being regarded as a working class and African sport.

The extract below, in which Judith Todd (1982, pp. 91-92), the daughter of Southern Rhodesia's liberal prime-minister, Mr Garfield Todd, of the early 1950s, describes race relations in the 1960s, goes some way in helping to contextualise such racialised thinking about white schooling:

When children go to school they go to white schools and the only Africans they will see are those who sweep the grounds, tidy the classrooms and empty the wastepaper baskets. All around them, right through their society, Africans are employed in a subservient position. If by any chance they should meet an African doctor, or lawyer, or teacher, the fact that this man has a black skin is more telling than any letters he might have after his name. Because he is black he is a servant. Because he is black he has no right to be anything but a servant. 'You can go in there to sweep the floor', a legendary policeman stationed outside a white church is said to have told an African, 'but God help you if I catch you praying!'

The state schooling system was designed to be supportive of the elite model of bourgeois whiteness. Pupils were treated as if they were all in this fold and while the majority were not, there was a sense in which they, or at least their parents, could imagine that they were and there was an element of control in this. Many of the schools in fact did no more than "...fit the average boy and girl for citizenship" (Winch, 1982, p. 76). Children finished school by writing the examinations of British Examination Boards and as such, they were taught curriculum content of a decidedly British, bourgeois character (Atkinson, 1982; St. John, 2007). They learnt little about Africa and Africans unless it was according to European constructions of the same. There was hardly any

teaching of African languages at schools (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). White Rhodesians knew Africans only as a servant-class. If African children did attend school, they did so in African residential areas (known as townships or compounds) which were situated away from white areas, out of sight and out of mind (Caute, 1983; Godwin & Hancock, 1993; St. John, 2007).

White Rhodesians learnt about themselves as a homogenous, brave, pioneering people and frequent reference was made in their lessons to the brave pioneers who had gone before. They had tamed a wilderness, calmed backward tribes and created a country out of nothing. Based on this, white Rhodesians believed that they had every right to secure what they believed was rightfully theirs' (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; Liebenberg, 2008; St. John, 2007). The notion of children being taught an inverted epistemology (Steyn, 2012), which was explained earlier, has relevance here.

Both state and private white Rhodesian schools prided themselves in being strong sporting institutions and sport featured prominently in the school day (Lamb, 2006). It was always important to play a fair game and to never let the side down since this would help to teach children how they should one day regard their country (Smith, 1997). School traditions, discipline and conformity were highly prized and schools were inevitably authoritarian institutions where children, especially boys, were subjected to the kind of discipline that would stand them in good stead for the leadership roles they would be expected to play as adults (Caute, 1983). It was also the case that individualism was stressed in that pupils were taught that the progress they made within the structures into which they had been socialised depended on their own effort and choices (Atkinson, 1982).

The patriarchal nature of white Rhodesian society has been referred to in the foregoing sub-section and official attitudes towards sexuality have also been mentioned. Supportive moral codes were readily taught as norms in white Rhodesian schools in respect of both curriculum content and organisational structure (Caute, 1983; Todd, 1982). Behaviour which departed from established sexuality norms was considered deviant and was supported by powerful codes of silence on the part of those who were not heterosexual (Caute, 1983).

While educational standards in the country's white government schools were comparable to those in many parts of the western world, not least to those in Britain

itself, there nevertheless emerged a growing demand for private schools. Megahey (2005) identifies a number of factors as being responsible for this. Some parents wanted their children to be educated according to a specifically Christian ethos, whilst others desired the status they believed a private school education would confer. An outward sign of the desired status was how people spoke and many parents believed that a private school education would teach their children to speak without the unattractive Rhodesian accent which showed such "...a lack of cultural training" (Megahey, 2005, p. 7), and a distinct absence of a particular form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1988). The coming to power of the Afrikaner dominated National Party in South Africa in 1948 was another factor. A number of Rhodesian parents had availed themselves of the opportunities presented by private schools in South Africa but after the National Party came to power the highly racialised atmosphere in the country became far less appealing to white Rhodesians in "...their most British of colonies" (Megahey, 2005, p. 9). Increased immigration, especially from Britain after the Second World War, and the prospect of the coming into being of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, were further factors favouring the establishment of a strong private school sector in Rhodesia (Megahey, 2005).

Randall (1982) identifies a typical British 'colonial mentality' as implying devotion to the British crown and to an empire that would last forever. Elitist private schools were strongly supportive of such a mentality and those in Rhodesia were no exception. The country's elite private schools were clones of British public schools. Their sole purpose was to turn out refined white individuals of Christian character, individuals who were loyal and patriotic and dedicated to the maintenance of civilised Christian standards and values in Rhodesia and beyond (Megahey, 2005). In pursuit of this, academically inclined Eurocentric curricula were followed and examinations were set by British examining authorities (Megahey, 2005).

Traditionally, British public schools, upon which Rhodesian private schools were so closely modelled, were single-sex schools. This was necessary so that boys and girls could be prepared for their different roles in life, boys needing to be gentlemen and empire builders, and girls needing to be prepared to play the supportive roles of 'gentlewomen' whose thoughts were not supposed to extend much beyond the social graces and the well-being of their menfolk. Given the patriarchal nature of Victorian and

colonial societies there was always a strong emphasis on boys' public school education, in particular (Randall, 1982).

Like British public schools and their colonial clones, Rhodesian private schools were typically boarding-schools (Megahey, 2005). Such schools were thought to be able to exert a stronger hold over pupils who could more readily become part of a 'total institution' (Randall, 1982). In some ways sending a child to boarding school amounted to extrusion from the nuclear family. Randall (1982, p. 41) argues that the effect was "...to realign dependency and loyalty from the immediate nuclear family to a wider grouping". When there were accompanying initiation ceremonies, which were reminiscent of rites of passage, the realignment to school and eventually to country was even stronger (Randall, 1982).

Typically it was the case that British public boarding-schools were set on their own in the country, often on vast country estates (Randall, 1982) and the same applied to Rhodesian private boarding-schools. Being set apart spatially they were away from the distractions of life and would thus be better able to do their work of preparing young men and women for their future roles in life. Being set on country estates was furthermore reminiscent of the large country estates from which the children of the aristocracy came. This was attractive to those aspiring to aristocratic standards (Randall, 1982).

Strong 'house systems' existed within Rhodesian boarding-schools. Within the houses, strong 'boy government' was heavily relied upon in assisting masters to enforce the required standards of discipline, respect for rules and rituals, and the inculcation of conformity to the requirements of the school. The moulding of character was the primary goal. In the case of boys, good character was measured by their attitudes, accents and manners and their loyalty to both their school and their country (Randall, 1982). A strong individualism was a further defining feature of a boy's character despite the requirement of conforming to what the school expected (Megahey, 2005).

Sport was highly prized in British public schools (Randall, 1982) and perhaps even more so in the private boarding schools of Rhodesia (Megahey, 2005). Cricket and rugby were the key sports and were thought to be important games in the teaching of physical courage, mental discipline and team spirit. The notion of 'playing the game' and 'having

a go' were what mattered most, and losing heroically was often seen as more important than winning. These were the values of Empire and nation-building.

As with their British public school counterparts, Rhodesian private boarding-schools were quite austere places, especially in the houses and the dormitories, and living conditions were often harsh. The idea was to work against the family-life comforts of home and to harden and discipline pupils, especially boys (Paxman, 2012; Randall, 1982).

The typical British public school was also denominational and the Anglican Church's role was especially noticeable, given its position as the established official church in England, its historical role in the provision of education and its status as the church of the empire (Paxman, 1998). In keeping with this, the private schools of Rhodesia had a distinctive denominational character and once again the Anglican Church's presence was particularly noticeable (Megahey, 2005). Denominational associations were significant in giving schools distinctive characteristics, and in the case of Anglican schools, an alignment with the white elitist bourgeois culture of those who were in charge of the country.

It was also quite typical for there to be a strong focus on the teaching of the classics as a means of training the minds of pupils and of setting them apart from others (Paxman, 2012). In Rhodesia this translated into a focus, in some private schools, on teaching Latin as a foundation on which to build good English grammar (Atkinson, 1982). The development of cultural tastes befitting those of gentlemen was a further emphasis (Paxman, 2012).

African schools were, in contrast to both state and private white schools, distinctly disadvantaged in respect of both infrastructural and curricula development. Far less money was spent on African schooling and non-attendance figures were always high (Caute, 1983). For a long time the view prevailed that Africans were docile and had the intelligence to befit them only as a labouring class. They therefore had no need of an education akin to that which white children received (Atkinson, 1982).

It is apparent from the above that white Rhodesians' experience of school played a significant role in preparing them for the superior leadership roles they were expected to play in society as adults. While all white Rhodesians were set aside for privileged

treatment there was a clear class divide, reflecting a distinct gradation of whiteness, between state and private schooling.

#### 2.4.2.4. Zimbabwe: Remaining whiteness

The political power of whites was finally dislodged in 1980 when the 'one person one vote' elections whites had been forced to agree to in the Lancaster House negotiations (which were convened by the British government to settle the dispute between white Rhodesians and African nationalist groupings) swept Robert Mugabe to power. This event was confirmation of white Rhodesians' worst nightmare (St. John, 2007) and many whites elected to leave the new Zimbabwe as soon as they could. Hughes (2010) reports that the white proportion of the population never exceeded 5% of the total and that it had slipped to just 1% in 1990. Taylor (2000) speaks of there being less than 100 000 whites in the country in 1982. Godwin and Hancock (1993) speak of there being about 80 000 in 1990, a number that was decreasing rapidly. Just twenty-one years previously, the 1969 census had recorded just less than 230 000 whites (Godwin & Hancock, 1993).

The whites who stayed on after independence were thoroughly surprised by the reconciliatory tone which was initially struck by Robert Mugabe. Even Ian Smith (1997, p. 361) expressed surprise at the man's "...maturity, reasonableness and sense of fair play" and began to think that the country might after all "...be headed for fair weather" (Smith, 1997, p. 363).

Many of those whites who remained nevertheless clung hard to both their separate white geographical spaces and their colonial attitudes (Hughes, 2010; Pilosoff, 2012). They embraced their 'Rhodesianness' and refused to adapt to the changes in the country. They were indeed 'Rhodies' (Pattman, 1998; St. John, 2007) and found a measure of relief in the fact that they were able, to a large extent, to enjoy the lifestyle of the 'Rhodesian days'. Sheers (2004, p. 225) describes them as "...the residue of Mr Ian Smith's regime, the white hardliners who have stayed in the country under majority rule, still holding their minority rule views close to their chests, like a deck of forbidden cards". Instead of engaging constructively with the people of the new state they celebrated what they regarded as the failures of African majority rule, declaring in their 'verandah talk' that 'we told you so' (Lessing, 1992). Pilosoff (2012) develops this theme further when he describes the lifestyles and attitudes among many of the white farmers in Zimbabwe,

making the point that the recent farm invasions served only to bring old 'Rhodie' attitudes even more to the surface.

The 'Rhodies' allowed their "...minds to go into social exile" (Hughes, 2010, p. 5) by escaping into the landscapes of the country and writing these landscapes into who they understood themselves to be. Pilosoff (2012, p. 163) writes of the links many white farmers have felt with their farms in the post-independence period. While he does not deny the strength of the attachments involved, he believes them to have been over romanticised, somewhat overstated and too reliant on "...myths of hard work and empty land". He makes the additional and significant point that the connections with the farms have been far more with the landscapes than with the people living on the farms. The farmers have essentially led apolitical lives. It has been noted above that this has also been true of many white Zimbabweans in general and not just farmers (Hughes, 2010).

This argument is extended by Hughes (2010, p. 133) when he claims that many whites have used their relationship with the landscape, in both 'working' and 'leisure' terms, as a means of claiming a sense of belonging and entitlement. They have in a sense escaped into the landscape and become preoccupied with the protection and conservation of the natural environment, thus continuing "...the aesthetics, symbols and fables of white privilege". This preoccupation is awash with colonial nostalgia and suggests that the 'belonging' that is felt can only ever be one that is awkward (Hughes, 2010).

There is however, another breed of whites who have stayed on in Zimbabwe (Sheers, 2004). They constitute a group which has tried to engage constructively with the new reality. They "...still have black cooks, nannies and gardeners, not because they feel it is right, but because that is the way of doing things" (Sheers, 2004, p. 225). They seem to have accepted their fate, being "...people to whom history has happened, not passed by" (Sheers, 2004, p. 225). They have internalised the changes that have unfolded in the country and have become relieved, in fact, that they no longer live in the old Rhodesia. They can be regarded as having resolved to engage in a process of learning to be 'mitsein' in respect of their relationship with local African people (see Lopez, 2005).

As in the case of Zambia, whiteness lingers as a power laden formation in post-independent Zimbabwe (Hughes, 2010; Pilosoff, 2012; Sheers, 2004). A particularly

noticeable facet which has been brought to the fore in recent years has been the on-going, although now much reduced, ownership by whites of land. This has had the effect of conferring upon a small number of whites a sovereignty which has clashed with the sovereignty of the Zimbabwe government. This has helped many to maintain a bourgeois white identity (Fox, 2012; Razack, 2002; Schick, 2002).

#### 2.4.3. Whiteness in South Africa

##### 2.4.3.1. Whiteness: The political space

The Cape was under the control of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) from 1652 and prior to the British occupation in 1805, people were, in many cases, more conscious of class than they were of race (Giliomee, 2003; MacDonald, 2006). The possession of citizenship, being a burgher, was also important in distinguishing between people (Giliomee, 2003), as was whether a person had been baptized or not (Elphick, 2007; Steyn, 2001). Once the population of the Cape became more diverse, as it did once the British had established their presence, notions of British nationalism and Empire rooted themselves in the dominant ideology and racialisation was integral to this (Giliomee, 2003; MacDonald, 2006). It now became necessary, at least for the sake of appearances, to fashion a united whiteness. With British control this came to be cast in British bourgeois terms and found expression in the English language primarily, but also in the cultural symbols of dress, architecture, emblems, conversation and food (Giliomee, 2003). Anything Dutch in respect of language and culture was held in low regard.

As the British imposed their control the free burghers did what they could to escape its effects and many eventually moved away from the Cape altogether. Whether they remained or not they saw themselves as being firmly rooted in Africa, calling themselves 'Afrikanders' (later, Afrikaners) or 'people from Africa' (Steyn, 2001). This self-identification with Africa did not mean their surrendering of their claim to a superior civilisation but rather it was the outcome of their conviction that their occupation of land was legitimate. This included "...their right to wield power over both the indigenous peoples and the slaves..." (Steyn, 2001, p. 28).

The British were different. They were more recent settlers and maintained a much stronger hold over their British identity (Steyn, 2001). They were thoroughly convinced

of their racial and cultural superiority and eagerly fed the teachings of racial science and later, Social Darwinism, into their experience of Africa. They maintained their ties with Britain and saw themselves as civilising the 'natives' in addition to settling and extracting economic benefit (Steyn, 2001). They held the Afrikaners in low regard, as mere savages with only a thin veneer of civilisation. There was a sense in which the civilising mission the British were convinced it was their lot to play out in South Africa should therefore include the Afrikaners (Steyn, 2001).

The coming into being of the Union of South Africa in 1910, which brought together two Boer Republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) and two British colonies (Cape and Natal) (Fig. 1), was an expedient attempt to bridge the divide between Afrikaners and whites of British origin. The task was made difficult by the recentness of the South African War (1899-1902) which had seen the two clashing over who should control the land that was to eventually become South Africa. Africans were completely excluded from the new political set-up which led to South Africa becoming a British dominion (L'Ange, 2001).

As in the broader southern African context, race was an issue from the outset. White minority control was entrenched, not only in the new Union constitution, but in the passing of a host of laws designed to facilitate spatial segregation and the general protection and upliftment of whites (Giliomee, 2003). White poverty was a major concern since it had the potential to threaten notions of white superiority (Giliomee, 2003; Malherbe, 1981; Sparks, 1990). As many as 300 000 whites were classified as 'poor whites' (Brits & Spies, 2007). Most were Afrikaners who had suffered displacement during the South African War. Farmers were forced to urbanise and did not have the skills to enable them to compete with Africans who had been similarly displaced. Many Afrikaners also refused to do 'native's work' and to compound matters, many employers, the majority of whom were British, preferred to employ Africans because it was cheaper to do so. English-speaking whites, especially those of bourgeois background, attached a 'poor white' stigma to all Afrikaners (Giliomee, 2003).

Sparks (1990, p. 133) observes that "...the experience of poor-whiteism hardened Afrikaner attitudes on race," because as Afrikaners found themselves competing with Africans as 'fellow proletariats', all they had to assert their authority was their white skin. It was Afrikaners' white skin that prevented them from falling to the bottom of the pit and

for this reason they went out of their way to assert and protect their racial distinctiveness. Much of this ties up with my earlier commentary on the gradations of whiteness internationally and the notion of 'white trash' in the USA.

With the development of Afrikaner nationalist politics, Afrikaner nationalists became preoccupied with Afrikaner identity and survival. In many ways it can be argued that the roots of Afrikaner nationalism were firmly planted in the experiences of the South African War, most especially the treatment of Afrikaners by the British (Giliomee, 2003; Jansen, 2009). When the Afrikaner nationalists came to power in 1948 they continued with, and energetically expanded, white upliftment programmes (Cilliers, 2008) while simultaneously implementing apartheid. The nationalism that was associated with the same was predicated on the building of a strong unity among Afrikaners (Cilliers, 2008; Giliomee, 2003) and assumed distinctly socialist overtones to the extent that the government eventually acquired "...the largest amount of nationalised industry of any country outside the Communist bloc" (Sparks, 1990, p. 134).

Their racial purity and exclusivity was of crucial importance to them (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). Race classification, based on stringent and sometimes nonsensical criteria, became law so that they could separate themselves from the rest of the population (Posel, 2001). Laws to prohibit sexual contact and marriage between whites and others were intended to protect their racial purity (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007), while elaborate segregation laws were designed to minimise racial contact and give whites exclusive control over their areas of occupation at both metropolitan and national levels. Contact between blacks and whites was to be, as far as possible, on a 'master-servant basis' only (Lemon, 1990).

There were always close links between the National Party government and the Dutch Reformed Church, with the latter being integrally involved in formulating the apartheid policy and providing its theological justification. The church taught that individual life could only be fulfilled within a national context. Afrikaners were a chosen people who had a duty to lead the nations of South Africa to full nationhood. They could only do so if they first secured the integrity of their own nation. Racial and national purity were linked and any sense of guilt Afrikaners might have had was replaced with a sense of mission. Those who allowed national purity and racial purity to be compromised allowed themselves to become "bastardised out" of their own identities (Sparks, 1990, p. 179).

White Afrikaner society was powerfully patriarchal from the time of the earliest settlements (Sparks, 1990; Wilkins & Strydom, 1978). For many years children were educated only in their homes and "...within each family the father was a law unto himself, a total autocrat over his domain" (Sparks, 1990, p. 127). His position was greatly strengthened by the Afrikaner experience of the South African War since it was the menfolk who became so widely respected for having fought so bravely against the British. As the nationalists took their nationalist project into the 20<sup>th</sup> century the male heroes of the war became deified. This made Afrikaner nationalist politics at once male, personal and authoritarian, with a distinctive male personality cult persisting through to the era of Mr P.W. Botha, who was the leader who lost power to Mr F.W. de Klerk in 1989 (Sparks, 1990). Powerful male dominance was reinforced by the many activities of the *Broederbond*, an exclusively male group of 'super Afrikaners' that had such power and influence that it effectively constituted the very nucleus of the Afrikaner nationalist movement. It was home to the real authors of apartheid. Wilkins and Strydom (1978, p. 3) capture this well when they quote from a speech made by the first chairman, Mr H.J. Klopper, on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the organisation in 1968:

We are part of the state, we are part of the church, we are part of every big movement that has been born of the nation. And we make our contributions unseen; we carried them through to the point where our nation has reached today.

English-speaking white South Africans, from Union onwards, lacked the cohesion and sense of mission that Afrikaners enjoyed. The bond that held Afrikaners together was missing. Writing of his own kind Paton (1981, p. 96) declares that "...we never had a karoo, we never trekked, we never developed a new language, we never were defeated in war, we never had to pick ourselves up out of the dust." English-speaking white South Africans enjoyed General Jan Smuts, the leader of the United Party, and were keen to fight alongside the British during the Second World War. After the National Party defeated Smuts in the 1948 elections however, and set about introducing the policy of apartheid, most English-speaking white South Africans retreated to a private world of business and home, preferring to leave the necessary job of keeping the country from African majority rule to the Afrikaners, even if they thought their policies for doing so were rather harsh (Sparks, 1990). Links were maintained with global, economic and cultural communities, primarily through their language and their business dealings. In

the process, an essentially anti-revolutionary and conservative stance was maintained. There was much pride in western values and a scathing regard for how they believed the west was allowing itself to crumble under the advance of moral permissiveness. The middle class was well represented among English-speaking South Africans and they were particularly keen to hold themselves aloof from those who they saw as their inferiors, not least the Afrikaners (Sparks, 1990).

MacDonald (2006, p. 59) asserts that both Afrikaner whites and English speaking whites benefitted appreciably from the political situation which prevailed. It enabled them to control the terms of their belonging and material well-being and this, at the same time, "...inflicted feelings of exclusion and material disadvantages on blackness". Whites were able to define themselves on their terms and they did so by focusing on the attributes that distinguished them from their 'others'. Particularly important among these were the vote, political rights and citizenship (MacDonald, 2006). The two white groups, furthermore, benefitted from each other, despite divergences such as language and past history, for they were after all, both white and as they faced a large African majority, they were able to draw strength from this (Sparks, 1990). It is significant to note, in this regard, that in 1965, for example, there were just over twelve million Africans in South Africa and less than three and a half million whites (approximately twenty five percent of the total) (Nicholson & Morton, 1965). It is also significant to note that the degree to which whites have been out-numbered by Africans (and coloureds and Indians) has grown steadily with time. According to the 2011 South African Population Census, there were four and half million whites living in South Africa (approximately sixty percent of whom were Afrikaans-speaking and forty percent English-speaking) and this figure represented 9% of the total population (Van Niekerk, Vermeulen, & Hefez, 2012).

There was opposition to apartheid from a small number of liberal whites who were poorly organised politically. Liberally inclined students grouped themselves around the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and Alan Paton and Helen Suzman were well known names associated with South African liberalism (Sparks, 1990). The English language universities were imbued with a liberal ethos which was presided over by white bourgeois liberals (Malherbe, 1981).

Mention has been made previously of the liberal focus on individuals and the need for individuals to be free in society to express themselves and exercise their abilities and talents (Ashley, 1989; Gillborn, 1995; Leonardo, 2004; Scheurich, 1993). For this reason liberals were despised by Afrikaner nationalists who saw liberalism as undermining the Nationalist focus on their *volk* (group) identity. Liberalism went against the need for strong government which Afrikaners believed to be necessary to allow them to consolidate their position. As such, Afrikaners believed that liberalism paved the way for Africanists and communists to come to power (Ashley, 1989).

Liberals were also not appreciated by Africanists in South Africa. One reason was that liberals favoured gradual change in society and believed that revolution increased the risk of the rise of ideologies and violent strategies being employed (Ashley, 1989). Africanists also noted that the liberal position was dominated by whites who protested loudly and frequently. They saw the benevolence involved and the desire by white liberals, as with white liberals everywhere, to be 'good' whites (Hayes & Juarez, 2009). They saw in the colour-blindness and the multiculturalism of the liberal stance an inability to grapple with the structural causes of racism (Gillborn, 1995; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; Scheurich, 1993; Sullivan, 2007). They saw an underlying paternalism, and they felt that liberals went only far enough to appease their consciences. There was nothing that would lead to constructive action as a follow through (Ashley, 1989; Sparks, 1990). They argued that liberalism amounted effectively to a polite expression of commitment to the status quo. In this sense white liberals were an integral part of white hegemony (Sparks, 1990). Comparatively few whites agreed with such opposition to the liberal stance. They identified themselves as progressive thinkers and operated beyond the confines of constitutional opposition (Sparks, 1990).

The first sustained challenge to whiteness in South Africa came after the halcyon days of the 1960s (Vietzen, 2010), ironically from within the Bantu Education system which had been introduced in 1953 to secure the position of Africans as docile, second class citizens and suppliers of cheap low-skilled labour. In June 1976 pupils in Soweto rose up in protest against a requirement that they should be taught through the medium of both English and Afrikaans. The action was the start of a widespread campaign of resistance against white minority rule (Constas, 1997; Hartshorne, 1992). After years of believing National Party propaganda that the Africans of the country were content with their lot, and were well under control anyway, many whites reacted with disbelief to the

news that thousands of pupils in Soweto had embarked upon such protest action. The white authorities believed that a show of force would soon quell the unrest (Suzman, 1993) but this turned out to be a serious miscalculation of a situation which was soon to become the major turning point in white politics (L'Ange, 2005; Sparks, 1990; Suzman, 1993).

Members of the white public reacted in different ways. Some left the country. Some switched their voting allegiance to the Progressive Federal Party, believing that its liberal policies were the way to settle the unrest. Others drew closer to the National Party, believing that a stronger united white front was the answer (Suzman, 1993). Some, like the charismatic one time leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Van Zyl Slabbert, resigned from the white House of Assembly altogether and joined efforts to enter into negotiations with the African National Congress (ANC) in exile (Van Zyl Slabbert, 2006). By the end of the tumultuous decade of the 1980s such efforts had begun to bear fruit as South African whites pulled together behind F.W. de Klerk, who succeeded P.W. Botha as president in 1989. He tried to cut as good a deal for whites as he could during negotiations which eventually brought the ANC to power in 1994 and ended apartheid and white minority rule.

After 1994 white South Africans found themselves having to deal with a reality which was hostile to the notions of entitlement and superiority which had been so thoroughly entrenched in the master narrative of whiteness which had developed during the colonial and apartheid periods (Ballard, 2004; Cilliers, 2008; Davies, 2009; Delport, 2005; Distiller & Steyn, 2004; Krog, 1999; L'Ange, 2005; Lundy & Visser, 2003; Nuttall, 2009; Sparks, 1990; Steyn, 2001, 2004). As a result whites began to work their way through different "...options of personal and social redefinition" (Steyn, 2001, p. 151). In so doing, they have drawn on a variety of discourses to construct a range of 'petite' or sub-narratives' of whiteness as they try to come to terms with "...who they are, what they are doing in Africa, and what their relationship is to the indigenous people and to the continent" (Steyn, 2001, p. 122). The narratives "...reflect a range of investment in, or disinvestment from, old style whiteness" (Steyn, 2001, p. 153), with some whites being completely out of line with the new order and others being at different places along a continuum of adjustment to the realities of the democratic dispensation. These narratives compete with each other and become more or less important in people's minds, depending on how political and material events intersect with them. Significantly,

there is sufficient commonality among some whites for them to be able to move into strategic coalition with each other and with others whose interests may be similar (Steyn, 2001). Steyn's research in this regard is of particular relevance to my own journey of change which is revealed in my personal narrative.

Steyn (2001, p. 155) stresses that while the existence of these different narratives bears testimony to the fragmentation of the master narrative of whiteness, this should not be taken to mean that whites have lost all power, for it "...is a modernist fallacy (much promoted by the old white regime), that only the unified is powerful." It is also appropriate to be reminded that it is the nature of whiteness to persist in post-colonial situations. What has been said previously about this, in respect of Zambia and Zimbabwe, applies very much to the South African situation. Although South African whites are a numerical minority, the presence of some four and a half million of them (Van Niekerk et al., 2012) enables them to exert a very noticeable physical presence, especially in urban areas where many continue to live in largely separate, secluded residential areas (Ballard, 2004). Whites still own most of the land and are dominant as owners of the means of production and in the ranks of those who are highly skilled. Although there are 11 official languages, English and Afrikaans, especially the former, are well established as the languages of wider communication (Van Niekerk et al., 2012). The position of whites has been further strengthened by South Africa's post-1994 alignment with neoliberalism (Gumede, 2005; Sparks, 2003), a move which has reinforced ties with international whiteness. I discuss this further in Chapter 6 as I do some of the key ways in which privilege manifests itself in the daily lives of white South Africans.

Steyn (2001) stresses however, that none of this should be taken to mean that whites have not experienced any loss, for the various narratives make it clear that they indeed have, this aggregating essentially around their loss of political control and autonomy and an associated sense of feeling psychologically dislodged and marginalised.

It is postulated by Steyn (2001) that as whites work through new ways of being in South Africa, with the power they have at their disposal, new narratives have begun to emerge. Among some a discourse of resistance is emerging, one which could, interestingly, draw Afrikaner and English speaking whites into a much stronger bond than has hitherto been the case. Among others an option of 'strategic abdication' is

developing, one in which people see society as no longer theirs and as a result elect to keep as low a profile as possible, whilst at the same time, being politely colour-blind but always alert to their own interests. Yet another narrative which is growing up is that among whites who find themselves using their whiteness as a resource as they position themselves "...as the custodians of valuable cultural and experiential resources" (Steyn, 2001, p. 167). This holds out considerable opportunity for them so long as "...the tropes of whiteness remain desired objects for many black African people" (Steyn, 2001, p. 167).

McIntyre (1997) defines 'white talk' as consisting of strategies and behaviours whites use to avoid naming their privilege. Steyn (2005) argues that as white South Africans work through how much Africanness and Europeanness they wish to take on they engage in 'white talk', as they try to hold "...in tension the privileges that usually accompany mainstream racial identity with the displacement and decentredness of a diasporic people" (Steyn, 2005, p. 127). As South African whites engage in 'white talk' they might be disapproving of developments in the post-1994 period in polite and suggestive ways which often conceal an underlying racism. White talk enables them to deplore declining standards in education, or the corruption and lack of efficiency in government departments that have followed affirmative action policies, often portraying themselves as victims of reverse racism. They might also use signifiers, such as the 'third world', to articulate backwardness, race and racism. Similarly, they might engage in 'gloom and doom' talk about the future of South Africa, invariably comparing the present with how much better things used to be (Steyn, 2005), this being similar to the 'verandah talk' engaged in by the 'Rhodies' of Zimbabwe (Lessing, 1992). Steyn (2005) expresses the hope that what will happen in time is that narratives will emerge which reveal more reflexivity on the part of whites, and a desire to reach out to those previously 'othered', as they begin to learn the skill of 'mitsein' which provides the grounds for "...negotiation between erstwhile colonizers and colonized" (Lopez, 2005, p. 6).

A distinction can be made between English-speaking 'white talk' and Afrikaner 'white talk' (Salisbury & Foster, 2004; Steyn, 2004). English-speaking 'white talk' is careful to maintain links with "...the international, sedimented advantage of Anglo ethnicity at a global level and has more of the characteristics of what has been theorised as 'normal' whiteness" (Steyn, 2004, p. 70). English-speaking white talk is set within a context of 'a-

collectivity', a context which enables English speaking white South Africans to see themselves as normal rather than a specific group. As a result, they see themselves as being able to speak for the whole of humanity and the confidence thus derived enables them to consolidate their social and economic status. In maintaining their links with global capitalism, through international banks, corporates and the media for example, they remain linked to a globally hegemonic culture and it is their language, English, that guarantees them the access they need (Salisbury & Foster, 2004)

A further discernable characteristic of post-1994 English-speaking 'white talk' is a middle-class identification which means that English-speaking whites see their whiteness as being synonymous with being middle-class (Salisbury & Foster, 2004). The distinction between class and race becomes blurred to the extent that middle-class simply becomes 'white social class'. African servitude is an easy follow-on from this although there is space for Africans to also become middle-class. If and when they do so however, it has to be on white terms and they are expected to take on what whites perceive to be white middle class cultural norms, without ever being 'white' enough, of course.

Afrikaner 'white talk' is similar to English-speaking 'white talk' in that it also seeks to limit damage to white privilege and capitalise on group advantage, but it is also reflective of a 'resistant' whiteness, a 'subaltern' whiteness, rooted in the Afrikaners' struggle against the British. Afrikaans 'white talk' seeks to rehabilitate and repackage Afrikaners given the new realities they face against this background.

This idea is developed by Steyn (2004) when she reports on her analysis of Afrikaner 'white-talk' as revealed in letters written to a leading Afrikaner newspaper during the course of 2001. She identifies six strategies which were being deployed by Afrikaners. Other than the strategy which she calls 'Quarantine whiteness', in terms of which some Afrikaners are trying to retain their 'volk purity' in a highly particularized and geographically limited way, leaving the rest of the country to its own devices, the strategies all require some measure of deconstruction of the historical articulations of Afrikanerdom. The strategy 'Repatriate Whiteness', is employed by those Afrikaners who have reclaimed their Europeaness by physically moving abroad. They have gone into exile to join the Afrikaner diaspora and have established new Afrikaner communities in their new countries such as Australia and Canada. The 'Bolster Whiteness' strategy is

employed by those seeking to build an alliance of white Afrikaners and other white South Africans, this drawing on historical precedent established, with some success, by the Afrikaner dominated National Party government. By contrast, the 'Embrace Semi-Whiteness' strategy is predicated on an alliance being established between white and brown Afrikaners on the basis of cultural interconnections, particularly on the basis of language and culture. The 'Launder Whiteness' strategy casts Afrikaners as an ethnic group which has also been oppressed and exploited (by the British), and which now co-exists with a variety of other ethnic groups. Pacts and alliances can be entered into according to the needs of the groups, the power differences between them essentially, and conveniently, being ignored. Finally, it seems as if there is a group which uses the 'Melanise Whiteness' strategy to build an identity which finds more in common with their Africanness than their European whiteness, this being a strategy which is "...the least amenable to perpetuating white privilege" (Steyn, 2004, p. 80) and which "...rewrites the meaning of Afrikanerness most radically" (Steyn, 2004, p. 81).

A further strategy employed by whites to avoid naming their privilege is to claim to be ignorant of past racist and oppressive practices and of structural racism in society. Writing of the South African context, Steyn (2012) explains that many whites have entered into a contract with each other to transfer what was once known to the realm of ignorance because knowledge may point to liability and responsibility on their part. She speaks in this regard of the social construction of ignorance. In addition to enabling whites to avoid being labelled complicit and having to name their privilege such a construct serves to secure the on-going dominant and privileged position of whites. Several scholars mention the same strategy as being employed by whites in the international context (Alcoff, 2007; Freenan, 2007; Sullivan, 2007; Tronto, 2003).

It is contended by Davies (2009) that while Afrikaners in the post-apartheid period are no longer able to build their identity on links with the state and state power and racialised claims of supremacy, they have moved to fill alternative identity spaces which have become available to them. There has been, in particular, a strong push to reaffirm the unique cultural position of Afrikaners. Support is drawn from the global liberal establishment and the South African constitution which preserves "...significant equality for various cultural, linguistic and religious communities" (Davies, 2009, p. 76). It is a counter to assimilationist notions of citizenship. Davies suggests that if pursued this has the potential to lead to the emergence of "...a genuinely liberal, post-modern, non-

hegemonic form of identity” (Davies, 2009, p. 77). Coupled with the focus on cultural distinctiveness is a move towards ethnic identification which would have an affinity with Steyn’s (2004) ‘Launder Whiteness’ strategy. Davies (2009) sees this as an attempt by Afrikaners to deracialise their whiteness and to focus rather on the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ using culture as the signifier whilst simultaneously maintaining a ‘volk’ link. Within the frameworks of culture and ethnicity, language is emerging as a pivotal focus of attachment and is in many ways, being actively reinvented, particularly by young Afrikaners, many of whom perceive their language to be under threat. Davies (2009) suggests that the focus on ethnicity and the ‘cultural flowering’ that can currently be detected among Afrikaners can be regarded as a kind of ‘ethnic nesting’ and a ‘festivalisation’ of Afrikanerdom.

It is argued by Davies (2009) that Afrikaner identity is also changing in other ways. Many Afrikaners have been economically successful for example, in the democratic dispensation, and certain business elites have forged successful links with global capital, aligning their resources to the supranational level as they pursue global economics and the supportive and allied social and cultural interests. In many ways it can be said that the Afrikaners traded political power for economic gain. Davies (2009) goes further when she suggests that there is even a loose alliance between the Afrikaner business elite and the elite within the ruling ANC party.

This said, it is also true that there are Afrikaners whose material well-being has suffered since the removal of the apartheid ‘props’ that were so important to them in the past. There are no accurate reports of the number of poor whites in South Africa at present but there is agreement that many whites, mainly Afrikaners, live in squatter camps, mainly in Pretoria. The *Mail & Guardian* (24 May, 2013) quotes the white Afrikaner interest group, ‘Afriforum’, which puts the number of poor whites in South Africa at as much as 400 000 but this number is thought to be excessive. Most of the country’s poor whites are Afrikaners. The fact that such whites live in squatter camps, often in close proximity to Africans, is a new experience for many of South Africa’s whites, especially when viewed against the backdrop of all that apartheid tried to do for whites. This is evidence that Afrikaner identity is changing in yet other ways.

These journeys of ‘deconstruction’ and reconstruction’ by whites in South Africa provide an informative backdrop to my own journey of change. While there are differences

among them and while none is quite like mine, they provide an indication of the type of change involved and of the strategies people are adopting as they try to face the new realities of their lives.

White political power in South Africa has a much longer and firmly entrenched history than it ever did in Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. This is a direct result of the much longer white settlement history in South Africa and the far greater size of the white population. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that white political power in South Africa, in the colonial and apartheid periods, was contested by both English-speaking whites and Afrikaner whites. For many years each white group sought to establish a position of power and influence in relation both to each other, despite the notion of white unity that informed the coming into being of the Union of South Africa in 1910, and to the large and much feared African majority. African resistance was not anticipated, certainly not on the scale that emerged following the Soweto uprising. In the democratic period most whites have elected to remain in South Africa and to engage in a variety of strategies as they endeavour to accommodate the new realities which they face.

In reflecting on these various strategies it is appropriate to be reminded that while the variants of whiteness in South Africa are local variants of global whiteness what makes them distinctive is that while whites remain in power in so many ways they have lost political power and constitute a minority within the total population. This brings each of the strategies discussed above into sharper focus for those who have elected to engage with them. This is certainly the case in respect of my own strategy which, facilitated by the writing of this thesis, is to unravel and acknowledge my white privilege and work to undermine hegemonic whiteness as best I can, and learn the skill of 'mitsein' (Lopez, 2005) which has been referred to earlier, from this position. This is in contrast to opting to follow various alternative strategies discussed earlier in this chapter, namely opting to become a white race traitor (see Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996), or following a strategy of denial (see Wise, 2008) or ignorance (see Steyn, 2012) or one which locks me into white guilt (see Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998; Rodriguez, 1998; Wise, 2008). My position resonates with that which has been previously articulated by scholars such as Austin (2001); Giroux (1997b); Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998); Lipshitz (1995); Roediger (1994); Rothenberg (2012); Rutherford, (1990); Sullivan (2007); Wise (2008);

and Yancy (2008). As I engage with this position a new South African identity is emerging for me.

#### 2.4.3.2. Whiteness: The geographical space

The control of land has been important to whites since they first settled in the Cape in 1652. The planting of Van Riebeeck's hedge of Wild Almond just a few years after the arrival of the first Dutch settlers is recalled by Sparks (1990). The purpose of this hedge was to set the white settlers apart from the indigenous inhabitants of the Cape. The intention was that the hedge would set in place a "...border behind which white civilisation might protect itself" (Sparks, 1990, p. xvii). The importance of being able to control land continued to be important to the Dutch as they set about marking and expanding their presence in the Cape (Giliomee, 2003). It was crucial also for the British after they had taken over from the Dutch and once the settlement frontier had begun to extend deeper into Africa under their auspices. It was once again an issue for the Dutch, as groups of frontier farmers moved into the interior from the late 1830s, to find land which was beyond the reach of the British (L'Ange, 2005).

Land was also at the centre of the South African War as Afrikaners and British fought over the control of South Africa. It also lay at the centre of the establishment of the Union of South Africa, since it was pivotal to the emergence of the new united white South Africa as designed by its architects. Land also excluded Africans from the new political arrangement, primarily through the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Natives Urban Areas Land Act of 1923 and the introduction of influx control measures (Giliomee, 2003).

Such segregation laws laid the foundations for later apartheid legislation which consolidated and extended the territorial base which had been laid. It was during the apartheid years that the Afrikaner Nationalists took the tribally based African reserves of the 1913 Land Act and 'grew' them into Bantustans which would be led to independence and so remove blacks from the South African political landscape (Lemon, 1990). None of the Bantustans had a chance of becoming economically viable and they simply served as labour reservoirs, their dependence on South Africa serving to further strengthen the hand of the Afrikaner nationalists (Lemon, 1990). In terms of this 'divide and rule' policy those in charge manipulated geographical space to grow their own

nationalism by removing that which threatened their own national identity (Ballard, 2004).

Africans who moved to 'white South Africa' were subjected by the Group Areas Act of 1952, to a host of regulations controlling where they could stay and for how long. It was considered necessary for whites to be able to live in neighbourhoods where they could feel safe and at home, well away from their uncivilised 'others' (Ballard, 2004). Africans, as well as Indians and coloureds, were confined to certain townships, the construction of which was greatly accelerated from the early 1950s. To accomplish the goal of people living in their own designated geographical spaces rigid influx control measures were enacted and there were many forced relocations of people, mainly Africans (Lemon, 1990; Ballard, 2004).

Whites took great pride in their cities and neighbourhoods and saw their cities, in particular, as centres of westernisation and civilisation (Ballard, 2004). Segregation laws were considered necessary to keep them that way. As they drew their local spaces into the sense of who they were, whites made the political assertion that the land was theirs and did not belong to anyone else (Smith, 1990). Class divides amongst whites existed and the sanctity of private property was upheld, giving residential areas their distinctive characters (Lemon, 1990).

The four provinces into which South Africa was divided by the Act of Union (1909) (Fig.1) served as a further badge of identity, especially in the earlier years of Union, when the idea of 'nation' was poorly defined among white South Africans. The recentness of the political divide between the Cape and Natal, which had been British colonies, and the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which had been Boer republics, was a major hurdle in this regard. With the passage of time a sense of growing white national unity could be detected, but even so, provincial pride continued to lay a strong claim to white people's sense of belonging for many years, and so did the provincial distribution of Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans (Malherbe, 1977). The Transvaal, for example, was a largely Afrikaner province, while Natal was in the main an English province, especially in the Durban area (Malherbe, 1977).

The Afrikaner nationalist project tried to blur the regional and local variations in the hope that national geographic space would take priority over people's emotions. In the post-apartheid period local identity construction at the sub-national level has strengthened.

This has had the effect of allowing many old class and race divides to persist or resurface (Davies, 2009). The notion of the 'rainbow' nation, which whites find easy to identify with and which they use to market the 'new' country to themselves, allows for and, indeed, celebrates the diversity that comes from such local geographic identification. However, as Distiller and Steyn (2004) point out, the 'rainbow' concept is itself flawed since it invokes a politics of colour-blind multiculturalism which, as has been noted, fails to recognize and deal with structural inequality.

Ballard (2004) observes that in the post-apartheid period whites have embarked upon a number of strategies to mark out their spatial comfort zones at the local level. More liberally inclined whites tried an assimilatory approach which involved the reformation of 'otherness'. A qualified acceptance was extended to those (the emerging middle-class) who would be like 'us', and the property market was seen as acting as the necessary filter. The problem was that the property filter failed when land invasions occurred or when informal traders simply set up their stalls in the Central Business District (CBD) or along suburban streets. Cities now became the antithesis of what they were held up to be during the apartheid years namely, spaces of western civilisation and progress. Those whites who have become disenchanted with assimilation have joined others in looking for different ways of securing their spatial comfort zones (Ballard, 2004).

An increasing number of whites have 'semigrated' which, in the spatial sense, means that while they have remained physically in a democratic South Africa they have as little to do with it as possible. Some have moved to what they consider to be more congenial parts of the country, such as Cape Town. Others have moved into 'gated communities' or enclosed neighbourhoods where they create their own idealised residential and neighbourhood spaces on their own terms and thus restore their identity through boundary maintenance (Ballard, 2004).

Fewer whites have opted to integrate spatially with their fellow South Africans. They read the city as a cosmopolitan space which offers the opportunity to engage and learn about others. As they engage in the process old perceptions of 'otherness' fade and "...the logic that a secure sense of self is dependent on an inferior understanding of others" becomes incomprehensible (Ballard, 2004, p. 65).

At the other end of this continuum of responses are those whites who have opted to preserve their white standards and security by emigrating to 'First World' countries such

as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Britain, countries which are seen to be dedicated to the preservation of the kind of whiteness to which white South Africans were formerly accustomed (Ballard, 2004). Steyn (2001) contends however, that emigration is not an option for many, noting also that many whites do in fact feel a strong sense of being committed to South Africa in some way or other.

It is apparent that many of the whites who have stayed in South Africa have elected not to engage in public life at the national level (Cilliers, 2008) and that choices in respect of where to live primarily, are a spatial manifestation of this (Ballard, 2004). I have come across nothing in the literature to suggest that whites in South Africa have, as many in Zimbabwe have done, escaped into the landscape (Hughes, 2010; Pilosoff, 2012). It does seem, however, that when white South Africans, who have been away from home for a long time, write about what they miss, the emotional pull of the landscape features prominently (Knott-Craig, 2008; Lundy & Visser, 2003).

Lundy and Visser (2008), and Cilliers (2008) feel strongly that white South Africans can benefit considerably by finding authentic ways of engaging in the national life of the country. They advise them to begin with the simple act of respecting and dignifying each person and learning more about people and their cultures. They need to allow themselves to learn that all countries are defined by their people and that people need the space in which their human spirits can flourish. Each individual can, even in the smallest of ways, assist in the creating of such space, but they first have to engage with their own personal journeys. Cilliers (2008) argues that an important starting point for white South Africans is that they need to embrace, not deny, the past.

In concurring with this, and expanding upon it, Delport (2005), as has been noted in chapter 1, makes the point that social transformation can only be built on individual or personal reflection and transformation. She writes reflectively of her own journey of reconstruction as a white Afrikaner. Using the theoretical construction of Nussbaum (2001) she explains that a journey of personal reconstruction needs, in the first instance, to be built around transforming the objects of our emotions, such as places or people or events. Individuals also need to change the way they are connected to the objects of their emotions, or in other words, what they think or believe about them. Finally, they need to understand how they have been influenced by the objects in question and their thinking about them. This should cause them to reflect on where they

have been as they move into the construction of an inner reconciliation which is a prerequisite for individual reconstruction. Referring to her own experience, Delpont (2005) records how such reconciliation has enabled her to move away from a preoccupation with herself and the narrow dictates of Afrikaner nationalism to a broader, more inclusive national identity built "...in dialogical rapport with others" (Delpont, 2005, p. 222). She has come to see herself as being engaged in a collective national identity project in which she will only be able to really discover who she is in the transformed South Africa through her relationship with other South Africans. This would accord with Steyn's (2004) 'Melanise Whiteness' strategy which has been alluded to above.

It is the contention of Nuttall (2009), as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, that as individuals struggle with their national identity formation in post-apartheid South Africa they need to come to a point where they are able to focus less on the notion of difference, especially racial difference, and more on the degree to which they are 'mutually entangled' with others in their interpersonal relationships, including those which extend across different geographical spaces. She explains that as people live out their lives they become naturally entangled in their dealings with each other. The Afrikaner nationalist project was about preventing racial entanglement. This was evidenced by the great lengths to which the National Party went to designate separate geographical spaces for the different race groups. Nuttall (2009) argues that if people can become entangled they can, since boundaries between people are not immutable in time and space, become disentangled. She believes that in the current dispensation in South Africa there is no reason why disentanglement cannot be foregrounded as a factor in identity formation and nation-building. It would be a move away from an overly strong focus on race (Nuttall, 2009). It was explained earlier in this chapter that identity should not be regarded as being fixed and unchanging but rather as being in a constant state of unfolding (Alcoff, 2003; Austin, 2001; Connell, 1987; Giroux, 1997b; Hall, 1996; Kearney, 2003; McLaren, 1993; Mendieta, 2003; Wetherell, 1996). The case made by Nuttall (2009) is in keeping with this view of identity.

In pursuing her case, Nuttall (2009) cites examples of well-known South Africans who have gone out their way to disentangle from racist people. One is Joe Slovo, a white South African, who was also Jewish and who came from a poor background, who identified with black people and their struggle to the extent that he was fully accepted as black by blacks. Another is his daughter, Gillian Slovo who experienced her whiteness

differently. Living among whites in white geographical spaces, she was often scared that other whites would find out who she really was. She knew she was not white like them but tried, because of her fear, to 'pass for white'.

Antjie Krog is another. She has felt the evil of what white Afrikaners, including members of her own family, have done to their 'others'. Yet she cares for Afrikaners and feels a sense of belonging with them and being geographically tied to them. At the same time however, she is repulsed by them and feels a strong affinity with those who were their victims, to the extent that she dedicates her book, *Country of my skull* (Krog, 1999) to every victim who fell prey to abuse from an Afrikaner. Whilst not denying her Afrikaans background, she has disentangled herself from many Afrikaner individuals and has begun to allow a new self to emerge, an identity which is connected to an emerging new collective identity in South Africa.

Edwin Cameron is also cited for his memoir *Witness to AIDS*. He is a white man from a poor home, who is a judge and lawyer and who is also HIV/Aids positive. As a white man he has access to the privileges of whiteness, especially as a professional person. Yet he comes from a poor home and his whiteness is pitted against a condition which is more usually associated with being African. He completely identifies with his fellow Africans HIV/Aids sufferers, yet he distances himself from 'them' since he stresses that he became infected through a single sexual encounter. His text is clearly dialogic but, as with the others cited here, is instructive of the nature that entanglement and disentanglement, and I would add, dis-identification, can assume. The key is that people can to varying degrees find new linkages and possibilities of being.

These cases show how people whose whiteness has been constructed in a society based on racial dominance have tried to deal with being white in ways that make it clear that it is possible to find different ways of being South African as people learn to craft new ways of learning to live together. It is significant to add that people need to want to engage in a new nation-building project.

Distiller and Steyn (2004, p. 7) argue however, that while race may, in years to come, start to count for less it remains a primary constituent of who South Africans are. They contend that if the "...historical and daily implications of race", are to meaningfully be grasped, race as a category has still to be interrogated. To this must be added, that while it might be possible for whites to become disentangled from individual whites with

racist views, it is the contention of Lipshitz (1995), as I have indicated previously, that the nature of whiteness is such that it is impossible to become disentangled from it. I contend that what whites can do however, is to dis-identify with whiteness.

Nuttall (1998) has some harsh words for white liberal English-speaking South Africans who often speak of apartheid as having been an Afrikaner invention. She believes that liberals were in fact an indifferent supportive agency who murdered thousands of souls through their "...condescending platitudes" (Nuttall, 1998, p. 26). In much the same way, they are invariably the ones who currently have a foreign passport in the back pocket, with a 'now they belong, now they don't' attitude. They need to own up, tell their story and begin the process of disentanglement so that they can begin the process of reinventing themselves. Nuttall (1998) believes that personal narrative has the potential to achieve much in this area and this is significant in the light of the nature of my own study.

The control and manipulation of geographical space has been integral to endeavours by white South Africans to secure their overall control of South Africa and its peoples since whites first arrived in the country. This was especially apparent during the apartheid period when the National Party manipulated geographical space to create the separate nationalisms which were so integral to their 'divide and rule' philosophy. In the post-apartheid period whites are manipulating space, understood in both spatial and metaphoric terms, in new and different ways as they learn to adapt to the new realities in South Africa.

#### 2.4.3.3. Whiteness: The educational space

From the earliest days of white settlement in South Africa education has been used by whites to shore up white power and privilege. The earlier reference to Steyn's (2012) notion of inverted epistemology has relevance, for education's role has been characterised by strategies to omit and misrepresent knowledge. This will become apparent in due course.

Before the arrival of the British at the Cape, the Dutch had intended their children's experience of school to prepare them for the pioneering roles they would play in opening up the country and making a success of their adult lives which would be largely spent in farming (Molteno, 1984). The few slave children who went to school were

prepared for the domestic roles they would fill as adults. Later, under the British, the character of schooling changed to accommodate a British worldview. Schooling was now intended to more aggressively prepare white children for a lifestyle appropriate to, and to help maintain, their racial superiority (Molteno, 1984). The British had themselves in mind in this regard, more than the Dutch, for they held Dutch children in low regard (Steyn, 2001). They marginalised the Dutch culture and language through their control of schooling (Giliomee, 2003). While British missionaries may have challenged some of the excesses of the British settlers as they rushed to establish their presence and superiority, much of the work of their mission schools had the effect of furthering the aims of the imperialists. This they did by their inculcation of such Christian norms as contentment, hard work, submission and acceptance (Molteno, 1984).

There was little direct involvement by the state in African education for much of the period of white domination and rule. With the onset of industrialisation, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, missionary schooling became increasingly important and played a significant role in the process by which Africans became proletarianised. The missionaries received life sustaining subsidies from the state and were obliged to do what they were subsidized to do which was, essentially, to prepare Africans for work as semi-skilled industrial workers. Africans were needed primarily to provide cheap labour and were in no way prepared for positions from which they would be able to undermine the well-being of whites (Molteno, 1984; Sparks, 1990).

Racial segregation in education and schooling was entrenched by the South African Act of 1909 which gave rise to the birth of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Behr & MacMillan, 1971; Malherbe, 1925). An elaborate segregation infrastructure designed to reproduce racial inequality was set in place (Christie & Collins, 1982; Molteno, 1984) with whites as the intended beneficiaries. African schooling continued to be marginalised and the arrangement by which mission schools continued to educate Africans, very largely in the lower school standards only, remained in place (Hartshorne, 1992; Rose & Tunmer, 1975).

The question of the missionary control of African education was vexing and in 1936 the Welsh Commission recommended a full Union Government take-over of missionary schools. Significantly, this recommendation was not acted upon at the time. What is interesting, not least for the purposes of my study, is that the Commission also

investigated white Afrikaner and white English speaking attitudes to African education. These were such that there was little support for a government take-over of missionary schools. Whites believed that education would make Africans lazy and disinclined to want to do manual work. It would furthermore, make them cheeky as servants and docile, and alienate them from their own culture (Rose & Tunmer, 1975). Doubts were also expressed about the educability of Africans. These doubts were sourced in the contention that Africans needed time in order to catch up with whites who were considered to be intellectually superior, this being supported by the results intelligence tests (Rose & Tunmer, 1975).

Prior to 1948 therefore, African education was essentially a matter for missionary initiative, with the state doing little more than providing limited financial assistance. Gross educational inequalities resulted since the state was fully involved in providing free and compulsory schooling to whites whose education system was generously funded and aimed at the improvement of the life chances of white children (Behr, 1988; Molteno, 1984).

The inequalities which were so firmly in place prior to the coming to power of the National Party in 1948 were quickly entrenched and expanded by it as it brought African schooling under government control so as to ensure that education became part of the plan to maintain the apartheid system (Constas, 1997). As they proceeded, education policies were manipulated, new curriculum planning initiatives undertaken and pedagogical practices changed with the primary purpose of securing and maintaining white privilege (Constas, 1997).

To ensure that their particular vision of a white dominated and controlled South Africa took root, Afrikaner nationalists within the National Party believed that children needed to be educated according to Christian National principles. Whites, especially Afrikaners, were their primary targets but the CNE policy which was put in place determined the nature and character of the educational experience of all South Africans (Ashley, 1989; Behr, 1988; Jansen, 2009).

The point of departure for CNE was that individuals could only reach personal fulfilment within a national context. The exponents believed that the existence of the Afrikaner nation, with its own unique land and language, was God ordained. The primary task of education was to fit children into this nation so that they could be moulded in the image

of God and so help to promote God's plans for His people (Ashley, 1989; Behr, 1988; Jansen, 2009). There was a strong focus on tight school discipline and the need to inculcate a spirit of conformity among pupils (Jansen, 2009). Fundamental Pedagogics was a key driving force. It taught that the scientific method was the only authentic method by which to study education. It was seen as being value neutral and protected children from ideological content, except that which informed CNE itself (Enslin, 1984). Hartwig and Sharpe (1984, p. 333) note that the Youth Preparedness programmes which operated in support of Fundamental Pedagogics and the whole CNE edifice bore a striking resemblance to the Hitler Youth movement, there being a particularly strong focus on "...love of the fatherland, living space, political and racial indoctrination, and military training in veld schools." CNE taught that all 'national groups' in South Africa should be taught within their own national contexts and that Afrikaners should use their pure racial identity and political power base to play the necessary role of oversight and custodianship (Christie & Collins, 1982). English and Afrikaans-speaking whites generally attended separate schools on the basis of the entrenchment of the mother-tongue requirement. Indian and coloured children also attended separate schools and as far as possible Africans attended schools which were divided along ethnic lines (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Pretorius, 2007; Sparks, 1990). The resultant divisions were supportive of those which sought to compartmentalise South African geopolitical space as part of an overall 'divide and rule' strategy (Lemon, 1990).

There were huge qualitative and quantitative inequalities as a result of this arrangement. Pretorius (2007, p. 30) notes in this regard that "...apartheid education led to gross inequalities in educational attainment, skills, employment opportunity, productivity and income, mainly to the detriment of black people". The Bantu education system in particular, was largely responsible for this, its aim being to remove suspicious liberal missionary and British influence which drew the 'Bantu' "...away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze" (Verwoerd, 1954, cited in Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 266). To educate Africans in this way, the Nationalists believed, was a waste of money and dishonest, also "...disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European" (Verwoerd, 1954, cited in Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 266).

It is argued by Christie and Collins (1982) that while race was indeed a driving force behind the Afrikaner nationalist's policy on African education it is more accurate to see it as being played out as an intersection between race and class. They contend that the nationalist's need to reproduce cheap labour in the form that they desired was a key thread which held together African schooling policies, since from the time of their arrival white settlers had set up labour-exploitative practices (Christie & Collins, 1982). Wolpe and Unterhalter (1991, p. 4) write supportively of the notion of cheap labour production. African education was strongly geared to the provision of low levels of education and was structured in such a way as to "...inculcate the values of CNE, thus socialising Africans to accept their subordination within the apartheid system."

Private schooling after 1948 was never enough of a force to dislodge the powerful hold the state had over education. As far as Africans were concerned only a few attended private schools which were mainly the small number of missionary schools which had managed to survive after the school closures which were forced by the Bantu Education Act. Afrikaner whites never favoured private schooling and relied on the state to provide the necessary Christian National schooling for their children (Behr & MacMillan, 1971). On the other hand, English-speaking whites who could pay the fees favoured the idea of sending their children to elite private schools (Randall, 1982). Many of these schools had long histories and were modelled on British public and grammar schools. They declared openly that they were intended to fit the sons and daughters of the British colonial elite into the various leadership roles they would one day fill in society (Randall, 1982). The single-sex boarding school culture, church involvement, often the Anglican Church, their setting within large country estates and the strong involvement of past pupil associations were typical distinguishing features. If nothing else, such schools had to set the children who attended them apart from those among whom they lived, namely whites who were not of the appropriate social class, such as Afrikaners, and most especially, people who were not white.

Randall (1982) refers to these bastions of privilege as 'little Englands on the veld' and Megahey (2005) observes that there were strong similarities between them and the elite private schools which were established later, well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Rhodesia. This is hardly surprising given certain similar aspects of the colonial histories of the two geopolitical spaces in question.

The provision of school education, as it has been described above, was underpinned by a teacher education system which was similarly divided by race and which served to reinforce the privileged educational spaces which were occupied by whites. Prior to the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 African teacher training was uncoordinated and somewhat chaotic (Behr, 1988; Malherbe, 1977). Few African teachers were actually qualified. Most of those who were had passed through programmes that prepared them to teach in the lower standards only and their training had focused strongly on domestic and practical subjects. After 1953 there was more control and co-ordination since training now fell into government hands. The focus on preparing teachers to teach a labouring class did not change however, and in fact it was intensified (Behr, 1988).

White teacher education existed on a different footing altogether. The patchy 'teacher-pupil' system of the pre-Union period was progressively transformed into a unified system. Colleges of Education were established and universities also became involved in the preparation of teachers, although there was much debate over the nature of the role they should play in relation to the colleges. Matters were settled when it was decided to allow certain of the colleges the degree of autonomy they needed to enter into full partnership arrangements, in respect of certain of their programme offerings, with the universities (Le Roux, 2010). These developments enabled white teachers to receive a preparation which was completely different to, and far superior to, that received by African teachers.

While it is clear from what has been said above that educational spaces in South Africa during the colonial and apartheid periods were those of ideological reproduction it is equally true that they were spaces of resistance and what follows should be read in conjunction with what has been said about resistance earlier on. There were various struggles over the years which tried to create a break with missionary and state schooling. It was the Soweto Uprising however, and the widespread student unrest which followed in its wake, which revealed the degree to which educational spaces had been captured as sites of resistance (Hartshorne, 1992; Kallaway, 1984). Wolpe and Unterhalter (1991) explain how 'people's education' became an integral component of the resistance. In contradistinction to the initial student response during and after the uprising, which championed the notion, 'liberation now, education later', the protagonists of 'people's education' sought to use education to conscientise the masses and prepare

them for people's power. The focus was on both the struggle and the time which would follow.

The government's response to the unrest was essentially to try to reform the education system. The most determined effort came in the form of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Investigation into Education (1981), otherwise known as the 'de Lange Report'. The reform initiatives were technicist in nature and failed to address the heart of the educational crisis, the apartheid system itself (Buckland, 1984; Cilliers, 2008)).

While the resistance space which was captured by militant students and People's Education protagonists existed beyond the prescriptions of the constitution of the time, individuals of a liberal persuasion resisted from within the space provided for by the constitution. The white English language universities, in particular, developed a strong tradition in this regard. As has already been indicated, liberals were not highly regarded by either Afrikaner nationalists or the Africans involved in the struggle to overthrow apartheid. For the latter their resistance was regarded as paternalistic and did little more than conceal a commitment to the status quo (Sparks, 1990).

The educational landscape in South Africa has changed since 1994. Schooling is no longer segregated and curriculum reform has ensured that all children learn according to the requirements and criteria of a common curriculum. It is the case, however, that for the mass of African children little has in fact changed during the course of the post-1994 period (Chisholm, 2004; Vally, 2003; Vandeyer, 2008; Wa Azania, 2014). The vast majority of African pupils have continued to attend crowded and poorly resourced mono-racial township or rural schools where they learn about the cultural minoritisation of their own people and are poorly equipped to meet the requirements of the economy of the country (Wa Azania, 2014). Only a small percentage of Africans attend schools which were formerly white and language policy has meant that formerly white Afrikaans schools have been far less affected by a migration of Africans to their educational spaces than their English counterparts. Private schools have mushroomed as white parents have elected in increasing numbers to remove their children from state schools because of what they perceive to be low standards (Chisholm, 2004; Hofmeyer & Lee, 2004). A growing number of African middle class pupils attend private schools as well (Wa Azania, 2014). I return to this in Chapter 6.

The culture of formerly white schools has remained white even in cases where white pupils are no longer in the majority (Amin, 2004; Chisholm, 2004; Vandeyer, 2008; Wa Azania, 2014). A form of colour-blind racism has taken a hold in these schools. As has been noted earlier in this chapter, there is an association between this kind of racism in schools and the assimilatory approach to teaching and learning. Pupils learn white produced knowledge which is disseminated through curricula constructed according to white criteria so that what are perceived to be respectable standards of education can be maintained (Amin, 2004; Chisholm, 2004; Vandeyer, 2008; Wa Azania, 2014). African languages are marginalised and there is no sense that the white culture into which children are absorbed itself requires any adjustment. The subliminal message is that there is nothing in other cultures worth pursuing. In fact, Africans have to 'whiten' their identities if they are to succeed (Amin, 2004; Chisholm, 2004; Vandeyer, 2008; Wa Azania, 2014).

In support of this sentiment Amin (2004) reports on a case-study of a formerly white middle-class primary school in Durban. Although the school has been re-racialised to the extent that its pupil population is now almost entirely Indian, it is still effectively, a white school. The school has employed a number of strategies, centring essentially around high school fees, staff appointments (by the governing body) and language and admission policies, which have had the effect of preserving the white traditions, ethos, 'standards' and practices of the past. Pupils have had no option but to 'fit in', and many parents have felt disinclined to ask questions about how the school functions, for fear of compromising the quality of the schooling they have been led to believe that their children will receive. This should be read in conjunction with what I say in Chapter 6 about Highway College, the school at which I am currently employed.

It is appropriate at this juncture to be reminded of what has been said earlier in this chapter about liberal multi-culturalism and the assimilatory practices typically associated with it (Gillborn, 2006; hooks, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1998; McIntosh, 1990; Semali, 1998; Solomon et al., 2005; Yosso, 2006). It is apparent that assimilatory practices are not confined to South Africa and are typical of situations where schooling is manipulated to secure white supremacy. It would seem that what does set South Africa aside is that such practices are unfolding under the watch of an African political elite.

Such lingering hegemonic whiteness needs to be addressed if schools are to play a role in transforming society in South Africa. Vandeyer (2008) argues that the additive or liberal multi-culturalism (in which cultural diversity is superficially 'celebrated' in a manner divorced from the socio-economic realities of society) which is integral to assimilation approaches, needs to be replaced by a critical multi-culturalism in which children are taught to recognize racism in education and society at large. Such an approach is necessary for all children, not least white children so that they can begin to see their whiteness and how they have been privileged by it. It is only then that schools will be able to assist in the deconstruction of whiteness. It is appropriate at this juncture to be reminded of CRT and Anti-Racist education and the challenge these make to liberal multi-culturalism by arguing the case for critical pedagogy as a means of freeing both whites and non-whites from whiteness. Reference to the same has been made earlier in this chapter.

It is clear from what has been said here, and earlier, that educational spaces in South Africa and elsewhere have a long history of being manipulated by whites for the purpose of maintaining their own power and privilege. Educational spaces have also been sites of struggle however, and the pupil struggles which were instigated in Soweto in 1976 were an integral component of the organised beginnings of the broader liberation struggle in South Africa. The educational spaces of present day South Africa are such that much of what was anticipated by the people's educationists of the 1970s and 1980s has yet to be realised, namely that schools should focus primarily on the teaching of critical consciousness (Kraak, 1999; Levin, 1991). If this was a missing ingredient during the apartheid era, it is still the case (Pithouse, 2004). The notion that schools can also be viewed as spaces in which those who teach and learn can be released from the confines of their past is significant in this regard, as is the recognition, I believe, of the role that can be played, within the spaces, by autoethnographic forms of inquiry. This speaks as much to the on-going transformation of education in South Africa in general, as it does to the deconstruction of forms of hegemonic whiteness.

## 2.5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have contextualised my study in the southern African geopolitical and educational spaces of my lived experience. I started by considering the nature of

identity and by interrogating race and whiteness as general constructs. I then explained education's role in the reproduction of whiteness as well as the 'spatial turn' of my study'. Symbolic Interactionism was presented as the theoretical lens through which I viewed the influence of the spatial threads of my study. In proceeding in this way I allowed theory to emerge from my literature review.

The tracing of my socialisation into whiteness involves tracing my journey through the geopolitical spaces which have been described in this chapter and interrogating the influence of the political, geographical and educational spaces within each. In presenting the context of my personal narrative this chapter provides the backdrop against which it should be read if my journey is to be understood.

In the following chapter I explain how I set about the task of preparing my narrative. I outline the research design and explain my methods of data collection. I present the limitations to my study and conclude with a consideration of the applicable ethical parameters.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PREPARING MY STORY

In this chapter I explain how I went about preparing my study. I explain autoethnography as my research design and indicate why it is well-suited to what I want to achieve. I explain narrative inquiry as my methodology and the various methods of data collection I use in order to construct my personal narrative. The methodological limitations of my study are also identified, as are ethical considerations relating to it.

#### 3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is a plan of how research is to be conducted so that a particular research question can be answered (Mouton, 2001), with "...fitness for purpose" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 78) being the central governing notion. In the case of my study my research design involves me asking about the kind of study which will best help me to understand how and why my whiteness was shaped by my experiences in southern African spaces with special reference to education.

My study is located within a critical paradigm, with its focus on the promotion of justice, democracy, peace and hope, and on consciousness raising and enabling individuals to reflect critically upon how they have become the persons they are (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cohen et al., 2007). There is clearly an easy marriage between the critical paradigm and the nature of my autoethnography in that my intention is to embark upon a personal journey which enhances my understanding of myself in respect of my socialisation into whiteness. It is indeed a reflexive study. As I have indicated however, critically in respect of the aim of autoethnography, there is also the hope that others, especially my fellow white southern Africans, and more especially those engaged in the field of education, might be touched as they read my story and reflect upon their own lives. All the better if they too arrive at a point where they disentangle themselves from racist individuals and dis-identify with whiteness as they renegotiate their identities.

In elaborating upon this theme Spry (2001) observes that good autoethnography should always clarify its own politics and reveal a political consciousness as it interrogates issues, breaks strongholds and dislodges hegemonic discourses. In support of this,

scholars such as Bochner (2000), Clough (2000) and Denzin (2000) argue strongly that good autoethnography should advance the hope of a better world, with democracy and social justice always being present in the mind of the autoethnographer. Pursuing this, Richardson (2000) asserts that autoethnography should reveal an ethical self-consciousness, be impactful and incline readers to think, feel and understand with the unfolding story. Strong reflexivity, entailing self-conscious introspection, is a defining feature (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013; Berry, 2013; Richardson, 2000).

A key feature of autoethnography is that it combines an individual's life story with ethnography which studies a particular social group. It is a genre of writing and research which connects the autobiographical and the personal with the cultural, social, and political dimensions of life (Coia & Taylor, 2009; Ellis, 2004; Grossi, 2006; Holt, 2003; Reed-Danahay, 1997). Consisting of a life story, which is carefully placed within an accommodating social context, an autoethnography is part self or 'auto' and part culture or 'ethno' (Coia & Taylor, 2009; Ellis, 2004; Reed-Danahay, 1997). It is usually written in the first person, with the author seeing him/herself as the object of research, or as Gergen and Gergen (2002, p. 14) express it, "...as an ethnographic exemplar". It is argued by Weber (2005) that the act of writing a story is an opportunity for enhanced self-knowledge. In the case of my autoethnography the act of my writing helps me to understand myself better by enabling me to trace the process of my socialisation into whiteness. This is the 'auto' component of my study. As I relate my story I place it into the context of the three geopolitical spaces of my southern African experience and the political, geographical and educational spaces within them. This is the 'ethno' component of my study which so greatly enhances my understanding of myself.

Jones, Adams and Ellis (2013) explain that when they write, autoethnographers deliberately interrogate the nuances of life experience in light of cultural phenomena and cultural practices. Some authors may focus more strongly on the ethnographic component. They direct their attention more to their culture or group than to their narrative as such. Others may elect to focus more on their narrative. If they do so there still has to be a distinct ethnographic interest if the work is to be considered autoethnographical. They cannot write a standard autobiography "...in which the autobiographer divorces the life trajectory from any social constraints" (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 9). As I think of my own study in relation to this I see it as having a strong narrative focus but I also regard it as having an ethnographical interest. After all, I am

primarily interested in my socialisation into whiteness. My writing cannot be freed from the social constraints Reed Danahey has in mind.

A further understanding of the nature of autoethnography is given by Ellis (2004, pp. 37-38) when she explains that autoethnographers peel back and expose multiple layers of consciousness as they vacillate between themselves and the contexts in which they find themselves:

Back and forth autoethnographers gaze: first they look through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then they look inward, expressing a vulnerable self that is moved by, and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations. As they zoom backward and forward, inward and outward, distinctions between the personal and cultural become blurred, sometimes beyond distinct recognition.

This being the case, it is evident that 'embodied' writing is a key characteristic of autoethnography. Writers move into and out of themselves and events in their lives, as they converse with themselves and their readers, exposing themselves in the process, as they try to make sense of the multiple layers of experience that make up their lives (Derry, 2005; Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Trellis (1997) develops this by noting that autoethnography is a genre in which the writer's own emotions and experience make up the data and that because of this, vulnerability is both a key and an inevitable consideration. Jones et al. (2013) go further when they state that autoethnographers typically embrace vulnerability with purpose. Secrets are revealed and histories made known. Autoethnographers make choices about what to share but they are inevitably open to being criticised for how they have lived their lives. As I apply this to my study it is apparent that I did indeed move into and out of myself and events in my life and that in the process the personal and cultural arenas of my experience sometimes became blurred. As I write, a measure of vulnerability is also involved, with expressions of fear and doubt sometimes alternating with hope and happiness (Ellis, 2004).

With this in mind it is appropriate to mention that researchers' own experience has not been regarded by academics as interesting or even legitimate until comparatively recently and that much of the progress in getting the genre accepted has come from post-modernist, post-structural and feminist writers who have played a leading role in deconstructing writing conventions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Ellis, 2004; Grossi, 2006;

Lincoln, 1993; Manke, 2005; Puddephatt, Shaffir, & Kleinknecht, 2009; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Sparkes, 2002; Trellis, 1997). It is noted by Sparkes, (2002, p. 213) that many of the critics are of the view that scholarly writing should be impersonal, objective and non-emotional, with "...the writer being seen (in the credits) but not heard (in the text). Scholarly writing should, furthermore, be analytic and not merely experiential. The critics contend that it should be built on data that researchers collect instead of them obsessing about themselves (Delamont, 2007).

As a genre which unapologetically has the writer being heard in the text autoethnography fits neatly into post-modernist thinking which rejects modernist notions of absolute, universal truth and favours a varied approach to research so that different understandings of reality can be captured (Grossi, 2006). This sentiment is developed by Puddephatt, Shaffir and Kleinknecht (2009, p. 6) when they note that the nature of autoethnography is "...much in line with the general post-modern appeal to try to escape from universalising and technocratic, imperialistic and dominating 'meta-theory' and instead to turn to fluid, indeterminate, situational, local narratives". There is a concern with particular persons, communities and contexts and a full acknowledgement that human beings are not fully predictable and never completely knowable (Jones et al., 2013). A similar picture is painted by Ellis (2004) when she notes that it is often the voices of people previously silenced who are given voice. The voices of women, ethnic minorities, the disabled and gays and lesbians are just some of those who have been able to celebrate the fragmentation of the grand narratives of modernism as they have begun to bring themselves in from the margins. Autoethnography is, in this sense, research "...that makes life experience come alive" (Walker, 2009, p. 26) and in doing so it breaks silences and disrupts norms of research practice and representation (Jones et al., 2013). As autoethnographers write in this way they "...write to right" and "...toward and for liberation" (Jones et al., 2013, p. 36). As I think of my own study in relation to this I argue that in making my life experience come alive I am contributing, albeit in a small way, to the fragmentation of whiteness and that I am doing so at the centre rather than coming in from the margins.

Effective contextualisation is an especially important feature of autoethnography since the provision of context allows the particularity and situatedness of the self to come to the fore and reveals the degree to which the individual is caught up in the folds of broader culture (Cohen et al., 2007; Crawford, Kippax, Onyx, Gault, & Benton, 1992;

Neuman, 1997; Spry, 2001; Tierney, 1993b). 'Thick description', which refers to the description of the specifics in which the story unfolds, is necessary. Such description frames a story in time and space as distinct from a view which is too overarching or generalised (Neuman, 1997). Autoethnographers are well placed to provide nuanced and detailed thick descriptions of cultural experience as they have insider knowledge (Jones et al., 2013; Sikes & Potts, 2008). Jones et al. (2013, p. 34 ) expand on this when they note that "...centering work on inside personal experience autoethnographers not only have an investment in the experience they study but can also articulate aspects of cultural life traditional research methods leave out or cannot access". In respect of my own study I concur fully since I believe that much of what I have written about in my personal narrative would carry far less meaning if it were not positioned and integrated within the social structures and relationships which prevailed at certain times, especially since there has been so much substantial change in all three of the geopolitical spaces in which my story is set. In my study 'context' is demarcated in decisive spatial terms, so much so, that it has a distinctive 'spatial turn' which plays an important role in enhancing my understanding of my socialisation into whiteness. Being able to write as an insider has proved to be of immense value.

Various autoethnographic forms are possible. Writing and reciting poetry, performance autoethnography, arts-based autoethnography and mixed genre autobiography are some examples (Ellis, 2004). Various approaches are also possible, such as the personal narrative approach which I have adopted in this study. Whatever the form or the approach, autoethnography is a way of knowing in which an individual's life and own experiences are explored, interpreted and articulated. These experiences are then considered in order to generalise to a larger group or culture (Ellis, 2004; Ritchie & Wilson, 2000).

It is important to dwell further on the notion of the broader society being touched since it is the observation of several scholars that a criticism which is often levelled against autoethnography is that its producers too easily become self-absorbed (Anderson, 2006; Brink, 1998; Church, 1995; Coffey, 1999; Delamont, 2009; Ellis, 2004; Holt, 2003; Mykhalovskiy, 1996; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Sparkes, 2002; Tsang, 2000). In support of this Maynard (1993, p. 329) and Tierney (2002, p. 393) note that the genre has been likened to 'vanity ethnography' and 'narrative catharsis' respectively. Several counters to this have been offered. For Church (1995) the self is invariably a social being which,

because its subjectivity always contains other people's voices, can never exist in the private domain only. For Brink (1998, p. 32) the personal can never be separated from the public, political and historical domains, while "...narrative lies at the very heart of the process we call history". A supportive note is struck by Bochner and Ellis (1996, p. 24) when they assert that autoethnography can never be free of links with the world beyond the self in that "...culture circulates through all of us". There is also agreement by Mykhalovskiy (1996, p. 141) who notes that "...to write individual experience is at the same time to write social experience". Church (1995) would concur saying that to write about oneself is inevitably to write about the society of which one is part. Tsang's (2000) take is that readers construct their meaning through reading what writers write in their stories and that because of this writers' stories can never be theirs alone. Ellis (2004) observes that in all of this we need to be reminded of the 'ethno' dimension of autoethnography, namely that while a story might initially be autobiographical and written for the self, in its final rendering it should be ethnographic in that it should point to both commonalities and particularities in our lives. In the process it should "...include self-analysis in introspection, dialogue or narration and move towards illuminating social science concepts" (Ellis, 2004, pp. 199-200). It follows that it is entirely legitimate for researchers to write about themselves and that autoethnography indeed rises above self-indulgence. While they write for themselves an important goal is to touch the world beyond, to connect the personal and cultural dimensions.

I concur fully with this sentiment. As I reflect upon my own narrative I feel bound to conclude that the links with the worlds in which I have lived circulate through all of me. As I describe my experiences in different spaces at different times I am simultaneously writing about the societies in question. As my readers engage with my text and construct their own meaning they learn about me and the larger world around me. It follows that while autoethnographers do indeed write for, and about, themselves, autoethnography rises above self-indulgence. An important goal is to touch the world beyond themselves and in so doing help improve the lot of human kind (Bochner & Ellis, 1996; Church, 1995; Ellis, 2004; Kiesinger, 2002; Mykhalovskiy, 1996; Sparkes, 2002; Tsang, 2000).

The idea of generalising to a larger group or culture is developed by Ellis (2004) when she explains that as individuals write their stories, position themselves as the individual phenomenon and write evocatively about their lives and the socio-political contexts in

which they were set, those who read what is written become involved with them to the extent that they become co-researchers and co-producers. They are invited into the author's worlds and are implored to engage with what they read and allow it to influence their own lives. This is taken up by Jones et al. (2013) when they contend that autoethnographers actively seek out a reciprocal relationship with their audiences and do what they can to compel a response to what is read. This being the case, there is a very real sense in which autoethnographers write both for themselves and for others. I comment further on this in due course. This means that the generalizability of stories is always tested as readers "...determine if a story speaks to them about their experience or the lives of others they know" (Ellis, 2004, p. 195). In referring, in this regard, to the dialectical nature of narrative inquiry, Weber (1993) explains that there is a symbiotic relationship between the particular and the general with each having the ability to inform and illuminate the other. In respect of my study, I would hope that a dialogical chord is struck between me and my readers as they determine if my story speaks to them so that they in turn can engage with personal journeys of their own.

It is relevant at this juncture to note that a criticism autoethnography has had to fend off is that it is thin on theory. In view of what has been said above it is apparent that a story, in whatever form it is told, is able to generate as much of a theoretical contribution as someone who sets out to establish "...an axiomatic, conditional statement of human behaviour" (Puddephatt et al., 2009, p. 14). Ellis (2004, p. 195) adds that if theory is thought of as social in this way "...the concerns become less of representation and more of communication".

It is important, if readers are to be invited into writers' worlds, that the stories autoethnographers write should be well-structured, coherent and stimulating and able to hold interest in such a way that readers are moved critically, emotionally and aesthetically (Ellis, 2004, 2009; Gannon, 2013). The focus should be on the degree to which stories evoke responses from readers. Scene setting, characterisation and plot development are all important in the actual connection of events (Denzin, 2000; Richardson, 1997; Spry, 2001). As I reflect upon the nature and content of my personal narrative I would hope that it is sufficiently engaging to evoke a response from readers. I believe that it is distinctive in its tracing of my experience of three southern African geopolitical spaces at a time when they were each experiencing fascinating and substantial political change, most especially in respect of challenges to whiteness. If

readers are moved to engage critically with their own construction of themselves and to work towards changing institutions and society in the interests of social justice, then all the better (Ellis, 2004).

In respect of people's construction of themselves it is noted by Jones et al. (2013) that interest in social identities and identity politics has played an important role in the development of autoethnography. They point to the social upheavels in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s as having been of particular significance in causing there to be more reflexivity in social research and an increasing recognition of ways in which race, gender, class, sexuality and other social markers impact people's lives. Individuals wanted to know who they were, how they were perceived and how they were constructed. Seeds sown in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s took root as Positivism began to be questioned and qualitative methods started to come into their own, among them, in time, autoethnography (Jones et al., 2013).

It is relevant to point out at this juncture that integral to the nature of autoethnography is the notion that when we produce a story we mine meaning and become liberated as we come to an appreciation of our own depth as individuals (Van Manen, 1990). This idea is developed by Paul, Christensen and Falk (2000, p. 17) when they contend that it is through the stories we tell that we are able to make sense of our lives in that "...they help us to impose order and coherence on the stream of experience so we can work out the meanings of events in our past". Kiesinger (2002) notes, supportively, that it as one writes one's narrative one is able to integrate and make coherent disjointed aspects of one's life. In concurring McLaren (1993) asserts that narration enables us to hold our gaze so that we can build the different and various images and readings of the world into a meaningful whole and so give shape and form to the person we are and would like to become. The theme is also pursued by Paul, Christensen and Falk (2000, p. 17) when they aver that our stories help us to reclaim ourselves in that through them we are able to identify and understand, potentially at least, "...the seeds and structures of ourselves, the foundations and walls of our beings, why we are the way we are". New levels of consciousness are reached and from this, a greater sense of control over our lives has the potential to emerge. We are enabled, in short, to engage in the process of our own identity construction. The essence of what is involved is succinctly captured by Hall (1996, p. 4) when he says that identities arise from "...the narrativisation of the

self”, this being a process which builds on what we might become and how we might represent ourselves.

It is argued by Hall (1996) and McAdams (2011) that when individuals construct ‘self-defining life stories’ they engage in a process of ‘narrativising the self’ (Hall, 1996,4), in terms of which individuals seek to both understand how they have become the persons that they are and to discover where their life may be heading in the future. Citing Erikson’s (1963) assertion that a major function of identity formation is to organise a life in both time and culture, McAdams (2011, p. 100) asks “...what might possibly organise a life in time better than a story?” Or expressed differently, if an identity could be seen it would look like a story (McAdams, 2011). He explains that individuals typically begin to work on storying their lives from around the age of twenty when they try to figure out how they will fit into the adult world that awaits them. They continue the narrativisation process into their adult lives and in fact, never finish it.

There is debate however, as to whether the unfolding narrative process does in fact have an integrating effect on individuals’ lives. Believing that it did, Erikson (1963) argued that stories helped people to gain a sense of continuity as they selectively constructed their pasts and projected themselves into their futures. As they did so, their lives gained a sense of purpose, integration and moral legitimacy. hooks (1989) leans in the same direction when she contends that writing a narrative of one’s life helps one to see events and experiences along a continuum and to examine the self from a new and critical perspective.

Other scholars however, have challenged the notion that narrative holds the power to exert an integrating effect. Sikes (1997, p. xvii), for example, argues that “...people do not have a seamless unified self but are, rather, a mass of complexities, contradictions and ambiguities”. Hermans (2002) contends, in agreement with this, that life is so layered with complexity that integration in narrative is likely to be supplanted by fragmentation and multiplicity. In developing this, Hermans (2002) draws on Bakhtin’s (1973) (see McAdams, 1997) notion of a ‘polyphonic novel’ to develop his dialogical-self theory of a ‘society of mind’. Within the ‘society of mind’ there are many voices which tell their own stories through an internalised dialogue as an individual’s ‘self’ struggles to emerge. At the same time the individual is part of a larger society where there are yet other voices. Integration is unlikely to be born of this.

It is conceded by McAdams (2011) that in today's complex world few individuals are likely to achieve a complete sense of integration in their lives. Totalising narrative "...that makes all things make sense for all time" (McAdams, 2011, p. 103) may indeed be unachievable but individuals nevertheless need to be able to achieve some sense of purpose and unity as they move, in narrative, through different experiences in their lives. As limiting and fallible as their endeavours may be this is the substance of narrative identity (McAdams, 2011). Life stories do provide a degree of integration therefore, and are best understood as conveying a measure of both unity and multiplicity within the individual self. They should also be understood as being as works in progress which reflect change in the individual over time. Finally they are, typically, "...richly contextualised in social relationships, communities of discourse and culture" (McAdams, 2011, p. 104).

I find, upon reflecting on my own personal narrative, that it has indeed taken me along a self-defining road. It has played an integrating role and has helped me to secure a far better understanding of my past and of the process by which I was socialised into my whiteness, especially when I view it against the literature which I surveyed for this autoethnography. I have to agree, however, that mine is not a totalizing narrative and that the notion of the 'polyphonic novel' also applies. I also have to acknowledge that mine is very much a continuing journey and that my narrativisation process will never be completed. This is a theme which I address in Chapter 7.

Reed-Danahey (1997, p. 4) suggests that a characteristic theme which finds expression in autoethnographic material is that of varying degrees of cultural displacement or a sense of the autoethnographer not always feeling entirely at home. She believes this to be a function of a measure of insecurity born of rapid social and cultural change. Autoethnographers need to be able to reflectively transcend "...everyday conceptions of selfhood and social life" as they explore and negotiate the terrain of their writing. As I reflect upon my autoethnography I realise that there is much in Reed-Danahey's contention that holds true for my own writing of the self and the social. A major motivation for my embarking upon my study in the first place was to use it to try to find a way of belonging in South Africa which was more secure and anchored than I had been made to feel by the changes which had occurred in the country and the nature of my socialisation.

Related to autoethnographers experiencing varying degrees of discomfort and not always feeling entirely at home is that autoethnography is useful in allowing authors to work their way through pain and confusion, anger and uncertainty (Bochner & Ellis, 1996; Ellis, 2004; Jenks, 2002; Jones et al., 2013; Kiesinger, 2002; Spry, 2001). Ellis (2004, p. 33) writes, in this regard "...I tend to write about experiences that knock me for a loop and challenge the construction of meaning I have put together for myself. I write when my world falls apart or the meaning I have constructed for myself is in danger of doing so". In addition to the writing being of therapeutic value to the writer there is also a sense in which those who read and coproduce are equipped for their own coping. As I think of what I have written in relation to this I have to acknowledge that it has indeed helped me to navigate my way through the "...pain and confusion, anger and uncertainty" (Ellis, 2004, p. 34) that populates my narrative. Having said this, I also agree with scholars such as Delamont (2007) Sikes (2008) and Walker & Unterhalter (2004) that autoethnographical research should not linger in the domain of therapy but should strive for a disciplined and reflexive understanding.

I am convinced, in the light of what has been said about autoethnography above, that it is particularly well-suited to my seeking to understand the process by which I have been socialised into whiteness. I am hopeful furthermore, that a dialogical chord will be struck between me and my readers and that as such my study will touch the world well beyond myself. The point made by Mitchell, Pithouse and Moletsane (2009) that autoethnography prepares a path for others to travel in their own search for voice and validation is poignant in this regard.

### 3.2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology of a study serves to describe and analyse the methods which have been employed in that study. It is essentially concerned with understanding the research process used in particular methods (Cohen et al., 2007).

The methodology I have selected for my study is narrative inquiry which is defined by O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000) as one which brings to the fore people's personal stories. It is a methodology which enables people to speak in their own voices as opposed to one which strives for quantitative precision. Its main concern is to understand how individuals construct, change and make sense of their worlds (Cohen et al., 2007). The underlying premise is that human experience is essentially 'storied experience' and that

listening to people's voices in their stories is an excellent way of discovering what is really going on in the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999).

A central premise of narrative inquiry, according to Chiu-Ching and Yim-Mei Chan (2009), is that narrative is grounded in experience which has about it a 'temporality', a 'sociality' and a sense of 'place'. As I apply this to my study, 'temporality' is seen in the fact that the events and people of my experience have a past and a present. There is also a future orientation since I anticipate a better future, both for myself and for those readers who co-research and co-produce with me. 'Sociality' is present in my study in that there is both a personal nature to my experience and a socio-political context which accommodates it. 'Place' is of central significance to me since it refers to the unique southern African geopolitical spatial contexts of my story, and the political, geographical and educational spaces within them, which are so powerfully at work in framing the events and people of my experience. This is the 'spatial turn' of my study to which reference has already been made.

I use narrative inquiry because of the centrality of my own story. If I am to be understood, as learner and teacher, and a white South African male, with the attitudes, beliefs, feelings, past experiences, hopes and fears that accompany me, what better way than to listen to me as I tell my story? Furthermore, since narrative inquiry gives a better understanding of the person that I am it is possible that the methodology will help me to understand the process of my socialisation and also to engage in new ways with the people of present day South Africa. There are also implications for me as a professional educator in respect of my understanding of my past practice and sensitising me to current teaching realities.

Having said this, I acknowledge that while I tell my story, there are other perspectives of this story and the socio-political context in which I grew up. I give my story primacy in my narrative chapters which is where I think 'with' my story. Other voices about me, and my context, drawn primarily from published and archival material, and from the responses of the people I asked to read my narrative, are presented in my analysis chapter which is where I think 'about' my story. This is in accordance with my identification of silences within my narrative. It is as I move between my story and these other voices/stories that my study becomes autoethnographical and a more balanced

account of me emerges. My thinking 'with' my story and 'about' my story is discussed in detail further on.

I believe that it is also appropriate to mention that since I regard mine as a 'writerly' text (in which readers are invited into my text to deconstruct and reconstruct for themselves) my story cannot be regarded as mine alone. It cannot, in this sense, be regarded as having primacy over the stories others might construct about the same or similar experiences in the past. I discuss 'writerly' texts in more detail further on, distinguishing them, as I do so, from 'readerly' texts.

It is important to note that while I relied on certain visual material I did so as a means of prompting memory only. I decided not to employ visual methodologies in this thesis. I used text as image and in doing so agree with La Spina (1998) that image is text and text is image. I have, nevertheless, included a few selected photographs (Appendix ...) taken in the significant spaces of Springs, Luanshya, St. Stephen's College, the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg and the Edgewood College of Education (Fig. 1). While it is my intention that they should do no more than illustrate key parts of my text it does seem appropriate to comment briefly upon them.

Although they were selected at random they present a narrative of their own, one which is strongly supportive of key threads within my written narrative. They ooze whiteness and I am immersed in it from the time of my being a young child. There is nothing to show any connection with a non-white world. When I engage with Africans it is only with them as a servant class or when they agree with me and my fellow whites, and on my terms, as is shown so well in the Edgewood boardroom. The proud Victorian architecture of the Arts block of the University of Natal, along with the bourgeois notion of dressing for dinner at both university and school, with white school boys being served by African men in the case of the latter, are supportive of the notion of whites being privileged and in charge. Even the African landscape is there for the taking. Privilege abounds and yet, given the focus on classrooms, formal study spaces and university buildings, and what they represent in terms of academic achievement, it is as if I deserve nothing less.

### 3.3. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Research methods refer to the various techniques and procedures which can be employed to gather data (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). In his discussion of research within the autoethnographic genre Chang (2013) observes that autoethnographical data can be gathered in a variety of ways. As examples he mentions recalling, working through documents and archival material and interviews. In respect of people's present perceptions about issues from their past he argues that reflection, self-observation and self-analysis can also be regarded as methods of data collection. Taking account of the perceptions of different people in respect of what is remembered is another example. The methods I used in my study to gather data include:

- Pursuing memory work
- Engaging in memory sharing conversations
- Reading published material, including academic literature and biographical and autobiographical material
- Perusing archival material
- Visiting key places of my past
- Engaging with personal field notes
- Pursuing responses from people who were asked to read my narrative

These methods of data collection were important in helping me to produce my autoethnography in respect of both thinking 'with' my narrative and thinking 'about' it.

In respect of the former they helped me to write the narrative and to place it in its socio-political and cultural context. They helped me to make the link between me, the 'auto' component my work, and the socio-political and cultural context of my narrative, the 'ethno' component. Apart from serving as data sources in their own right, the memory sharing conversations, the consulting of published, archival and personal field note material, the visits to key places and the pursuing of personal responses to my narrative were important in verifying and embellishing what I was remembering and writing.

In respect of the latter, thinking 'about' my narrative, certain of the methods were once again sources of information. This was so in respect of the responses to my narrative, for example, and how I reflected upon these and built the same into my analysis of my

narrative. They were also sources of information in that they helped me to reflect upon what I had written and to compensate for omissions and silences. Certain of the published and archival material, for example, was invaluable in helping me to find voices behind the silences which were, in themselves, sources of much additional information. This was so in that while such voices spanned the same spatial and time frames as my own account they expressed different perspectives and world views and sometimes presented new information altogether. Such silences were noticeable in the areas of race and in respect of intersectionality between race, gender, class, sexuality and religion.

It is important to note that I made a decision not to alter my narrative as a result of my thinking 'about' it. I decided to rather incorporate contradictions with what I had written, if they occurred, or differing perspectives, as well as any new data which emerged in my analysis chapter.

In the pages which follow I discuss each of these methods of data collection. I also discuss considerations of verisimilitude which should be seen in relation to what has been said above.

### 3.3.1. Memory Work

Memory work is described by O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000, p. 66) as "...a research method that serves as a technique for memory retrieval, as well as a procedure for the assessment, evaluation, re-evaluation and eventual theorising of those memories".

The theoretical underpinnings of memory work are based on the assertion that what we remember, and how we construct what we remember, are of crucial importance to how we construct ourselves in the present. We have a symbiotic relationship with our memories in that we do not simply create them. They create us and are the living embodiment of us (Haug, 1987). The past is never dead. When people document their memories they become engaged in the construction of their own worlds. Brink (1998, p. 30) notes that "...the individual constitutes and invents her/himself through the constant editing and re-editing of memory".

It follows that the past can be changed. It is argued by Ricoeur (2004) that while the past is absent it is nevertheless represented in the present. O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000) contends that instead of our memories lying stagnant within us they are fragile and

prone to being reshaped as we work with them within the context of our present lives. As we do so, what happened in the past is taken into a different context and this could well change how we remember and tell it. By way of support, Brink (1998, p. 33), notes that "...it is not the past as such that has produced the present or poses the conditions for the future...but the way we think about it". The same point is made succinctly by Nuttall (1998, p. 76) when she says that memory "...is always as much about the present as it is about the past". In the case of my study, the socio-political present from which I now write could hardly be more different from the socio-political context of so much of my past. African majority rule which now prevails in all three of the geopolitical spatial contexts of my southern African experience is the very state of affairs I was taught to resist at all costs. Whichever way I look at it, this constitutes a loss to the whiteness I once enjoyed. I need to ensure that this does not change the way I remember and tell aspects of my past.

Brink (1998, p. 39) adds that people's memories can become greatly influenced and changed by "...the notoriously unreliable complex of private motivations, hidden agendas, prejudices, suspicions, biographical quirks, chips on the shoulder and conditionings that constitute the idiosyncratic individual mind". A person's present state of mind can also be significant in influencing how and what we remember and thus changing the past. Anxiety or depression, for example, could impact negatively on effective remembering while embarrassing and hurtful experiences are often suppressed. It is also the case that people tend to recall positive and pleasant experiences, particularly with the passage of time, as they romanticise the past and long nostalgically for the 'good old days' that were probably never quite as good as is made out in the writing of memory (McAdams, 2011; O'Reilly-Scanlon, 2000). Adults also tend to recall a disproportionate number of life events from late adolescence and early adulthood (McAdams, 2011). This departure from the normal pattern of linear sequencing is because it is during the late adolescent and early adult years that individuals begin the process of trying to put their lives together in story form (McAdams, 2011). It might also be that the memories of adolescence and childhood have a high visual content and strong 'mood considerations' (Holmes, 2008). The remembering process, once started, improves with age since older adults are better able to construct stories of a more complex and coherent nature. Their stories reflect a

greater ability to draw summary and over-arching conclusions and to interpret events and to connect them to life's larger themes and ideas (McAdams, 2011)

I dealt with these problems of remembering in several ways. I made every effort to gather my data as carefully as I could and then to reflect upon it and present it with commitment, honesty and integrity so as to create an experience of believing for my readers. I was mindful of the requirements of verisimilitude throughout and once I had written my narrative I subjected it to various tests in an endeavour to ensure that they were met. These aspects are all discussed further on.

The point is made by Ricoeur (2004) that the past might also be changed because aspects of it can be forgotten. He explains that forgetting is integrally bound up with memory in that what he calls 'block memory' denies access to the treasures which are buried in memory. In support of this, Robins (1998, p.124) speaks of the instability of memory and notes that it is invariably "...compromised by the passage of time". While 'Mnemosyne' is the goddess of memory, Holmes (2008) notes, there is not a goddess of forgetting. "Yet there should be", he argues, "...as they are twin sisters, twin powers, and walk on either side of us, disputing for sovereignty over us, and who we are, all the way until death" (Holmes, 2008, p. 95). What is forgotten, Holmes (2008) adds, can be as weighty as that which is remembered. As I have trawled through the folds of my past in order to gather data for the construction of my narrative I have, despite having read and understood the literature which has been referred to, indeed wondered about what it is that I have not remembered, despite the operation of the various memory prompts to which I refer further on, and how the same might have affected the story I tell.

It should be remembered that there is a difference between forgetting and repression (Ricoeur, 2004), with the latter applying to cases where a conscious effort is made, such as in case where individuals have been hurt and they seek to protect themselves, to block out a memory. Account should also be taken of suppression which goes further in that individuals now go to the extreme of remodelling an entire past which contains no trace of that which has been suppressed (Loftus, 2008). As I reflect on my personal narrative I feel that I have not held back in revealing hurtful or embarrassing aspects of my past. I could have done so in respect of the hurtful time I spent at Jameson High School, for example, but chose to make myself vulnerable by relating what I

experienced. Further on I comment in more detail on the place of discomfort in autoethnographical work.

Our understanding of how and what we remember is enhanced by O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000) when she makes reference to the process of 'schematization', which is an organisational framework to facilitate the recall of everyday, repeatedly occurring experiences. She explains that in terms of schematization memories that fit into a 'schema', namely generic memories, which are characterised by a monotonous sameness, are accommodated in broad overarching terms. Detail is invariably lost, although things or events that individuals find particularly interesting may well be remembered. There is generally a far better chance that people will remember something that does not fit neatly into a schema, something which is clearly out of the ordinary or problematic in some way. This is embodied by O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000) when she points out that while the gist of what we typically remember about school, for example, is usually correct (an overarching memory of rules, bells, uniforms and rows of desks) the rich detail of what we are able to recall is often lost. By contrast, unusual events, those which ruptured our experience of school, are invariably remembered with ease. I can attest to the validity of the assertion. Much of my experience of school was unusual. The large number of schools I attended in a variety of different geopolitical and geographic contexts was unusual in itself and this may help to explain why I have been able to remember what I have about my school days. My longest stays at school were at Luanshya Primary School in Northern Rhodesia and St. Stephen's College in Rhodesia. In respect of these I do indeed have an overarching memory of the routines set by bells, uniforms and rows of desks. I fully agree that in the case of unusual events which ruptured the routines, I have far more than simply a general, overarching memory. Listening to Mr Ian Smith, declare independence from Britain is a case in point. My memory of us listening to him on transistor radios in the dining hall of St. Stephen's College was a different experience indeed and I can recall the detail of the occasion vividly and with ease.

Considerations such as these incline one to ask about factual accuracy as a consideration in autoethnographical writing. Our stories are described by McAdams (2011, p. 106) as "...acts of imagination that creatively select, embellish, shape and distort the past so it connects causally and thematically to an imaginatively rendered and anticipated future, all in the service of making meaning". In pursuit of this line of

thinking, Kermode (2008) warns that people often omit things or fabricate them so as to add to their stories and factual accuracy is compromised. It is suggested by McAdams (2011), however that it is important for story tellers to tell a good story and that there should not be a preoccupation with factual accuracy. This is because the facts and the story line need to be merged to take due account of "...the physical, biological, psychological ideological, economic, historical and cultural realities in play" (McAdams, 2011, p. 107). None of this should not be taken to suggest that a measure of factual accuracy should not be pursued however, since credibility and plausibility are also important (McAdams, 2011; Van Manen, 1990).

Verisimilitude is important in all of this. (Adler & Adler, 1994; Austin, 2001; Ellis, 2004; Grossi, 2006). First coined by Bruner (1986), verisimilitude refers to the appearance of truth and reality in the sense that events and experiences which are described by a storyteller should be felt by readers to be authentic, life-like, believable and possible. Clough (1999) Holt (2003), Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002) and Richardson (2000) focus on the importance of reader responsiveness when they suggest that how credible a narrative is depends on the degree to which the text creates for the reader an experience of believing what is being read. Tierney (2000) adds that if readers are indeed to believe and trust what is written should be portrayed with integrity and honesty. Britten (1995) agrees, noting that much also depends on the author's sense of commitment to what is written and on his/her persuasive ability. This is supported by Barone (1995), who notes that a requirement of verisimilitude is that writing should lead people into identifying with what they read. Throughout, researchers should seek to be as principled and rigorous as possible (Sikes, 2008).

I believe that my study meets the requirements of verisimilitude in key respects. Certain areas of my narrative hold up well against published material as is clear from the degree to which, in my analysis chapter, I am able to use published material to confirm and embellish what I have written. Furthermore, my recognition of silences in my narrative and my giving voice to those silenced, again in my analysis chapter, adds weight to the ethnographic component of my study and speaks to the integrity I seek and the degree of commitment I have to my text. It is necessary to be cognizant of the voices behind these silences if the trustworthiness of my account is not to be one sided. I believe, furthermore, that having gathered my data as carefully as I could, I have written my text

with integrity and honesty and shown a commitment to it in such a way as to create an experience for my readers which is both impactful and believable.

I also tested for verisimilitude by asking a number of persons to read my narrative and to respond to it. I asked them to confirm the accuracy of what they read and to indicate whether their recollection of the same or similar events, people and experiences confirmed or differed from mine. I asked them also to add memories of their own if they felt so inclined. I directed such 'response requests' to the individuals listed below. Their responses are contained in the appendices.

- My mother, Mrs Joan Jarvis, to cover my childhood years in particular (Appendix B)
- Mr Peter Morris, the school archivist I refer to further on, to cover my years at St Stephen's College (Appendix C).
- Dr Dudley Forde, a former headmaster of several schools, not least Michaelhouse in KwaZulu-Natal, a school cast in very much the same mould as St .Stephen's College (Appendix D).
- My daughters, Mrs Carin King and Mrs Laura Röttcher, to cover their own childhood years growing up with me as their father (Appendices E and F respectively).
- My wife, Dr Janet Jarvis, to cover the 20 year period she has known me in both a professional and personal capacity (Appendix G).
- Dr Thabo. Msibi, a former student and colleague, to cover my Edgewood years, following the incorporation as a university faculty (Appendix H).

Since these individuals are close to events, people and experiences in the time periods mentioned I felt they would be able to attest to the likelihood of my narrative being believable and credible. The responses of each were confirming of this, even if differing perspectives were sometimes forthcoming, and in some cases insights which went further than what I had written were offered. I comment further on the responses in Chapter 6.

Given the fluidity of the past there is strong support in the literature for the notion that individuals can rework their pasts in such a way as to anticipate the future (Bowie, 2008; Haug, 1987; Mitchell & Weber, 1999; Mitchell, 2004; Moletsane, 2011). As they do so

they engage in what Mitchell (2004, p. 46) describes as “future oriented remembering”. Memory, in this sense, needs to “...inhabit the future tense, to bring new worlds into being” (Bowie, 2008, p. 14). Rather than yearning for a past that no longer exists, which can be destructive, individuals reflect on their past in such a way as to create a better future. Such remembering inhabits the future. When such thinking is applied specifically to education it is possible that education can be reimagined as future possibilities are explored.

A good example of future orientated remembering is Delport’s (2005) personal journey of engaging with her past as an Afrikaner in a transforming South Africa since she reflects upon her past to facilitate her own personal journey of transformation. As she does so, and as others engage with her text, there is the possibility that there will be healing in the broader society. I believe that my personal journey is similar to Delport’s (2005) in many ways and my hope is to be able to join her and others in discovering South Africa and its people afresh.

Assessing and evaluating memories are core components of memory work as a research method (O’Reilly-Scanlon, 2000) and in this regard it is necessary to ‘read’ memories for both ‘social structure’ and ‘culture’ (O’Reilly-Scanlon, 2000). To read for ‘structure’ is to refer to how the world which is being remembered was shaped and organised. The reference is to social institutions such as the family, church and school, along with the nature and organisation of work and the provision of such social givens as housing and health care. To read for ‘culture’, by contrast, is to focus on the writer’s own experiences and to ask how he or she has fitted into, and perhaps been moulded by the existing social structures. A sign that individuals have fallen victim to social moulding occurs when the memories are cliché ridden for then, as O’Reilly-Scanlon (2000) explains, they are not only saying something about themselves but also about the kind of things they have internalized and accepted as givens. In the case of my text, ‘structure’ would refer, for example, to my references to the nature of Rhodesian society, and of the type of school that was St. Stephen’s College. ‘Culture’ would encompass how I experienced and how I fitted in with and responded to the same. It is also appropriate at this juncture to be reminded of the ‘spatial turn’ of my study and of what has been said about Symbolic Interactionism as the theoretical framework which provides a convenient lens through which to view the kind of interaction involved here.

Integral to memory work as a research method are the notions of memory retrieval and the writing of memories, both of which are integral to the remembering process (O'Reilly-Scanlon, 2000). 'Retrieval' is facilitated by the selection of a topic, and within it, a particular focus. Memory 'prompts' are important in this regard. According to Mitchell and Weber (1999) they can take the form of particular situations, emotions, objects or symbols. In a school context a particular lesson could be an example of a particular situation. Happiness or pride in receiving a prize could be an example of the emotions serving as a prompt. A school badge or a tie might be an example of an object or symbol. The senses also serve to trigger memory. School-related examples could include "...the smell of new school supplies, the feel of a blackboard eraser, or the sounds of children playing in a schoolyard" (O'Reilly-Scanlon, 2000, p. 92). Memories themselves might become prompts for other memories and the same can be said of the memories, stories and questions of others (O'Reilly-Scanlon, 2000). This notion is developed by Plantinga (1992) when he notes that while some memory prompts can be regarded as memory 'resources' (a witness to an event, for instance), others function as memory 'supports' (such as diaries, letters, photographs and old textbooks). He adds that since our memories are also the memories of individuals who were there with us in particular situations, places and times, these individuals can serve as triggers in their own right. That I am able to attest to the validity of this is clear from what I have to say in the next sub-section.

It is relevant to mention at this juncture that as I gathered the data for the writing of my narrative my own memory prompting was facilitated by my having memory sharing conversations with my mother and Mr Peter Morris, my reading of published material, my perusing of archival material and personal fieldnotes and my visits to key places of my past. In addition to serving as memory prompts these served, as has already been mentioned, as methods of data collection in their own right.

What are described as 'memory boxes' by Holmes (2008), can be instrumental in triggering memories. These would typically contain objects from the past, such as a box of matches, a bar of soap or a school tie or badge. While such objects may be worthless to some, they may be keys to the unlocking of the past for others. In support of this sentiment Cole (2011) writes of the role that can be played by different kinds of objects in helping people to remember.

The point is made by O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000) that the actual writing of memories is also an important process of remembering since it is through writing that ordinary people can come to learn that they have a story to tell and that they have value and significance. In agreeing with this Ritchie and Wilson (2000) contend that as people write so they are able to interpret their own histories and fix their thinking on paper. Van Manen (1990) speaks of writing as a self-making activity, one which gives appearance and substance to thought. In separating the individual from the lived experience, writing allows the individual the time and space in which to reflect and discover the existential structures of experience. Writing thus becomes a fully-fledged method of inquiry in its own right (Richardson, 2000; Sikes, 2008). In this sense, researching, reflecting, reading and writing are difficult to distinguish from each other (Van Manen, 1990). Ellis (2004) suggests that it is helpful to think of writing in 'process' rather than 'product' terms. I can certainly attest to the validity of this notion. I found, as I wrote my personal narrative, that the process of writing was indeed a memory trigger while there were also times when I found that researching, reflecting, reading and writing seemed to constitute one and the same process.

As I reflected upon what I was remembering, in light of what I have said about memory work, it occurred to me that I was remembering a past which had been highly charged politically from my own perspective as a white man. Credibility would be added, I reasoned, if it were to be read critically by an African man. With this in mind I asked a former student and colleague of mine, Dr Thabo Msibi, to read my narrative chapters. He did so and offered valuable comment which I was able to incorporate into the analysis of my narrative (Chapter 6). I found his analysis of my Edgewood experience particularly helpful since it was at Edgewood, once the Edgewood College of Education had been incorporated as a university Faculty, that we became acquainted. In particular, Thabo helped me to unravel the degree to which I had been complicit in dispensing the liberal whiteness that had been dispensed in the name of the Edgewood College of Education. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

In commenting on my narrative, Thabo indicated that it contained several key silences. I read my narrative again in light of this comment and found that not only did I agree with him but that there were other silences as well which he had not identified. In deciding what to do about these silences I made a conscious decision not to adjust my narrative and to allow it to stand as a reflection of the state of my remembering and thinking at

the time of writing. I decided to rather identify the silences and allow them to speak for themselves in the analysis of my narrative (Chapter 6).

I acknowledge that asking an African man to give his perspective as an African man is limiting in that in doing so I am privileging race over other location markers such as gender, sexuality, class and religion. The fact that I am aware of these is clear from my literature review and also my analysis chapter where I identify intersectionality between them and my whiteness as a theme which manifests itself in several areas of my narrative. Silences pertaining to them are also identified and these point to the nature of my socialisation. It must be added that while I am aware of these location markers I do not pursue them and their intersections with my whiteness in any substantial way since my primary interest has been with my socialisation into whiteness.

As I bring this sub-section on memory work to a close I feel that it is appropriate to add that the nature of my study was such that I sometimes found myself becoming buried in my past. Janet, my wife, would, on several occasions, comment that she had a sense of having 'lost me' in the present as my thoughts ventured to the past. As I reflect on this I have to acknowledge that there were indeed times that I remembered myself in different situations in the past and I found myself wanting to dwell in the past. I thought through many 'what if?' questions that included, for example, 'What if I had stayed in Zambia?', 'What if I had returned to teach at St. Stephen's College once I had qualified as a teacher?' as had been my original intention. The significance of questions of this nature became apparent within my narrative chapters. I found that I often had to check myself and to remind myself that my purpose in revisiting my past in such a thorough-going manner was to use my past to construct a better future for myself as a white man living in South Africa in the present. In saying this I am aware, as I have discussed above, that autoethnography should move beyond the self of the writer to touch the world beyond. In doing so it should move readers to engage critically with their own construction of themselves as a dialogical chord is struck between them and the writer. I regard this as being especially important in my own case since, as I have already pointed out, I regard my text as a 'writerly' text as distinct from a 'readerly' text. I pick this up again when discussing the analysis of my data.

With this in mind I hope to strike a dialogical chord with other white South Africans who might see their way clear to joining me in engaging in a process of reflecting critically upon their pasts and navigating new ways of being white in South Africa.

### 3.3.2. The memories of other people

I engaged in what I have called 'memory sharing conversations' with my mother, Mrs Joan Jarvis and Mr Peter Morris, who was a friend at St. Stephen's College. I chose them as they were able to journey with me back to my first days in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, in the case of my mother, and to the beginning of my schooling career at St. Stephen's College in Rhodesia, in the case of Mr P. Morris. Both were invaluable memory resources and data sources.

My mother responded with much enthusiasm to the idea of engaging in memory sharing conversations with me. We had four such conversations, beginning in January 2012 as I was preparing to begin my personal narrative. We continued through until May as the writing process unfolded.

We sat in the comfort of her home for the first conversation and in mine for the others. We felt safe and comfortable to share with each other and agreed to proceed informally and allow the question, 'Do you remember...?' to steer what we talked about. The conversations rolled on easily, often for well over an hour at a time, and I was able to be very selective in what I settled to use, having taken notes of what I thought would be useful along the way. She remembered warmly and fondly since I was asking her to revisit what she regarded as a particularly happy period of her life. This inclined me to remember in a similar vein since it was also a happy time for me. O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000) notes that this is often the case when adults remember a past which is distant and warns that they may exaggerate the degree of 'goodness' and 'happiness' involved in the 'good old days'. I shared this with my mother, along with O'Reilly-Scanlon's (2000) suggestion that a sharing of memories has the potential to neutralise the tendency to exaggerate. She received this easily and readily submitted her remembering to a comparison with my own of the same events or experiences. There might have been a tendency for us to exaggerate a little, and comparison may have called us to order, but we agreed nevertheless, that the days in question were indeed mainly good days, for they were defined according to our white world view which was all that we knew at the time.

She remembered relatively easily and if she needed any assistance she readily accepted any 'scaffolding' (often just a name or an event) I was able to provide. She continued happily thereafter and was very proud of herself when she, in turn, was able to 'scaffold' my remembering. If there were slight differences between us, in respect of what we remembered, I realised it was probably because she was remembering a time when she was an adult whilst I was remembering my childhood. She was sometimes better at remembering in a more generalised, overarching way and sometimes needed help with the details. McAdams (2011) observes that this is fairly typical of the remembering of older adults. She was, for example, well-tuned into the broad sweep of political developments which unfolded in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia but less clear about many of the details which framed them. I was able to fill in the necessary information but it was because of my subsequent reading and not because of what I was remembering from when I was a child.

We had a few prompts at our disposal to assist our remembering. There were several old photographs, a tapestry which my mother completed when we first arrived in Northern Rhodesia and a few household objects and smaller pieces of furniture which had survived our many moves. Each was able to trigger and sustain conversation which in turn set many memories in motion.

As our conversations unfolded we tended to focus more on our times in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. I had a sense that this might have been because these were buried deeper in the past and we felt a need to call as much to the fore as possible in case we lost it. We were both surprised, in fact, at how much we were able to recall. We spoke easily of our 'Rhodesian way of life', of the houses we lived in, our regular holidays to Scottburgh (Fig. 1), of my experiences at the various educational institutions I had attended and of my travelling between them and home. We spoke of the gardens my father established and of the Africans who worked as our 'house boys' and 'garden boys'. As we did so we acknowledged that at the time we were completely oblivious to the conditions under which Africans worked and lived. As I consulted my notes I observed that at one point my mother had said, in this regard, that "...Northern Rhodesia was all along a black country and yet for the most part we didn't even know it".

I knew that I had to make contact with Mr Peter Morris. He was a senior at St. Stephen's College when I arrived as a junior in 1965. He played an important role in helping me to settle into my new school, crossing the wide senior-junior divide and breaking convention to do so. I was not at the school for long before I learnt that he did the same for several junior boys and that his gesture towards me was not unusual.

Peter lives conveniently close to me in Pinetown (Fig. 1). When St. Stephen's College was closed in 1975 he took over the running of the world-wide Old Boys Association. He has continued to chair the association to the present day. He has also been active in the affairs of the Rhodesia-South Africa Association and was once the chairman of the Durban branch. Upon the closure of St. Stephen's College he became, because of his position and the uncertain political climate in Rhodesia, the repository of an enormous amount of archival material relating to the school. He has at least two hundred old boys on his register and this, along with all his archival material, makes him the custodian of a minefield of information.

Peter Morris and I had been in touch over the years as I had attended a number of the reunions he had organised. When I came to writing my personal narrative I knew that he would be of enormous assistance to me. When I telephoned him to ask if we could meet so that I explain my work to him, and to ask for his help, he responded most enthusiastically.

We engaged in four lengthy 'memory sharing conversations', each being scaffolded by an enormous variety of memory prompts consisting of such archival items as letters, documents, invitations, programmes, magazines, prospectuses, photographs, ties and badges. Nothing was ever thrown away and everything was meticulously stored and filed. I found him fascinating to listen to as we shared our memories. His focus was most often on people, whether they were past pupils or teachers, and it was here where we found his hundreds of old photographs especially helpful as memory prompts. It is observed by O'Reilly-Scanlon (2000) that many scholars have attested to the effectiveness of photographs in triggering memory. Walker (1991) notes that photographs are excellent tools for prompting questions in conversation and I found this to be so with Peter. Questions prompted by who or what we saw in a photograph played a crucial role in scaffolding the conversations we shared. Peter's ability to recognize a face in group photographs and then to describe in detail what had happened to the

person since he left school was impressive indeed and his on-going contact with many old boys opened up further memory prompting conversations.

Peter revelled in the opportunity to engage with me about those aspects of our past which we had in common. Memories came to the fore readily and as they did so we spoke easily of what we had learnt at school and how we had learnt it, both formally and informally. We spoke of routines, forms of punishment, uniforms, entertainment and sport, along with how boys used to travel between their homes and school at the beginning and end of each term. As we did so we recognized that we were remembering an orderly white world and that to all intents and purposes Africans might well not have existed except as a servant class.

At times there was tendency to want to stay in the past that was being recalled. Rhodesia and St. Stephen's College meant much to Peter and he made it clear in conversation that he regretted their passing. His remembering was however, never clouded by sentimentality, bitterness or anger. He would often embellish a memory with a story, finish it, and then move on quite easily to the next face in a photograph or some other memory triggering item. He did much to trigger my own remembering.

We dwelt for a good while longer over one particular photograph. It was of the memorials to the school which were constructed at its entrance. The school was represented by stone pillars on to which plaques, detailing the names of principals and board members had been attached. They bear testimony to the white bourgeois institution it had been and speak to its pupils as having been raised as the 'prefects of Empire' I refer to in my narrative chapter (Chapter 4). The school that was once some five hundred metres or so behind the memorials cannot be seen. Peter and I both knew however, that it now served as a Zimbabwean military base which accommodated soldiers whose sole purpose in life was to sustain the very African majority rule and the very kind of African dictator, which Mr Robert Mugabe had become, we had all been taught, as prefects of Empire, to do all possible to resist. "What could be more ironic than that?" Peter remarked wryly. I remember that we packed things away quietly and concluded our interview soon after that.

### 3.3.3. Archival material

The point is made by Davidson (1998) that archival material is easily able to legitimate any kind of power and authority in society as it is able to institutionalise certain forms of knowledge and marginalise others. In this sense she advises that it is wise to regard archives as custodians of selective memory. In my case the St. Stephen's College material to which I had access and which is discussed below, could be viewed in this light, given that it was largely made up of material that belonged to founding fathers and old boys. As such, the material available might well be biased in favour of the pride individuals had in the institution which obviously meant much to them. It is appropriate to mention that a similar limitation might apply those who actually keep archival material. Davidson (1998) advises that archival material should be viewed with this in mind. The material is not invalidated as such but it is wise to keep in mind that material representing a different view of society, and kept by another archive keeper, might well exist somewhere. I have come to realise that the autoethnographer has to be mindful of this.

I was fortunate enough to have access to archival material which was representative of different times during my life. Most of the material relates to St. Stephen's College and it is that which was made available to me by Peter Morris. I also had access to material on Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and South Africa. My time at Edgewood College of Education is also covered by what I was able to find. I spent many fascinating hours trawling through it all and as I did so I was often reminded of people and events about whom I had completely forgotten. I was also interested to learn about aspects of the past which indirectly affected me but about which I had no knowledge, such as the planning that went into the opening and closure of St. Stephen's College. The archival material to which I had access is described below.

#### 3.3.3.1. Archival material relating to St. Stephen's College and to Rhodesia

In respect of the St. Stephens College material I found the 'Sanderson Papers' of special interest. These were the private papers of the man who had donated the two hundred and fifty acres in the Matopos foothills that the school occupied and who had also been its board chairman for most of its if existence. The papers consisted of his private papers and included letters, invitations, speeches, accounts, plans, drawings, newspaper clippings and photographs to name but a few. These triggered many

memories and were extremely informative. Of particular interest, as I have noted above, were the details of the plans to both open and close the school and also those which were intended to ensure that people who would come after it would know how good a school 'we' once had. This is a reference to the 'time capsule' that is buried on the site and which is referred to in my narrative.

I was fascinated to come across, among the Sanderson Papers (1955 - 1975), a newspaper clipping (*Bulawayo Chronicle*, 29 November 1975) which made direct reference to this. It read:

The sentimental treasures of school life at St Stephen's College, Balla Balla- which closes today-have been sealed and buried in a vault at the college. They include the honours boards, framed photographs, rugby touch flags, house shields, house lists, books, annual magazines and news sheets. The initiative was taken by Sanderson House, the school's oldest house. Only 4 of the 46 boys in the house were Rhodesians. The others were from Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Kenya.

The reference to the small number of Rhodesians is interesting in that I make several references to the same in my text.

I was also interested in the Fuller Papers (1963) which consisted of the notes Mr John Fuller had begun to write for what was intended as his full memoirs. Mr Fuller was a founding member of staff and served as the school's headmaster for a time. When I was at the school he was my housemaster. He also taught me English and Geography and was a man for whom I came to develop much respect and admiration.

The point is made by Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008, p. 15) that photographs have a particularly strong memory evoking power invested in them and that often they are the only link "...to an intangible and sometimes mythologized past". This is supportive of the assertion by Hurworth (2003) that photo elicitation can serve as a powerful means of provoking responses from those who view them. I certainly found this to be the case with the many school photographs which were part of the Sanderson Papers (1955 – 1975) as well as a few photographs of my own (some examples are included in Appendix I). Many were of particular interest. Some photos were of different buildings, others were of individuals. Most photos however, reflected groups, most typically class, team or house-group photographs. Other photos were of old boy reunions.

It is also the case that photographs have the potential to speak as much about the people or objects that are not included as those who are (Walker, 1991). I felt this to be the case when I came across two photographs of the Porter's Lodge at the entrance to the school. In the one the Southern Rhodesian flag was flown alongside the Union Jack. In the other, which was taken later, the Rhodesian flag was flown on its own. The pole which previously accommodated the Union Jack was empty. I remembered that this change had happened after UDI and that it had been a controversial development for many of the masters.

It is observed by Spence (1995) that photographs are not merely representations of fact. Individuals generally do not take photographs of difficult or unhappy times in their lives. The move is much more towards harmony and beauty. All of the many photographs in Peter Morris' collection were of happy, commemorative times or occasions, except those of the memorial to the school to which reference has been made above, and in this sense they presented a particular view of school life. There was nothing of homesick juniors, for example, or teasing and bullying, or the disappointment in not having been included in a particular school-team. This was not entirely unproblematic. Memories relating to such experiences needed to be triggered by other means.

I was fascinated to see that Peter Morris had a nearly complete set of weekly news sheets which were known as *Telstar*, the more so since I edited the publication during my last year at the school in 1969. I was immediately reminded of the type of work that the job entailed as I perused the copies, and also of some of the many details of school life, some of which were rather mundane and routine in nature. This being the case, I find O'Reilly-Scanlon's (2000) reminder quite pertinent that it is often such material that goes unnoticed in the memory mining business. The mundane is, furthermore, extremely important in autoethnographical work.

Peter Morris also had copies of the annual school magazine. I was particularly interested in the 1969 edition for this was my final year at the school. Furthermore, I had written a piece, 'Trek to Rhodesia', in it. I make reference to it in Chapter 6.

I was intrigued to find among the St. Stephen's College memorabilia a number of books which recorded 'film detentions' and other punishments. They were for the year 1973 and provided an invaluable insight into what boys were punished for and what they had

to do to ameliorate their punishment. The offences were of a relatively minor nature, namely those that did not warrant the administration of corporal punishment. They seemed to be related to work which was unsatisfactorily completed, or not attempted in class, or for 'prep' (homework). It was intriguing to observe the detail with which everything was recorded in the neat long-hand of the various duty masters. As I paged through the books and read the various entries I was reminded of the disciplinary regime which prevailed when I was at the school. I thought of myself as the recipient of several punishments. I also thought of myself as a prefect, as one who both assigned punishment and, to a large degree, implemented the punishments boys received. It seemed that the masters had become more involved in the implementation of discipline in the years since I had left.

As I worked my way through the abundance of school archival material I found that an emotional response to what is being remembered can in itself be a memory trigger. Some of the memories evoked a sense of warmth and pride to the extent that I found myself remembering more than I think I might otherwise have done, if for no other reason than I felt I wanted to pause in the particular moment of the past.

I found that I was unable to work my way through the abundance of material in one sitting and that it was necessary to return to it on several occasions. Each time additional memories were added. When I mentioned this in one of my memory sharing conversations with my mother she remarked that she was hardly surprised since she recalled times when I was at school when it seemed that I allowed myself to become thoroughly absorbed by what school life seemed to require of me. I reflected on this as I drew my trawling through the archival material to a close. As I did so, the more so as I began to write this thesis and draw my remembering together, so I came to realise the degree to which the archival material spoke of a highly organised and ordered world which seemed as if it would never end, and indeed one which seemed to be all absorbing. I was interested to read that Peter Morris, in his response to my narrative, referred to school life in a similar way (Appendix C). This was, for us, the normal world and everything revolved around it. It was, above all, a white world, a world of privilege, and yet we did not see it as such. By the time I left the school I had become one of its agents.

### 3.3.3.2. Archival material relating to Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and South Africa

I also had access to archival material that was relevant to parts of my life which both preceded and followed my stay at St. Stephen's College and in Rhodesia. In respect of the former, I was able to borrow a set of *Horizon* magazines from a person I had met at church who had spent some of his adult life in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. *Horizon* was a monthly publication of the Rhodesian (later 'Roan', to keep the 'R' in 'RST') Selection Trust mining corporation which had interests on the Copperbelt, principally in the towns of Luanshya and Mufulira. It was aimed at white employees, but after independence in 1964 it quickly morphed into a publication for people who were known simply as 'salaried employees'. The editions contained a wide variety of material of local interest and focused primarily on the employees, their activities and achievements as well as mining developments with which the company was involved. I remember eagerly awaiting their arrival at the beginning of each month. Paging through them some forty or fifty years later evoked many childhood memories. The photographs were particularly effective triggers.

I also used a number of my own personal photographs as memory prompts and some which belonged to my mother (some examples are included in Appendix I). They were primarily of family members and were taken at our homes or of me at school or university or when we were on holiday. As I reflected upon them I found that it was often certain objects or background scenes which were more 'memory prompting' than the people themselves. A building or a bicycle and garden or school settings, for example, were quite effective in setting the remembering process in motion. When individual people were the focus it was sometimes quite jarring to realise that they had died.

Personal photographs were also invaluable in triggering memories which belonged to my earlier and later adult life in South Africa, once I was married and living in Pinetown, New Germany and Kloof. Those of my daughters, Carin and Laura, were especially evocative as were those of my wife, Glynne, whom I lost to cancer in 2000. In 2002 I married Janet who is a prolific photographer and as a result, I had access to many more photographs in the post-2002 phase of my life than at any other.

As my personal narrative indicates, I spent thirty-one years working at the Edgewood College of Education and the Faculties of Education of the Universities of Natal and KwaZulu-Natal on the Edgewood campus. When the College was closed, prior to the

incorporation into the former University of Natal, employees who terminated their services with the provincial education department were handed their personal employment files. Mine contained every conceivable record, from letters of appointment and promotion, to copies of my qualifications, reports of my progress, payslips and housing subsidy statements. I worked my way through it all prior to starting to write my narrative and was fascinated to be reminded of aspects of my career which I would otherwise have forgotten. The payslips were especially interesting as were the housing subsidy details relating to each of the houses I once owned. I was also interested to read what had been said of me by my seniors at different stages of my career. It was a strange feeling to have my career compressed in this way and many memories were triggered.

As I reflected on what I gleaned as I paged through my file I was reminded afresh that I was remembering a white world of privilege and what seemed at the time to be a world of order and stability. The old Natal Education Department was a small department which catered for the needs of a small white minority with relatively few educational institutions. One could telephone departmental officials and have a query responded to immediately. I found at least two notes in my file to the effect that I had been telephoned by an official and I was able to remember that it had been in relation to a query about my housing subsidy. There was much care and attention to detail and I found myself wanting to know if the files of Africans, which as far as my file was concerned might well have been in another country altogether, were treated with such care. I was reminded also that the salaries and service conditions of African teachers were nothing like those of white teachers, and nor were their qualification requirements. My file served to highlight the degree to which I had indeed been a privileged white educator.

The annual magazine of the Edgewood College of Education, *Insight*, triggered similar memories. The magazine was intended to celebrate everything that the college represented and there was invariably a strong focus on the activities and achievements of staff and students. Once again photographs were effective triggers, such as that in Appendix I of me at the signing of the agreement in 1991 between the governments of South Africa and the KwaZulu Bantustan which allowed Africans to study at Edgewood. The written word was also responsible for illuminating aspects of my past at the College, especially when there was reference to certain events or people.

I had access to all of the copies of the magazine and as I reflected upon the content that was encapsulated by them I found myself, as in the case of the archival material relating to St. Stephen's College, wanting to reach some sort of conclusion as to what it all meant. Once again I reasoned that it was reflective of a highly organised white world, a world of white power, and predictability. Whites clearly defined that which was normal in education and the broader society.

*Mentor* was the quarterly magazine of the Natal Teachers' Society (NTS) which became the Association of Professional Educators of KwaZulu-Natal (APEK) after 1994. I made a point of paging through the copies I had in my possession shortly before embarking on my personal narrative. I did so because I had been intricately involved in the affairs of both organisations for the time which spanned most of my career at the Edgewood College of Education. I served on the Executive and Management Committees, and chaired the Education Committee for many years. It was this involvement which thrust me into the heart of those political developments in South Africa which affected education, especially in the build-up to the 1994 elections when a new national education policy was being formulated.

As I paged through my copies of *Mentor*, I remembered afresh this political side of my professional career and how political developments in South Africa had caused it to unfold in ways which were quite different from the plans I had for myself when I started out as a teacher in 1975. I remembered the many executive and management meetings and the conferences I organised and attended. I was reminded of the many people who had also been involved and my many trips away from home.

### 3.3.4. Published material

#### 3.3.4.1. Reviewed literature

It was often the case that the academic literature I read as I prepared to write this thesis was a significant trigger of memory in its own right, and often also a source of new knowledge. This was so especially in the case of literature that focused on geographical spaces I was able to link to my lived experience. It was particularly helpful in respect of my formative years in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia and Rhodesia since I was unable to visit places in these geopolitical spaces in person.

### 3.3.4.2. Biographical and auto-biographical material

I used several biographies and autobiographies which had been written by individuals who had spent their formative years in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia (Baker, 2000; Butler, 1977; Freeth, 2011; Fuller, 2002, 2004; Ghurs, 2004; Godwin, 1996, 2006, 2010; Hill, 2003; Holland, 2008; Lamb, 2004, 2006; Lessing, 1992; Liebenberg, 2008; Meredith, 2002; Retzlaff, 2013; Robins, 1995; Rogers, 2009; Smith, 1997; St. John, 2007; Suzman, 1993; Taylor, 2000; Wessels, 2010; Wright, 1971). I found much more material on Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia than Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, this being a reflection, possibly, of the different settlement histories of the two countries. Most of the authors no longer live in Africa. There was much which helped the remembering process. As with other memory prompts sometimes the mere mention of the name of a place or person set in motion memories which appeared as if they were on a conveyor belt, whether I wanted them to or not. This was even more the case when towns or farming districts were described, and once again photographs, when they were used, were especially evocative. The recalling of events, the mentioning of product names, radio or television programmes, the naming of hotels and shops, along with the names of streets, farms and mines were equally effective, as were maps, descriptions of schools and the recalling of school routines, games and lessons.

Some of the passages so vividly brought the past to life that I found it difficult to believe that I was not actually there once more. Once again I found that my emotional response of wanting to keenly embrace what was and to escape to it, served to trigger other memories, especially of times when I felt warmly about a space or particular situation.

These texts were far more than prompters of memory, however. They were instrumental as sources of verification and embellishment, as is apparent from my use of them in Chapter 6. Like some of the academic texts I reviewed, they were invaluable when it came to reflecting on what I had written and in helping me to allocate voices to some of the silences in my narrative. While enhancing the degree to which they were sources of new information these considerations were also important in helping me to meet the requirements of verisimilitude, as has already been noted.

During the course of an internet search in 2011, I came across the details of a second volume of a book on Rhodesian schools. I was fortunate enough to be able to source a

first edition of what is now a very rare book, from an antiques and rare-books store in Knysna, South Africa. It was published in 1982. It made for fascinating reading, the more so because St. Stephen's College was one of the included schools and I appeared in one of the photographs in the book (Appendix I). Jameson High School in Gatooma (now Kadoma) was also featured in the book. As I read the respective chapters on the two schools I was interested to monitor my reaction. While I remembered St Stephen's with a certain fondness I felt quite cold towards Jameson High School as I was reminded of the unpleasant experiences of my stay there.

The book provided a most informative overview of the Rhodesian education system, especially in view of the fact that the histories of the schools which were featured were given, along with celebrations of their achievements and staff and pupil photographs. It was very apparent that white Rhodesians held their education system in high regard. They were extremely proud of their schools, whether they were state schools or private schools. The part played by schools in the national life of white people was also very evident. It was interesting to observe that the volume was published in 1982, two years into the new Zimbabwe, in an endeavour to preserve something of the heritage of the Rhodesian schools that once were.

The chapter on St. Stephen's College gave a history of the school from its inception in 1959 to its closure in 1975 and this, along with several photographs which had been included, added to my remembering which had initially been triggered by my conversations with Mr P. Morris and the archival material he lent me. It was interesting to see my old school appearing in what was once a prestigious book and now such a rare edition. It helped me to consider the school within the broader context of Rhodesian schooling and I was interested to learn more about my old school.

#### 3.3.4.3. An unexpected published source

A book which acted as a memory prompt of note, and which came across my path quite unexpectedly, was a Bible with which I had been issued at school when I first arrived in 1965. I had used it as the key supportive text in my studying of the compulsory school subject, Divinity. I returned the Bible to the school when I left in the November of 1969 and it resurfaced some forty years later.

A young girl at the church where I am a member had purchased this particular copy of the Bible (the Revised Standard Version) at the local Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in Kloof, where I currently live (Fig. 1). Upon opening the front cover she saw my name, the name of the school, St. Stephen's College, and the year (1965), details which I had written in the front cover. She came up to me one Sunday at church to show it to me. The Bible was in perfect condition despite the passage of time and space and it had clearly survived what must have been a fascinating journey of its own. It had obviously been disposed of by the school at some stage, either before or upon its closure in 1975 and was acquired by a person or persons who subsequently made their way to where I reside in South Africa. As I paged through the Bible I found the annotations which I had pencilled in so long ago and which were still perfectly legible. As I did so, I remembered my Divinity lessons specifically and was also easily reminded of other aspects of the formal curriculum as I experienced it. Classroom settings and routines as well as specific teachers were among these memories. It was indeed an incredible memory prompt, a rare example of an artefact from my past finding me.

### 3.3.5. School textbooks

I was fortunate to find, among my supervisor's textbook collection, two history textbooks (Boyce, 1960a, 1960b) which had been prescribed for our use at St Stephen's College when I was in Form 2 (in 1965) and Form 3 (in 1966). Both made for fascinating reading as I read them with my contemporary eyes. I use both books in Chapter 6 in order to provide examples of the content of my formal learning.

I had also kept a copy of 'This Day and Age' (Hewett, 1960), the anthology of poems from which the poems I studied in my A level year were selected. I make reference to this in Chapter 6 to provide further examples of the content of my formal learning.

### 3.3.6. Visits to key places

Given the importance of place in the process of identity formation, it seemed to me that it was important to re-establish contact with the significant places of my past where it was possible for me to do so. Being able to visit places helped me to link my knowledge of them 'now' with my knowledge of them 'then'. Visiting a spread of places I had occupied over many years in a period of just a few months helped me to gain an

overview of them and of the links between them in my past. This helped me in the writing of the context of my narrative.

#### 3.3.6.1. Parkview Primary School, Haselmere Court and Glenashley, Durban

I had often passed the school I used to know as Parkview Primary School by car but I made a point of visiting it and its environs as I prepared to start writing my personal narrative. I attended the school towards the end of 1964 after my parents and I had left Luanshya in Northern Rhodesia just before the colony became the independent Zambia. The school is now called Glenwood Preparatory School and it has been attractively restored to reveal the best features of its Natal Victorian architectural style. I walked into the grounds and passed the classroom where Mrs Titlestad had been my class teacher. I peered into the hall and the entrance foyer to be reminded that Mr Eric Edminson, who was the headmaster when I was there, had moved on to become the second rector of the Edgewood College of Education, after the founding rector Miss Margaret Martin, and before Dr Andre le Roux, to whom I make frequent reference in my personal narrative.

I walked around the immediate neighbourhood of the school and followed the route I used to walk along to Haselmere Court in Clarke Road, which was where my parents rented a flat whilst looking for a property to purchase in Durban. I drove out to Glenashley which was where my parents had wanted to buy or build a home of their own. In 1964 Glenashley was empty sugar cane land with residential plots marked out with white wooden stakes. Now it is completely built up, but I did manage to work out where some of the plots were that my father had considered buying. I remembered the hope in the future that developments such as those at Glenashley represented. Houses and plots sold almost overnight as white immigrants from elsewhere in Africa and elsewhere settled in Durban in large numbers.

#### 3.3.6.2. Stilfontein and Milner High School

My parents and I only stayed in Stilfontein (Fig.1) for a few months at the beginning of 1965 and I attended Milner High School for just the first term of that year. I wanted to visit the area nevertheless, because those few months constituted something of a watershed in my life, taking place before my terrible Jameson experience, before St. Stephen's College, and before Rhodesia and all that that came to mean in my life.

These are all referred to in my narrative. I made the visit to Stilfontein in August 2012 together with my wife, Janet.

I remembered Stilfontein as a modern, thriving mining town. Everything was new and clean. The business centre had been designed according to 'new town' planning principles and there were pedestrian malls, manicured gardens and fountains. Cars could park in designated areas only. It was a white town and most of the whites worked on the surrounding gold mines. They lived in neat little miners' houses, spread out along streets lined with recently planted trees. Africans who worked on the same mines lived in hostels in nearby 'compounds'.

We visited 44 Buffelsfontein Street which was where my parents and I lived during our short stay. I looked across the road to the spot where we had witnessed an African man being beaten and thrown into a police van for breaking the 9pm curfew which was enforced to keep Africans out of white residential areas at night. I noticed that Africans now lived in the house closest to where the incident had occurred.

I remembered the daily trips to school in Klerksdorp some 15kms away. We drove along the route I used to follow, usually by bus, but sometimes by car when my Afrikaans teacher, Mr van den Berg, used to offer me a lift in his little old two-stroke DKW (an ancestor of the modern day Audi) motor car. In 1965 Milner High School was just a few years old and the only high school in the area for English-speaking whites. It stood alone on the bare veld just outside Klerksdorp on the Stilfontein side of town.

When Janet and I arrived in August 2012 we went into the grounds of the school and I observed that the school had changed considerably. Hostels had been built and trees had grown and matured. The surrounds were also quite altered and there was little sign that the school had once stood on bare veld. A road which passed between the classrooms and administrative buildings and the hostels bearing the name of the first principal, Mr Tommy Stevens, was also new and unfamiliar, but the road name, Tommy Stevens, immediately triggered a host of memories.

I remembered that this was where I had had my first exposure to CNE, although I did not know what that meant at the time. I clearly remembered the cadet drills, and having to learn the national anthem during Youth Preparedness lessons. Had I stayed for longer I was due to go on a 'veldskool' camp (bush retreat school) the following term

and my mother was compelled to complete an indemnity form for this camp. I certainly remembered the difficult Afrikaans lessons I was forced to endure. Mr van Den Berg demonstrated great sympathy for me, so much so that we became friends and that was why I sometimes obtained a lift with him to school.

### 3.3.6.3. The Cutty Sark Hotel in Scottburgh

The Cutty Sark Hotel in Scottburgh (Fig. 1) was our favourite holiday hotel whilst we lived in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. My mother and I worked out, during one of our 'memory sharing' conversations, that we had had eleven holidays there, each lasting about a month. I had been to the hotel on a few subsequent occasions but felt the need to take another more purposeful visit, prior to beginning to write my narrative. As I reminisced I found it difficult to distinguish one holiday from the next as they seemed to merge into one. I walked along the passages and wandered into the lounge and dining-room and the games room. I walked to the swimming pool and followed the path we so often walked along on our way to the beach. I remembered many fun times, including my exposure to the world of girls.

When I went out into the car park I remembered the little Wolseys and Fords in which we used to undertake the long and often treacherous journeys to reach this much favoured 'Rhodesia by the sea', as it was fondly regarded. I remembered the many miles of strip roads, in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia, which we had to travel on and was interested to note that my mother also mentions them in her response to my narrative. Godwin (1996) mentions them as well, as does Lessing (1992). These Rhodesian inventions (Lessing, 1992) consisted of "...fragile foot wide ribbons of tarmac" (Lessing, 1992, p. 306) and "...when you encountered oncoming traffic, each vehicle had to pull off so that only the right hand wheels were on a strip and the left side skidded along the gravel..." (Godwin, 1996, p. 134). My mother recalled how dangerous the roads were. Godwin captures the essence of her fears when he says, "...it was quite easy to lose control when coming off the strip, because the gravel on either side was usually pitted and eroded" (Godwin, 1996, p. 134). I remember that my father damaged his tyres on more than one occasion.

I remembered the motels we used to stay at en route, not all of which were connected to the national electricity grids. The motel at Makuti, deep in the Zambezi valley close to the Chirundu border post, came to mind in particular (Fig. 1). My mother mentions this

too in her response to my narrative. I thought of the time later when this same motel found itself in the middle of the bush war/liberation war that is referred to in my narrative.

#### 3.3.6.4. Victoria Falls

My wife Janet and I visited the Victoria Falls (Fig.1) in 2010. I was last at the Victoria Falls on holiday in 1972 and was keen to see them again, both to share their magnificence with Janet and to engage in the memory journey I knew they would inevitably invoke. Knowing this, Janet was as excited as I once we had booked our flights. When we caught sight of the full span of the Victoria Falls for the first time we both experienced a variety of emotions, and I felt a strange sense of being reconnected with a part of Africa I thought I would never see again.

We visited for three days which included a sunset cruise along the Zambezi River. We enjoyed a day trip to the Chobe National Park in Botswana upstream from the Victoria Falls. A particular highlight was our helicopter flip over the Victoria Falls and their environs. Many memories were triggered. I immediately recognized the very typical Msasa trees which grew in abundance, and the baobabs. The accents of the African people, as they spoke in English, were also immediately familiar as I remembered people who I had known only as a servant-class in Luanshya and Mufulira and at St. Stephen's College. We visited the town of Victoria Falls where I bought a copy of the *Bulawayo Chronicle* which was the newspaper I used to read as a pupil at St. Stephen's College. I noticed immediately that the type of newsprint was of the same quality as that which was formerly used when the Rhodesians were making their own newsprint in an endeavour to circumvent sanctions. It was the same off-white colour and it smelt just the same. In the corner café where I purchased the newspaper I noticed that Mazoe orange juice, a childhood favourite of mine, was still being produced locally and bottled in the same way.

We walked on to the rail and road bridge which crossed the gorge immediately opposite the main Falls, and as we did so I could hardly cope with the memories as they flooded into my mind. I remembered my crossing the bridge many times, in different ways and in different circumstances, even when the tension between Zambia and Rhodesia was such that the bridge was periodically closed and the surrounding area declared unsafe. I was reminded afresh of the significance of the Victoria Falls in the evolving history of

Zambia and Zimbabwe and how they had sometimes served as a bridge to draw these countries together and at other times served as a divide intended to keep them apart. I thought of the meetings between prime ministers and their delegations<sup>7</sup> sometimes taking place in trains spanning the width of the bridge. I thought of what the Victoria Falls had come to mean to me and of how I had taken what they represented politically, into my own sense of being.

We travelled to the Victoria Falls via Livingstone, on the Zambian side, which was where our flight from Johannesburg landed. From the airport we travelled through the town and then crossed over into Zimbabwe via the bridge which has just been discussed. This was my first visit to Zambia since I left the country at the end of 1973. Livingstone airport was immediately recognizable although the town was much changed. We passed the railway station which was still recognisable as were the road side 'lay-byes' for which the roads of Northern Rhodesia used to be well-known. We passed two on our way to the Victoria Falls Bridge. The local currency, which consisted of Kwacha and Ngwee, which I noticed our driver using, was immediately familiar and evoked many memories.

### 3.3.6.5. Edgewood College of Education/Edgewood campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

Having worked at Edgewood for thirty-one years I felt no need to revisit a place which had become so very familiar to me. When I arrived in 1980 several of the buildings were still being completed. I 'felt' my thirty-one years when, shortly before I retired, architects who had been engaged to design extensions and alterations to some of the tutorial buildings were advised to ask me, being unable to find some of the original plans, if I could remember the locations of certain of the underground pipes and cables.

In 2012, a former rector of the Edgewood College of Education, Dr Andre le Roux, visited me and asked me to show him around. He had left in 1993 and was keen to see how things had changed. It was interesting for me to see Edgewood through his eyes. My familiarity had caused me to miss some of what he was seeing and noticing. Talking

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<sup>7</sup> Examples of such meetings included those in 1949 and 1951 which were called to explore the possibility of establishing the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Another example was the famous meeting in 1974 between Dr K. Kaunda, the President of Zambia, and Mr B.J. Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, who met in a train that spanned the length of the Victoria Falls bridge to try to ease tensions between their two countries.

to him as we walked around proved to be most enlightening in respect of what I found myself remembering. We effectively became engaged in a 'memory sharing' conversation, with much of what we saw serving as invaluable memory triggers. As we talked he began to ask about developments subsequent to his departure. My explanations, and the need to engage with him as he asked me questions, proved to be useful in triggering additional memories. As we talked we also shared our knowledge of what we knew of past members of staff and past students. Many names came up and we each had many memories to deal with.

When we arrived at the entrance foyer of the main tutorial building, where his portrait used to be displayed, he wanted to engage with me as to why it had been removed. As we talked, further memories were triggered, the more so as we made reference to the book, *Edgewood Memories: Memories of the Edgewood Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal* (Wassermann & Bryan, 2010) which had been launched in the tutorial building just a few months previously. This book consisted of a compilation of twenty-six pieces of memory work which covered the Edgewood campus from its inception as a college of education to its emergence as a faculty of education. The intention was to leave an enduring memory and as I read the contributions a great number of memories were indeed triggered for me. Dr Le Roux had had the same experience and we brought our conversation to a close by sharing something of what we had both found the most interesting.

#### 3.3.6.6. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus

I had visited the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg on many occasions since having left in 1974. With the writing of my narrative in mind I made a purposeful visit to the campus (now a campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal) at the beginning of 2012 and I spent a morning walking around the campus, visiting places I knew would trigger memories.

In William O'Brien Residence I visited the rooms in 'F', 'C' and 'D' blocks which I had once occupied. I went into the dining-room and the lounge and into what was formerly the mail-room where our letters were delivered in our pigeon-holes. While the dining-room was no longer used as a dining-room, since meals are no longer provided to students in residence, but rather as an examinations venue, there were still several

large prints hanging on the walls and I immediately recognized them. They now showed the full signs of their age as they hung in the same places as they did when I was there as a student. I went into the reception area which was where we had to place our 'fixed time' telephone calls. I walked along the path from my old residence to the Sports Union which was where we wrote exams and partied along to the music of the 1960s and 1970s. From there I walked to the Library and although it had been altered somewhat, I managed to locate where I used to sit for hours on end studying. I went into the old Arts block, there to sit in the very seats, in the very rooms where I had had so many of my lectures and tutorials. In Appendix I there is a photograph of me in front of this building. I did the same in the Main Science Building which was where I went for my Geography classes. Finally, I visited Dennison Residence on the old Pietermaritzburg golf course site where I spent the last two years of my stay at the university.

#### 3.3.6.7. Virtual visits to places via Google.com

I visited Luanshya and Mufulira via recent You-Tube postings. Both towns are particularly rundown and neglected, particularly Luanshya, which looked largely abandoned. Footage was, in both cases, confined to the main entrances, the business centres and some of the residential avenues, and was not of a particularly good visual quality. In the case of Luanshya, there were scenes of the Mine Recreation Club, including footage of the thoroughly dilapidated swimming pool where I spent many afternoons as a child. The buildings were completely unkempt, the water was green and filled with plant growth, and the surrounds completely overgrown. I would have liked to have viewed more of the town, but the clip ended after only a short while. I have wondered whether I have been guilty of employing a white, middle class aesthetic here and was therefore interested to stumble upon a similar assessment in the Zambian daily newspaper, *The Times of Zambia* (4 April, 2001), (cited by Ferguson, 2006). In the report Luanshya is described as an unkempt and run down town which had endured a long period of neglect and a series of crippling problems as a result of the Indian based mining company, which acquired ownership of the Roan Antelope Mining Corporation in 1997, having gone bankrupt in November 2001.

#### 3.3.7. Field notes

Field notes can be a particularly valuable means of data collection. Anderson and Glass-Coffin (2013) explain that they can consist of either contemporaneously written

notes which document an experience or notes written from more distant memories and which chronicle reflections around them. They argue that field notes might relate to experiences with people or the environment or they could be taken to refer to one's state of mind at the time. In respect of the latter field note writing can be seen as a kind of "...self-defining 'mystory'" (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013, p. 67) in the sense that the writing involved becomes a way of knowing and discovering.

When my wife Glynne died of cancer in 2000 I began to keep a journal as a means of writing my way through the pain I was enduring. Whilst her death, and my response to it, is the primary focus of the journal, Edgewood College was going through the process of incorporation with the University of Natal at the time and I make quite frequent reference to this for it added to the uncertainty and anxiety I was feeling at the time. What I went through in my personal life is reflected, at least in part, in the journal. Some of the struggles I experienced with Glynne's bourgeois family are also recorded.

The journal in question can, in this sense, be regarded as a set of field notes which provide an insight into my state of mind and which also helped me to chronicle details from the part of my life in question. I should also mention that I made a point of my keeping my daily diaries from the time, something I would not normally have done, and these also helped in the recalling of events and the writing of my narrative.

#### 3.3.8. Responses to my personal narrative

The persons who were asked to respond to my narrative have been identified earlier and the reasons for them being asked have been outlined. I was very flexible in what I asked my respondents to do. I was interested in them being able to attest to the trustworthiness of what I had had to say and I also asked them to add any material and insights of their own, prompted by what they had read, if they felt so inclined.

There were no outright contradictions between my narrative and what was contained in the responses but what was interesting was that when new information was added, or when my remembering was being considered, different perspectives became apparent. Thus, while I remembered my time in Luanshya as a child my mother remembered her time there as an adult. While my daughters, Carin and Laura, remembered the domestic side of their lives with me as my daughters, I remembered as their father. While Thabo Msibi remembered his tenure at Edgewood as an African student and a young lecturer, I

remembered as an older white man who was both his lecturer and a colleague. While Peter Morris remembered the time he spent with me at St. Stephen's College as a confident and popular senior boy who was shortly to leave I remembered the same as a nervous new boy who had just arrived. Finally, while my wife, Janet remembered her Edgewood tenure as a lecturer with me as her boss, I remembered my tenure as a period which started with me as a lecturer and ended with me as the deputy rector.

The varying perspectives which were born of such different positionalities provided additional insights into what I had written. Where appropriate, these are considered, together with the new information which emerged from the responses, in the analysis of my narrative in Chapter 6. As has already been noted, I elected not to change the narrative itself. These considerations, along with the respondents' verification of what I had written, are important in respect of the requirements of verisimilitude.

### 3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

When a researcher analyses the data of a study he or she organises, explains and interprets it. Fitness for purpose is once again a guiding principle in that the researcher must be clear about what the data analysis is to accomplish. This in turn influences the way in which the analysis is written up (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) make the point that while there are no formulae or recipes for the best way to analyse the stories we write certain criteria are important. They contend that an analysis should take account of how a writer frames his/her experiences, how they are contextualised and the degree to which insight is shown into events, occurrences and characters. The presence of turning points in a story might also be identified, while structure and coherence are further considerations. In this sense a narrative is both viewed and analysed as a mode of reasoning (Richardson, 1997).

In the case of my study, a descriptive personal narrative is employed. The story line unfolds chronologically and, being an autoethnography, I allow it to focus on my own life experience which is contextualised when I place it within the geopolitical and educational spaces which shaped my whiteness. My narrative is analytical in its own right as events are described and analysed, explained and interpreted as the story

unfolds. I also try to stand aside from my narrative in order to analyse and think about its content.

In considering how analysis of narrative might take place Ellis (2004) suggests that it is helpful to distinguish between 'narrative analysis', the 'thematic analysis of narrative', and the 'structural analysis of narrative'. She explains that 'narrative analysis' is built upon the premise that a good story is itself theoretical in that as people "...tell their stories they employ analytical techniques to interpret their worlds" (Ellis, 2004, pp. 195-196). Here, stories are seen as being analytical in themselves, with authors setting out to carefully call up and analyse situations that they have been in or have studied at some stage. In the case of the 'thematic analysis of narrative' another layer of analysis is added as the author steps back from the text to use the story as data. Themes are established that illuminate the text as the focus moves from the story itself to abstract analysis. Ellis (2004, p. 196) observes that this way of analysing narrative is "...akin to grounded theory, where researchers work inductively and present their findings in the form of traditional categories and theory". In the case of the 'structural analysis of narrative', by contrast, the additional layer of analysis assumes the form of stories being analysed in respect of their structure, with considerations such as linguistic features, language processes and the strategies used to reach an audience coming under the spotlight.

A distinction is made by Frank (1995) and Ellis (2004) between thinking 'with' a story and thinking 'about' a story to further clarify the ways in which analysis in narrative can occur. In the case of thinking 'with' a story one does not go beyond the story in that it is taken as being complete in itself. It affects one's life and, in the experience of it doing so, truths about oneself are revealed (Trellis, 1997). Ellis (2004) sees this as being akin to 'narrative analysis'. In the case of thinking 'about' a story, the story is reduced to its content and then analysed to find and study the themes, patterns, processes and strategies that are present (Ellis, 2004; Frank, 1995). This ties up with the 'thematic' and 'structural' analysis of narrative approaches described by Ellis (2004).

The difference between thinking 'with' a story and thinking 'about' a story is succinctly captured by Sparks (2002) when he suggests that an individual's reading of personal accounts of serious illness, for example, are more likely to want to feel 'with' a story than simply be told 'about' it. Bochner and Ellis (1996) pick this up when they assert that

what autoethnographers write 'about' is not meant to be dispassionately consumed or received. They want their readers to empathise, to care and desire and in this sense they suggest that autoethnographers might be inclined to want to show a preference for thinking 'with' a story.

I see my text, in the first instance, as conforming to 'narrative analysis' in that my story is analytical in itself. Situations are called to the fore and they are described, explained, interpreted and analysed as the storyline unfolds. In this sense, as I write my story I think 'with', to follow the thinking of Frank (1995) and Ellis (2004). This is when I interrogate those events, experiences and relationships in my past which have had a bearing on the shaping of my whiteness. This is also when I acquire a greater understanding of myself and discover the parts of my life coalescing in an integrating whole which starts to make sense. This is when I am set on my self-defining path as I use my past to anticipate a better future for myself and when I hope to influence my readers and trust that they will not simply dispassionately consume what they read. Integral to all of this is the tracing of my journey through the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience. Integral to this journey in turn, is the manner in which I have been both influenced by, and respond to, these geopolitical spatial forces as well as the political, geographical and educational spaces within them. As I think 'with' my story I recognize the impact of these forces and I recognize also that they both acted alone and in an interactive way. I think 'with' my story in Chapters 4 and 5.

In my study I also think 'about' my story, in Chapter 6. In doing so I hold my narrative up against the published literature in order to compare it with what is told there and to identify and interrogate themes which are present. Since I recognize that there are indeed other stories about me and the geopolitical and educational spaces in which I have lived I also hold my narrative up against these. An overarching theme of 'otherness' emerges as being present and it, in turn, is informed by several other themes which are listed below.

- White superiority and the presence of different variations of whiteness in the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience
- Geopolitical space as a socializing agency
- Education as a socializing agency
- The role of the ideology of liberalism in my socialization

- The role of intersectionality between my whiteness and the social markers of class, gender, sexuality and religion in my socialization.

In order to analyse these themes I use, in the first instance, the lens of the 'spatial turn' of my study to organise my analysis according to the places and institutions I experienced in each of the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my narrative. I then analyse the themes by drawing each across all the geopolitical and educational spaces according to the theoretical framework of Symbolic Interactionism. This is explained further at the beginning of Chapter 6.

The nature of the analysis involved in the interrogation of my narrative is explained further by Wilson (1998), when he contends that autoethnographers endeavour to write 'writerly' texts as distinct from 'readerly' texts. He explains that 'readerly' texts take their readers along a linear, logical and predictive path through the research process. Readers have little space in which to really make meaning. 'Writerly' texts are different in that they are less predictable and require readers to engage with what they are reading in more deliberate ways so that they can draw the text into their own experience and fill in any gaps for themselves. In this sense, there is co-production between the writer and the reader, with a focus on reader response which encourages involvement and connection (Sparks, 2002). It is the contention of Ter Avest (2012) that stories which have the greatest potential to transform readers are 'open space stories'. Such stories, instead of trying to colonize readers, allow them sufficient space to deconstruct and reconstruct what they receive as they subject the text to their own memories.

I see my text as being 'writerly' in that there is definite scope for co-production between what I have written and what my readers produce in their minds as they read and reflect on my text. I do not see it as a colonising text and anticipate the possibility that as my readers engage they might 'restory' what they know, perhaps as new memories are triggered or as new interpretations are applied in the light of clarified or new understandings. I hope that there will be co-production with people who are on a similar trajectory to me. I also hope for co-production with whites who are still locked into their past and who might be persuaded to embark upon their own personal journeys.

In thinking 'about' my story I take due account of the tests for verisimilitude which have already been referred to. These enable me to monitor the degree to which what I have

related is able to hold up to assessments of whether my story has the appearance of being believable and credible.

### 3.5. METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

Similar to any study, mine has limitations. One limitation is that I am unable to visit all the places of my past, visits which might have been helpful in triggering memories. The places are in Zambia and Zimbabwe where political circumstances, especially in Zimbabwe, mitigate against visits in the present day. My old school, St. Stephen's College, is a particular case in point. Having played such a significant role in the shaping of my whiteness at a formative time of my life it is now, as has been mentioned, an army base and as such is inaccessible.

Another case in point is Luanshya on the Copperbelt in Zambia. A person living in the nearby town of Ndola reported to me that it was unsafe to go there since local government and policing had broken down. I had to be content with visiting the town on YouTube, as has been noted.

I was also reluctant to visit Mufulira in Zambia for the same reasons since the same person also reported on its dilapidated state. Again I had to be content with a 'YouTube' visit. Safety considerations aside, having been to several run down, dilapidated and vandalised places in South Africa I wondered about the wisdom of making a visit to either Luanshya or Mufulira. Having said this, I do acknowledge that discomfort can be a major provocation in critical research, not least autoethnography. Memories which are drawn on must include those which are not happy ones and all memories relevant to what is being explored must be brought to the fore if the requirements of verisimilitude are to be met (Austin, 2001; Ellis, 2004; Jenks, 2002; Kiesinger, 2002; Spry, 2001). It is also appropriate to be reminded of the emancipatory element of critical research and autoethnographical work (Cohen et al., 2007; Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2004). Individuals can potentially be freed from the hurt and pain borne of past oppression and exploitation as they engage in autoethnographic work and, as has already been noted, come to an appreciation of its therapeutic value (Bochner & Ellis, 1996; Ellis, 2004; Jenks, 2002; Kiesinger, 2002; Spry, 2001).

Not visiting Zambia or Zimbabwe, apart from my brief visit to Victoria Falls in 2010 which is mentioned in my personal narrative, means that I have been unable to make

contact with whites who have elected to stay on in these countries. It would have added a dimension to my study if I had been able to engage with them to find out why, when so many had left, they have stayed, and how they have adjusted. I am interested in them because they are also the people among whom I spent my childhood years. In a sense they join white South Africans in being a people of my past. I am aware that some remain as a residue of the old Rhodesian regime, leading private, reclusive, embittered lives (Hughes, 2010; Lessing, 1992; Pilosoff, 2012; Sheers, 2004). I am more interested in those who have tried to distance themselves from colonial and hegemonic whiteness and have tried to find new ways of being white in the post-independence situation in they find themselves. More than feeding into my current narrative being able to engage with them might have been useful in helping me in my own journey.

I also found it difficult to make contact with white people who had left Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, who were now living elsewhere and had also experienced the places of my childhood. When I did establish contact, through a few leads given by Mr Peter Morris, for example, I did not feel as if I was being exposed to new insights. I read several newsletters of the St. Stephen's College Old Boys' Association Worldwide, and of the Rhodesian Association of South Africa, and found them, and many of the responses they contained from readers, unhelpful as they did little more than hark back to what was perceived to be Rhodesia's golden past which was compared with what was portrayed as the chaos in present day Zimbabwe.

The time span, almost sixty years, of my personal narrative is also a limitation. Many of the memories on which I have depended in the writing of my narrative are from a distant past and there are many factors to be considered, as has become clear from that which has been discussed in this chapter, when dealing with as many memories as those which are contained in such a long time period.

In my endeavour to overcome these methodological limitations I made a special point of engaging with my methods of data collection as conscientiously as possible and ensured that due attention was given to the requirements of verisimilitude. I made a special point of reading biographical and autobiographical material, especially as it related to Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Southern Rhodesia/ Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe.

### 3.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In respect of ethical considerations, ethical clearance for my study was obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal authorities before I officially proceeded with my studies (Appendix A). In addition to this ethical clearance I believe that I have proceeded in such a way as to satisfy the ethical considerations which have a bearing on my study. Furthermore, my text was submitted to academic computer software (*turnitin*) so as to test for plagiarism (Appendix M).

It has been noted that verisimilitude is an important consideration in a study of this nature and reference to my having met its requirements has been made above. Letters of response from people I asked to read my narrative are confirming of this, as is the degree of confluence between the published and archival literature I consulted and my narrative. Further evidence, specifically in respect of my Edgewood narrative for the period following the incorporation into the Universities of Natal and KwaZulu-Natal, is attested to by the fact that the period of tenure of my thesis supervisor, Professor J. Wassermann, has been co-incident with my own and he is able to vouch for the truthfulness of what is contained in my narrative.

As I became aware that others in different locations and contexts might see my narrative accounts differently from me and tell stories of their own I identified key silences in my narrative when thinking 'about' it in Chapter 6. In doing so, I allowed the voices behind the silences to come to the fore. This adds to the trustworthiness of what I have written.

Delamont (2007) draws attention to the fact that it can be argued that it is almost impossible for autoethnography to satisfy all ethical considerations in that informed consent cannot always be obtained from everyone who is an actor within a narrative. In building on this, MacLure (2003), Sikes (2005, 2006, 2008, 2013) and Sikes and Potts (2008) Sikes and Piper (2010) warn that care must be taken not to 'other' those about whom one writes. In respect of my narrative many of the individuals who are named could not be contacted as they have either died or now live at an unknown address. Where individuals are named or implicated I believe that the integrity of who they are as persons has in no way been compromised. I believe that Sikes' (2008) comment on the importance of writing being principled, as noted earlier, has relevance here. This is in keeping with the criteria of my ethics approval.

### 3.7. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explained how I went about my study. I began with a discussion on autoethnography as a research genre, and focused particularly on the degree to which it is suited to my purposes. I proceeded to describe my methodology and my methods of data collection. Subsequently, I explained how I proceeded to analyse my data and concluded by commenting on the methodological limitations of my study and the main ethical considerations relating to it.

As I relate what has been said above to my research question I believe that how I went about my study was 'best-fitted' to the purpose (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007) I wanted to achieve. With this scene now set I proceed to my two narrative chapters, Chapters 4 and 5.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THINKING 'WITH' MY STORY: MY SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY YEARS

In this chapter, and in Chapter 5, my personal narrative is presented. It progresses chronologically and traces my life as I encounter the three southern African geopolitical spaces of my experience, namely Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa. As the narrative unfolds the process by which I was socialised into whiteness is traced. Various shaping forces become apparent. These are broadly contained within the political, geographical and educational spaces I experienced, the interaction between them and by my response to the shaping forces. My primary interest is with the educational spaces but it becomes apparent that they are engaged in complex interaction with the political and geographical spaces which both impact the educational spaces and me directly. This chapter concentrates on my school and university years, while Chapter 5 is concerned with me as a professional educator. In this chapter I am essentially a learner of whiteness. In Chapter 5 I am a teacher and enforcer of whiteness, although I also continued to embrace and learn it during the period covered by this chapter<sup>8</sup>.

In this chapter I give more attention to my experience of whiteness at St. Stephen's College in Balla Balla (now Mbala Mbala) in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) than to my other experiences (Fig. 1). I do so since it was where I spent most of my high school years and because it had a particularly significant impact upon me, as did the political developments which unfolded in Rhodesia during the time I was at the school. It was from St. Stephen's College that I was supposed to receive that highly aspirational set of social ideals associated with bourgeois whiteness and from where I was supposed to go out into the world as a 'prefect of Empire' (Paxman, 2012).

My personal narrative commences with me arriving in Luanshya in Northern Rhodesia as a five year-old boy in 1955. I do not begin earlier because I remember little from that

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<sup>8</sup> I acknowledge that there is more to the socialisation process than that which is contributed by an individual's experience of school and university. My decision to concentrate on my experience of school and university was informed by a need to control the scope and breadth of my study.

period and do not regard it as significant in my story. It is perhaps relevant to mention so as to contextualise my story that my father came to South Africa as a Royal Air Force serviceman in 1941, during the Second World War. He met my mother in Johannesburg soon after his arrival and they married in 1945 and settled in Springs near Johannesburg where my father worked as a learner draughtsman on the Grootvlei gold mine. The move to Luanshya was motivated purely by the opportunity to earn more money than he ever could have had he stayed in Springs (Fig. 1).

For her part, my mother had been born in South Africa because of her family's involvement in the South African War of 1899-1902. Her mother was a cousin of the British Prime Minister, William Gladstone, who was involved in various ways in the build up to the war. The man she was to marry, Thomas Beeforth, was sent to the war from Britain to serve as a stretcher bearer and he elected to return to South Africa after the war had ended. When my maternal grandmother fell pregnant out of wedlock at the age of nineteen, she was banished from her bourgeois home. On hearing of her plight, Thomas Beeforth, a working-class man from the English Midlands, invited her to marry him and to join him in South Africa. They had three children in addition to her illegitimate child. The Gladstone connection with South Africa continued when the former Prime Minister's son, Herbert Gladstone, became the first Governor-General of South Africa following the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

#### 4.1. LUANSHYA: NORTHERN RHODESIA

The Luanshya of my childhood was a typical mining town on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt (Fig. 1). It was an isolated little place close to the border with the Belgian Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and somewhat set apart from the other towns of the Copperbelt. It was set deep within the bush and had a distinct frontier feel to it. The wide tree-lined entrance road was beautifully landscaped and gardened on both sides and this led into the Copperbelt's 'garden town' as Luanshya was known. The small central business centre was stretched out along two main streets and a few side streets. Tin roofed, single-story colonial style buildings, fronted with paved verandahs, lined the streets. If they were not made of red brick they were painted in the colours of some faded post-card. The side streets accommodated Indian and African traders, among whom tailors and street side bicycle menders feature prominently in my memory. There was also an area demarcated for Africans to sell fresh produce which

they had grown, and a *boma* (a group of offices for the administration of African affairs) which was where Africans had to report on a regular basis with their passes, or *stupas* as they called them, so that they could continue to remain in Luanshya.

Most of the white residents of the town were working-class miners who were connected to the local copper mine in some way. The whites lived in houses which were owned by the Rhodesian Selection Trust (RST) mining company. Their tin roofed, red brick houses were spaciouly set out along tree-lined avenues and were never far from sports clubs, and manicured parks and open spaces. Africans lived in separate 'compounds', either in single-sex hostels or tiny two or three roomed houses which were also owned by the mining company. I remember that the local compound could be seen in the distance from some of the white residential areas. Most of the Africans worked as mine labourers or as the servants of the whites, as garden 'boys', house 'boys' or cook 'boys'. Some of these 'boys' lived in *khias*, (small single-roomed houses) at the bottom of the yards of their employers. Only a small number of African women lived in the town. I remember learning when I was in Standard 5 (the equivalent of Grade 7 in South Africa today) at the local Luanshya Primary School that the policy of the colonial government was to keep African family ties and connections located in the rural areas as far as possible. Thus it was that most women were confined to the rural areas. I was taught that this was as much for the good of the Africans themselves as it was for the whites. We were given the notes we needed and I do not remember there being any discussion about the matter which was the same for much of what we learnt.

Most of the whites in Luanshya were from either Britain or South Africa and they had moved to such an isolated little place for no other reason than to benefit from the highly lucrative wages and salaries and other favourable conditions of service they were able to secure. They did not see themselves as being in the country on a permanent basis, although my mother remembers a sentiment among the white residents of our local Luanshya community that many would have liked to have stayed on permanently had it not been for subsequent political changes. Only a few whites had been born in Luanshya and this was true of the white population of Northern Rhodesia as a whole. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Fig. 1) had just been established, in 1953, and the promise that the Copperbelt was set to become its main source of mineral wealth was a further luring factor for the whites. My mother remembered these early days as confident, hopeful times. There was money around and the Federation would,

according to the British government and the supporters of the United Federal Party in the territories involved (Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), secure the position of whites for many years to come. This held out the possibility that whites might change the way in which they viewed their tenure in the colony.

When my parents moved to Luanshya at the start of the world 'Copper boom', mining operations were expanding rapidly and substantial 'copper bonuses' were being paid to white employees. There was an influx of whites wanting to work on the mines, even those with few skills to offer. White jobs were protected from competition from Africans. It took a while for us to be allocated a house because there was an acute housing shortage. For nine months we stayed in 'leave houses' which meant that we stayed in other people's homes while they were on leave abroad or in South Africa.

I remember the excitement when we were informed that we could move into 70 'Z' (Zenobia) Avenue. The type and size of the houses employees were allocated depended on their position on the mine. My father was a draughtsman and 70 'Z' was one of the lesser houses. It was located in a part of the housing estate which was the first to be developed in the late 1920s. It was a small, although very adequate two-bedroomed, tin roofed, red brick structure. Initially we saw a dark and dingy house that was almost lost in an entanglement of overgrown mango trees and weeds. My father would have passed it by and waited for the next house to come up on the waiting list but he decided to accept it on the assurance that it would be modernised and extended with the addition of a new lounge. Apparently he qualified for the type of house 70 'Z' would be after the changes had been effected.

We spent happy years at number 70 'Z' Avenue. The house was set well back from the road on its own half-acre plot. My father created a beautiful garden, very much in the tradition of the English country garden, and his vegetable garden met almost all of our vegetable requirements. We had a garden 'boy', George, who told everyone that it was his garden. We had a house 'boy', White, who was equally proud of what he used to do in the house. George lived in the nearby compound but White lived in the *khia* at the bottom of our garden. After a while his wife, Lebitina, joined him after my father had signed the necessary forms at the *boma*. I never did find out how she was allowed into Luanshya while other wives were not. The *khias* of all the houses backed onto 'back lanes' which ran parallel to all the back yards. Every so often there was an ablution

block which was shared by the servants of four or five houses. The toilets were mere holes in a concrete slab. There were concrete sinks instead of basins and there was only cold water. The lanes were not tarred and when it rained they became quagmires. I used to ride my bike along the lanes near to our house and thought nothing of what I saw and nor did my mother. She was simply anxious that I should not venture into any of the servants' toilets. In Appendix I there is a photograph of the three people who worked for us.

I became well acquainted with White, Lebitina and George. It was they who introduced me to *sudza* (mealie-meal porridge, as distinct from the stiffer, crumbly *pap* so favoured by Afrikaners in South Africa), which was the daily staple diet of the local Africans. I sometimes had lunch with them when I came home from school for I thoroughly enjoyed *sudza* and kapenta (a small sardine-like fish) which Lebitina cooked well and which she was so willing to share. I have to admit to sometimes taking these people for granted and in our 'friendship' I regarded myself, even as a child, as the senior partner as I was always *bwana* (or master) to them. I thought nothing of it and, if I am to be honest, expected it. It was that way with all the children among whom I grew up. My mother knew about my lunches and used to add a little to the monthly wage that White was paid.

I started school in 1956, soon after we arrived in Luanshya. I attended the J.B. Clarke Infant's School which had been opened only recently to accommodate the children of the fast growing number of whites. I don't remember enjoying my first lessons very much. There was a strong focus on the three Rs and there was a tremendous amount to copy down, very meticulously, and commit to memory. We were very 'rule bound' and had to know our place in the 'social order'. We sat in neat rows for most of the time, except when we sat on the mat for 'story time'. There was much emphasis on silence in class and, for the most part, we were only allowed to speak when we were spoken to by our teacher. We were thoroughly 'drilled' and were regularly spanked with a ruler across our open hands, when our memories failed us, both boys and girls alike. The Nature Study, Singing, Handcraft and Physical Education lessons provided a welcome change in focus and routine but once again there was a strong emphasis on doing exactly as we were told.

Boys and girls were treated very differently. We lined up separately and were allocated separate playing areas and played different games and sports. The teachers conveyed different expectations and boys were regarded as the dominant figures who were expected to be rough and tough and able to stand up for themselves and were never supposed to cry. Girls had to be quieter and less assertive and it was acceptable for them to cry and express their emotions. Messaging of this nature was reinforced in both the formal and informal curricula. In the case of the former, I remember that in my first *Janet and John* readers John was always the dominant figure. I remember the teacher telling me that my early letter formation was not a sufficiently good example to set for the girls. In respect of the informal curricula, I can recall the rough and tumble 'pile-on' games we boys often engaged in, which were viewed as acceptable, during breaks. The messages regarding the place of girls and women were also reinforced at home. Most of our mothers did not work, for example, and my mother recalls there being few career opportunities for women on the mine. The accompanying expectation was that they should run their homes well and be 'there' for their children and husbands at all times.

The only presence of Africans in the school that I recall was that of a small group of gardeners and cleaning staff, all men, and a messenger who we used to call by his first name, Jackson. It was Jackson's job to ride to the post-office every day on his bicycle to collect and deliver post, and when at school, to deliver messages to the teachers in their classrooms during lessons. When he knocked on the classroom door we always had to greet him, since we were always taught to be polite to 'the Africans'. Jackson was a kindly old man who we always thought of as being such a 'nice boy'. The way in which Jackson was regarded was like that of the 'boys' we all had working for us in our homes, regardless of our father's position on the mine.

Although I had no sense of it at the time, these initial experiences of Luanshya and school conferred a real sense of privilege upon me. I identified, very early in my life, with the secluded, privileged geographical space that Luanshya typified, and I did so, on the basis of being white. I lived apart from Africans. They lived in compounds and *khias* and they were our servants. They were not allowed to shop in the same shops as us and if they wanted to buy something they had to wait to be served through a hatch in a side lane. I had no idea where African children went to school and never even thought about it.

My initial experiences of school were confirmed and expanded upon when I entered the Senior Primary Phase (Standards 1 - 5) across the road. If J.B. Clarke was 'big' school, Luanshya Primary was 'bigger' school, the first indication of this being that I was now allowed to ride to school on my bicycle. I was 'picked up' every morning by my best friend, Tony Piget, who lived a little way down my road. We, in turn, picked up two other boys who were on our route to school. This measure of carefree independence added a very real fun element to my daily experience of school.

We were streamed according to our intellectual ability and there were three streams (A, B and C) in each of the standards. While most children seemed to stay in their streams on a permanent basis, being moved 'up' or 'down' was always a possibility, the latter invariably being used as a threat by the teachers. I started out in Standard 1B with Mrs Rowe and went on to Standard 2B with Miss Essmont, but spent the next three years, in Standards 3A, 4A and 5A, where I was taught by Mrs Greer, Mrs Hawkins and Mrs Philpotts, respectively. I had to work hard to 'stay up' and when my marks dropped even slightly, I was threatened, especially in Standards 3 and 4, and often in front of the whole class, with being 'dropped' to the B stream.

Selection of this nature taught me, from an early age, that there was a hierarchical order within the white schooling system and that my place within it depended upon my own efforts. I had no sense at the time that there were links with social class divisions in the broader white society. It is perhaps relevant to record at this juncture that the children of senior mine officials were sent, even from a young age, to private boarding schools out of the country, most typically in Britain or South Africa. The children I went to school with in Luanshya were working-class children, the offspring, by and large, of miners. As we competed for places in the different streams we were in fact competing for positions in a whiteness which was cast outside of the bourgeois whiteness of the managerial class on the mine.

Mrs Rowe's primary responsibility to us in Standard 1, it seemed, was to lay our foundations in language and number ability, for we spent most of our time engaged with Arithmetic and English. We also had formal handwriting lessons every day and I can remember the best examples of our developing script ability being mounted on cardboard backing for display in the school foyer. We were not with Mrs Rowe for long when she led us into 'real writing' and gradually away from pencil to ink, 'dipping pens'

having first to be mastered before we were allowed to move on to fountain pens. Ball-point pens were completely banned as it was believed that they would corrupt our developing writing styles. Rubbing out (using an eraser) was also disallowed. Mrs Rowe used to say that the quality of a person's script was a sign of the degree to which he or she was educated and 'refined'. I remember the great pride with which I regarded my first Parker fountain pen, a Christmas gift from my parents. It is still in my possession.

Mrs. Rowe also introduced us to History, Geography and General Science which collectively were known as our 'learning subjects'. They were 'content subjects' and required a great deal of rote learning. I can clearly remember committing to memory, material which I did not really understand. There was abundant content on the Federation and why it had been established and how good it was going to be for both whites and Africans. I can remember us carefully following the progress of the building of the Kariba Dam (some 200kms downstream from Victoria Falls) (Fig. 1) and this project being held up as a perfect example of the good that could emerge out of the Federation. Over a period of some weeks the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation broadcast a series of programmes on the building of the dam and explaining how the Federation would benefit. Mrs Rowe encouraged us to listen and I did so every evening after the 8 pm news. We also learnt a lot about the British Empire and the achievements of the British in places elsewhere in Africa and in India. I do not remember learning much about African people as such other than that they needed 'us' to help 'them' catch up with 'our' superior standard of 'civilisation'.

We also had weekly Singing, Handcraft and Physical Education lessons and we continued with the same subjects and emphases in our latter Senior Primary years although the work became more difficult. Furthermore, we were drilled in what we had to know, especially in our tables and spelling. Our books had to conform to the highest standard of neatness and were frequently collected for checking and our corrections had to be done immediately. We worked individually, never in groups, and there was invariably a strong element of competitiveness demonstrated by our frequent wanting to know how we had each fared, especially if we thought we had achieved good results. I do not recall anything I completed not being 'for marks' and felt a strong pressure to keep up, the more so because marks and class positions were always called out in class to become public knowledge. Individual responsibility for how well we did was strongly emphasized.

School started early in the mornings at 7.15am, and finished at 12.30pm. These times were decided upon in an endeavour to deal realistically with the heat of most of the days. Sport was not compulsory, although there was always pressure on us to participate in some extra-mural activity. The major boys' sports were soccer and cricket, while hockey and netball were the main girls' sports. Athletics during the third term was something we all participated in at house level. An individual's performance at this level determined whether or not he/she would be selected to represent the school at various district meetings. In my Standard 5 year I was selected for the school long-jump team but did not fare well at district level.

In my Standard 4 year I entered an inter-school essay writing competition and was selected as one of the winners in my age group. As a reward I, along with two others from my school, joined winners from other white schools in Northern Rhodesia, on a week-long trip to the Kafue Game Reserve to the west of Lusaka (Fig. 1). Much of Northern Rhodesia at the time was untamed country and we would often see wild animals as we travelled along the narrow roads between the widely dispersed towns. The game was far more concentrated in the Kafue reserve, however. We went on game drives in the early mornings and early evenings. We were accompanied by experienced white game rangers who would teach us about the animals and the environment in which they lived. There were many new experiences for me and I found myself beginning to appreciate the unique beauty of the landscape of tropical Africa and a sense of becoming attached to it.

In the January of 1964, when I had just turned thirteen years of age, I moved up to Luanshya High School to go into Form 1 (the equivalent of Grade 8 in South Africa today). It was now that, given political changes which had taken place in the country, Africans were first allowed to attend schools which had previously been reserved for whites. This disruption of white space caused much anxiety on the part of white parents. Africans had been strongly cast by whites as representing everything that was backward, dirty and uncivilised. They were the 'extreme others'. Whites had, in turn, presented themselves as a powerful homogenous group. They were all Christian and civilised and superior. Such was the 'stand-off' when whites found themselves no longer holding political power that most white parents reacted by withdrawing their children from the local schools. They either sent them to boarding-schools out of the country or left the country themselves as they were convinced that education standards were

about to plummet. They were worried about standards of hygiene and the parents of girls feared that their daughters would be raped at the first opportunity. There were nine Africans in the 'Class of 1964' which I joined. Similar to my white classmates my response was to look on from a safe distance and I was mindful not to become involved at a social level.

There was a strong tradition of initiation at the school and, despite the political changes, the 1964 programme of 'activities' and 'events' went ahead, although the African children, who were still a minority, were not drawn in in any way. The organisers were all senior white pupils who were keen to hold on to the power conferred upon them by past practice. I was sometimes envious of the Africans, for much of what initiation entailed was petty and belittling. There was a particularly strong emphasis on us having to know our place in the 'pecking order' and conforming to the way things had operated since the school opened in the early 1950s. A particularly unpleasant experience for us boys was having to line-up during break times to have our heads dunked into a flushing toilet. Any form of resistance served only to draw unwanted attention.

I found the transition from primary school relatively easy. Maths and English continued to be the most important subjects in respect of the time that was allocated to them. The secondary schools of Northern Rhodesia were registered with the Cambridge Examining Authority in Britain. Had I stayed on my second language would have been French or a Zambian language (since Afrikaans was soon dropped) along with my other Cambridge subjects, which at the time, were Mathematics, English, General Science, History and Geography. Industrial Arts was a new subject for the boys as was Domestic Science for the girls, both of which were non-examinable subjects. There was a stronger focus on sport than at primary school, although it was still not compulsory. Had I have stayed on into the second term, I would have put my name down to play rugby, although there was talk that it was about to be dropped in favour of soccer. Had I not left Luanshya High School I would have had to have gone elsewhere when it came to writing 'A' levels (acquired in a public examination at the end of a six year period at high school) for these were not offered by the school.

This was indeed a time of change and disruption. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had ended in 1963 and Northern Rhodesia was about to become the independent country of Zambia in October 1964. The geographical and educational

spaces that had been separate and seemed so constant were changing and the schools were the first to experience visible demographic change on a large scale. Africans also began to move into the white residential areas but this was, by its nature, a slower and less immediately noticeable change. Africans were also allowed to shop in the shops normally reserved exclusively for whites, as well as at the shops which they had always been obliged to patronize in the vicinity of the *boma*. There were also changes on the mine in that 'Zambianisation' programmes were introduced to enable Africans to move into jobs which were previously reserved for Europeans (as whites were often referred to at the time).

Such a dislodging of white political power in all the spaces in which it had enjoyed dominance was met with dismay by most of the whites. They had backed the United Federal Party (UFP) to the hilt in trying to hold on to the Federation. I remember attending, together with my parents, a UFP meeting in the Luanshya High School hall. I did not understand much of the content at the time but I do recall the excitement and fervour with which the Prime minister, Sir Roy Welensky, was met when he entered the hall and, even more so, when he declared that he would never give up on the wishes of white Rhodesians in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia. It was not long afterwards that the British had their way anyway. My mother recalls an outpouring of anti-British sentiment at the time for there was a strong sense in which white Northern Rhodesians felt let down and I remember taking on this way of thinking as my own. My mother felt that many people in Luanshya had grown so fond of their little town, and of Northern Rhodesia, that they would have eagerly converted the temporary status they had initially assigned to themselves to one of staying on permanently had it not been for the political changes which had unfolded. Subsequently, the changes were too much to accommodate, with the recentness of the Congo crisis (caused by a power struggle between opposing nationalist groups after the withdrawal of the Belgians in 1961) also weighing heavily on their minds, and most of the whites left. My parents moved to Durban in the August of 1964, just before Zambian independence on 24 October 1964.

We were very sad to leave Luanshya, for it was an idyllic little place in so many ways. It was a typical mining town, small and close knit, and we enjoyed a simple, secure life-style. My father enjoyed his job and my mother was content to remain at home as mother and housewife. We had enjoyed regular holidays at the Cutty Sark Hotel in Scottburgh on the Natal south coast in South Africa, this being a favourite Rhodesian

holiday destination (Fig. 1). I loved our house, our road, the shops and my dog 'Prince'. My Luanshya days were happy, care-free days. I enjoyed school. I had many friends and it was with them that I roamed far and wide and virtually claimed the town as mine. We were forever at the mine swimming-pool in the afternoons after school and we were all taught to swim by the same teacher, the swimming-pool superintendent, 'Watty' Watson. If we were not swimming we were out riding on our bikes. On Saturday afternoons we went to 'bioscope' regardless of what happened to be showing that week. We swapped comics during the intervals and also squeezed in an ice-cream for all of six pence.

My parents and I listened regularly to the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation and, when the reception permitted, to the South African Broadcasting Corporation and World Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation as well. I remember my great joy in receiving my first transistor radio, a portable 'Marilyn' model in a polished leatherette case. I used to listen every morning to 'Rhodesia this day' as I dressed for school and had breakfast. I have a clear memory of the arrival of our first radiogram and starting to collect records of my own. My parents used to read the *Northern News* every day and I also started to read parts of it as I got a little older. I remember that various magazines used to arrive every week from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and that there was always a selection of these in our house.

Television was introduced in 1960 which meant guaranteed evening entertainment. Such was the excitement which accompanied this development that I remember driving up and down the streets with my parents on Sunday afternoons counting the TV aerials. There were definite programme favourites and we all used to compare notes the next day at school. My favourites included *Bonanza*, *Raw Hide*, *Sea Hunt* and *The Lone Ranger*. There was only one channel, Northern Rhodesia TV (NRTV), and the black and white transmission started at 6pm and ended at 10pm every day. I fondly remember our brand new TV set being delivered to our home at 70 'Z', a 'Bush' in a highly polished glossy wooden cabinet. The 'magic box', White used to called it.

#### 4.2. DURBAN: SOUTH AFRICA

We left all of this behind when we moved to Durban where my father had secured employment with the Durban municipality. We considered that we had really had no option but to leave, the justification being that life would surely become impossible

under African rule. When we arrived in Durban I was sent to Parkview Primary School which was a main feeder school to Glenwood High School. I spent the last two terms of 1964 there, in a Standard 6 class (the equivalent of Grade 8 in South Africa today) which had been added to the school to help Glenwood High School cope with the spike it was experiencing in pupil enrolment figures. During my admission interview at Parkview with the Principal, Mr Eric Edminson, my parents and I were informed that the increased enrolment figures were partly because of an increase in the number of white people moving to Durban from African states to the north of the Zambezi. Mr Edminson explained that my admission to Parkview Primary would secure my place at Glenwood High School which had modelled itself along British grammar school lines. He made much of this during the interview. My parents needed to be sure that that was what they wanted for me.

The Standard 6 class turned out to be an interesting class of about thirty pupils, all of whom were boys. Our class teacher was Mrs Titlestad, who I thought was quite strict. She placed much emphasis on our needing to conform to the rigid classroom regime she put in place. Several of the boys came from a nearby children's home and quite a few were from the working-class neighbourhoods of Lower Glenwood and Umbilo. Two of the boys had recently moved to Durban from Zambia and one from Malawi. Quite a number of the boys were older than me and seemed to have failed a year somewhere along their journey through school. I often wondered how they would ever fit in at Glenwood High.

I was not at the school long enough to settle properly although I coped well enough with my lessons, except for Afrikaans which I had not taken before and which did not seem to be taken seriously by the school anyway. Nor had I taken Woodwork which was now part of my curriculum. The History was all about South Africa having just become a Republic in 1961 and I do not remember being expected to engage critically with this in any way. I remember that Mrs Titlestad let it be known that she thought it was a very good move for South Africa to have taken and we took it no further than that. As was the case with my experience of school in Luanshya, I learnt nothing about African people in any formal or structured way and the only interaction I ever had with them at school was in their role as messengers, cleaners and gardeners.

My parents and I were familiar with Durban. Family members lived there and we always visited them when we were on holiday at the Cutty Sark Hotel in Scottburgh. This was why we chose to settle in Durban. Compared to the changes we had seen beginning to take place in Zambia, Durban presented as a prosperous white city. African people seemed to come and go, I knew not from where, but they certainly did not live where we could see them and they seemed to be quite content with their lot and knew their place in life. As with the rest of South Africa, Durban was experiencing an economic boom and there were new buildings appearing everywhere. Family members and friends were positive about the future and were convinced that the transfer of political power that had happened in Zambia could not possibly happen in South Africa. It was simply too big and modern and anyway the Afrikaner dominated National Party was in power, promising safety and security to all the whites of South Africa. Thousands of English-speaking whites, displaced by the winds of change in Africa, were regrouping in South Africa and attaching themselves to the South African dream. Spatially, the most British expression of this whiteness was to be found in Durban and the former British colony of Natal and this made it a favourite destination. Even so, there were adjustments to be made as people learnt to find fresh footings.

I used to accompany my parents when they went 'house hunting' on Saturdays and Sundays. They favoured Glenashley, which at the time consisted largely of sugar cane lands, to the north of the city. Plots were being sold quickly at reasonable prices and I remember walking amongst the white stakes that marked the plots off one from another. There were some with beautiful sea views and one in particular that my father almost bought. He ended up not doing so because he confessed to having second thoughts about settling in Durban. He had, it seemed, become too used to having a subsidized mine house as part of his employment tenure and was now afraid of over extending himself financially, especially since he was earning considerably less than he had done in Luanshya. His attention turned once again to the mines, but this time to the South African gold mines.

#### 4.3. STILFONTEIN: SOUTH AFRICA

We had heard that the South African gold mining industry was prospering at the time and that many mines had been opened up in what was then the Western Transvaal and the Orange Free State. My father responded to an advertisement for a position on one

of the gold mines in the Stilfontein area (Fig. 1). His application was successful and we moved to Stilfontein in the January of 1965, in time for me to start the new school year at Milner High School in Klerksdorp.

There were several mines around Stilfontein which was one of the newer mining areas and my father's new job was on the Buffelsfontein mine. The employees' houses were smaller and newer than what we had experienced in Luanshya, and also more closely spaced. There were only a few newly planted trees and certainly no mature tree-lined avenues. There was a little business centre which had been built around neat gardens and fountains, and which incorporated the 'new town' concept of separating traffic and pedestrian flows. As neat and attractive as the town was I thought that it lacked the charismatic feel that the colonial buildings and setting of Luanshya were able to evoke.

We were allocated a comfortable enough house at 44 Buffelsfontein Street, close to the business centre. My new school, Milner High School in Klerksdorp, was only some 15kms away and conveniently, a school bus, which made the daily journey to school, stopped close to our new home. It was one of several buses which travelled the district far and wide in order for children to be able to reach the school. I had never travelled by bus to school and rather enjoyed the experience. Sometimes I obtained a lift with my Afrikaans teacher, Mr van den Berg, who passed our house on his way to school. He was a humble man and continually apologised for his dilapidated car.

Milner High was the only English-speaking high school in an area where the vast majority of whites were Afrikaans-speaking. Most of its teachers were also Afrikaans-speaking. The school seemed to be firmly controlled by the Transvaal Education Department, for there were often very formal looking men in dark suits visiting the school and sitting in on classes. I remember that a large South African flag was flown outside the administrative offices and that in the reception area there was a framed presentation of the words of the national anthem which hung alongside a cabinet with glass doors which accommodated all the school trophies. This was very different from my experience at Park View Primary School in Durban.

I fitted in quite easily, although there were indeed some difficulties and differences for me to contend with as I made my adjustment. I struggled with my Afrikaans lessons which were much harder than they had been in Durban and taken very seriously. I think that Mr van Den Berg was sympathetic to me because he could see how I struggled

with the language. When we travelled together to school he showed much interest in my Zambian connections and asserted that 'we' must never let 'that' happen here, referring to African majority rule. The school had a noticeable military feel because of the mandatory cadet activities which were included in the curriculum, as well as weekly Youth Preparedness lessons. There was a strong focus on pupils needing to be proud and loyal Christian white South Africans who would be thoroughly prepared to withstand moves to undermine white solidarity and superiority. I had little idea of who or what liberals were at the time, but I remember being told to be very careful of them for they were white people bent upon undermining white solidarity and preparing the way for a communist take-over. I also had little idea of who communists were but they were somehow also linked to the possibility of an African take-over in South Africa. There were scripture lessons every week and these seemed to be linked to the Youth Preparedness lessons in that, in the term that I was there, the focus was on our need to be tuned into God's plans and purposes which would be realised in our lives as we lived them through the South African national context. As part of the Youth Preparedness Programme, *Veldskole* (bush schools) were regularly held and I heard that they were organised along military lines.

Like Parkview Primary School in Durban, Milner High was a school for whites only. I did not expect it to be any other way in South Africa. That, after all, was why the National Party was in power. Nor was I ever exposed to anything in what I learnt formally that might have caused me to think otherwise and life as it was lived was taken as a given. Africans were outside the frame of reference and the children I mixed with did not even seem to speak to them or about them. Africans lived in their own areas and interacted with whites only as their servants. We learnt nothing about them at school that contradicted this view.

Lessons were presented according to the formal transmission model by both male and female teachers who were always formally dressed. There was little questioning in class and being able to remember and learn by rote seemed to be more important than being able to understand. There was a strong need to pass tests and exams and to conform to what was expected of us and to this end a rigid disciplinary code was enforced. Teachers saw themselves as disciplinarians and some of the men used the cane freely and frequently in class. I remember that my Bookkeeping teacher, Mr Pretorius, was

especially free and easy with his cane. It was to one's distinct disadvantage not to be able to answer one of the many questions he used to put to his class.

School spirit was jealously pursued and much time was spent on sustaining it. There was a strong seniority hierarchy and everyone had to know their place. Several of the prefects were also cheerleaders and we spent many break times learning and practicing war-cries and songs in readiness for the time when visiting teams played against the school. As I was preparing to leave the school at the end of the first term there was much practicing for the coming rugby season.

I soon learnt my place in this new environment of the Western Transvaal. I interacted well with my teachers, even Mr Pretorius. The Headmaster, Mr Tommy Stevens, took a special interest in me, referring to me as his 'new boy from Zambia'. I also socialised easily with my peers, my passage in this regard being made easier by virtue of the fact that my best friend, Tony Piget from Luanshya, had also ended up at the school since his parents had moved to Klerksdorp. His parents had chosen to buy their own house there rather than live on a mine estate in Stilfontein. Tony and I would often cycle to each other's homes over the weekends. I remember preferring Stilfontein to Klerksdorp and thinking how strange it was to choose to purchase a house when a heavily subsidised rental was an option.

I never thought to question the whiteness of the town of Stilfontein. However, I do have a vivid memory of a significant, if temporary, disruption to the way I was seeing the world at the time. The presence of Africans on the mine residential estate at night was controlled by the sounding of a curfew siren at 9pm. My parents and I were on one occasion witnesses to the plight of an African man who had infringed this law. We stepped outside our house, having heard a commotion, a little after 9pm one night. As we did so we saw two white policemen throwing the offender into the back of their van, beating him with their batons and kicking him in the process. As he protested the more he was beaten. I remember feeling a sense of unease but it soon passed as we slipped back into an easy-going ignorance of so much of what was really going in the broader society.

We did not stay in Stilfontein for long and I was only at Milner High School for a term before we were on the move again. My father was unable to speak Afrikaans and did not settle at work. Reports from whites who had stayed on in Zambia, and those who

had returned, confirmed that it was still possible to enjoy working and living there, as long as people were prepared to live quiet, private lives and children did not have to go to school there. My father wrote to ask if he could have his old job back. The Rhodesian Selection Trust (RST) mining company, which had recently changed its name to the Roan Selection Mining Company (so that 'Rhodesian' could be removed from the name but the 'R' retained, 'Roan' being selected to commemorate the roan antelope that was shot at the spot where copper was first discovered) was unable to oblige. They were however, able to offer him a position at the sister mine at Mufulira, some 60kms to the north east of Luanshya (Fig. 1).

#### 4.4. GATOOMA: SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Since I would not be able to go to a high school in Zambia, because of the degree to which we had internalised popular knowledge about declining standards and because there were hardly any other whites in the schools, my parents, knowing no better, wrote to the Southern Rhodesian Ministry of Education in Salisbury, to inquire if there was a place for me to board at one of the government schools in Southern Rhodesia. It turned out that this was the most inappropriate way for them to have attempted to secure a school place for me.

Gatooma (now Kadoma) was a typically Southern Rhodesian town some 140kms south west of Salisbury (now Harare) (Fig. 1). As we looked for Jameson High School, which was the school to which I had been allocated by ministry officials, the low rise buildings of the town, with their red tin roofs and verandahs extending over the pavements, and the wide streets in the small central business area, looked so familiar. Public spaces were neatly kept and it was clear that beyond the business area many of the homeowners took a pride in their houses and gardens. It was all very neat and quiet and white and my parents and I commented on how it seemed that the locals were so attached to their town and so proud of it. We found the school and my parents dropped me off before continuing on their way to Mufulira in Zambia.

Jameson High School was a Southern Rhodesian government school with origins going back to 1907 when a Mrs Amelia Fitt, wife of the first mayor of Gatooma, gave the initial classes. Hostels had been added to the school, following its initial opening, to enable it to accommodate white children from outlying farming districts (Winch, 1982).

When I arrived in Gatooma I stepped into highly charged and fast changing political developments which had been set in motion by the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. As in the case of Malawi and Zambia, the British were insisting that Rhodesia could only be granted independence on the basis of majority rule. The British acronym, NIBMAR, (No Independence Before Majority African Rule) was on the lips of all white Rhodesians and they knew they had to resist it. I was soon to find out that racist attitudes surrounding this resistance had wormed their way in no uncertain terms into school boy thought and attitudes at Jameson High School.

When I arrived at the school there were some 500 boys and girls in attendance and of these there were about 60 pupils in each of the boys' and girls' hostels. I learnt from the parents of Norman Lotter, a boy with whom I struck up a friendship, that when the available hostel places had not been filled pupils from other parts of the country had been drafted in by the Ministry of Education. Many of these had been expelled from other schools. It seemed that they had been placed at Jameson since it had places available and was conveniently located outside the main centres, in a fairly isolated part of the country. The Lotters lived in a lovely home on a small holding on the edge of town, just close enough to Jameson for Norman not to have to board in his initial high school years. As I got to know them the Lotters told me that they did not like what they considered to be a disproportionately large 'rough' element in the school and were also convinced that it was not a favourite school among teachers when they applied for teaching positions with the Ministry of Education. They made it clear that Norman was only there 'for now' and that he would go somewhere else when it came to his 'A' levels, which were not offered by the school (Winch, 1982). They were certain that my parents could have made a far better choice for me as they could well imagine what it must have been like in the hostels.

I had not been particularly class conscious prior to my arrival at the school. I always knew that there were children around who I would not particularly want to mix with but I was usually able to keep them at a distance. What I experienced at Jameson brought me into close contact with the rough element of which the Lotters had spoken. These were pupils whose vulgar expression of matters to do with race and sex seemed to constitute the very essence of who they were. I did not know that such whites existed, least of all in a place like Southern Rhodesia. I convinced myself that they were in the minority.

As my parents bade me farewell prior to continuing their car journey to Mufulira in Zambia I felt alone and adrift, having never been separated from them before and having no idea of the traumatic experiences that awaited me. I was taken by a prefect to the junior dormitory of the boys' hostel. I was immediately surrounded by a group of boys wanting to know all about me, and just as I thought my meeting with them might be progressing well one of them demanded, out of the blue, that I should show how strong I was by agreeing to fight him. I was quite a big boy for my age and there was much anticipation as the boys, whose numbers quickly grew, waited for my response. I was completely flabbergasted. It seemed that I had to fight my way into a circle of acceptance and that even if the fight was lost the thing not to do was to decline the challenge. This is exactly what I did. There was immediate disappointment and I was roundly labelled 'yellow' and 'chicken', a new boy to be bullied out of town, quite literally.

Later, during 'showers', my pubic hairs were shaved and my genitals were boot polished, and when I returned to my bed I found that my tin trunk (positioned, like everyone's, at the foot of my bed) had been opened and its contents strewn across the floor of the entire dormitory. The pattern was set for such humiliation to continue on a daily basis.

It did not help that the boys discovered that my parents were returning to Zambia by choice. Zambia represented everything that they were opposed to and my parents were labelled 'Kaffir lovers' (the most derogatory of all terms in southern Africa for Africans) for returning there to live. It was widely anticipated that Mr Ian Smith would soon go ahead and declare UDI which the boys said would link Rhodesians and their superior standards to what the white pioneers had in mind when they first opened up the country. When UDI was declared, some of the boys argued, people like me would not be allowed to attend 'civilised schools' in Rhodesia, which was clearly how they viewed Jameson, and the sooner it came the better. They did not use the term 'race traitor' but it was clear that that was how they saw me.

It did not help either that I decided, after a few days, to report the humiliation I was experiencing to the boarder master for I received no support or sympathy from him. He had heard about me from his prefects, and was of the opinion that I simply needed to learn to stand up for myself. He took a distinct dislike to me and offered no support

whatsoever, declaring that it was fortunate that the Rhodesian army would not one day be saddled with someone like me.

As the representative of the school's formal culture the boarder master left the daily managing of the boarding establishment to his prefects. They were regarded as natural leaders in their own right and were a law unto themselves. Everything that happened to me was either with their knowledge or at their instigation. They prevailed over a rigid disciplinary regime which was built around routine and submission to the formal culture of the school, or more precisely, their particular interpretation thereof. Individuality counted for nothing and the group for everything. There were powerful sanctions, not least a caning in the middle of the dormitory for all to see, for boys who tried to break rank or who were perceived to be trying to do so.

I certainly experienced sanctions with regard to my academic work. I had missed a lot of work, having arrived so late in the year, and had many pages of notes to copy out, mainly from the books and files of other (day) pupils. I spent many hours in the dining-hall, which is where we used to do 'prep', laboriously trying to make up for lost time. I was devastated one day to return to the dormitory to find that my notes had been torn to shreds and strewn about the floor. I learnt subsequently that hard work and studiousness were associated with those who wanted to set themselves apart and become better than 'us'. This was rather different from the limited exposure I had had to the formal school curriculum of the school, where the focus was on individual pupils progressing by dint of their own efforts.

Sport was another area of the life of the school where I found that I needed to conform to the expectations of others. I arrived in the rugby season and found myself being compelled to play. I had not played before since my primary school in Luanshya had only offered soccer, which in Rhodesia, was regarded as a game played almost exclusively by Africans. Rugby had an enormous following, more so than cricket, the other most favoured sport, and certainly more so than any of the girls'/ladies' sports. I had just started to wear glasses and this made my progress difficult, and noticeably so. I struggled along in the U14B team and learnt precious little in the process. And, significantly, my acceptance amongst the boys in the hostel fared accordingly.

Patriarchy and heterosexuality were uncontested norms and, although I was not really at the school for long enough to experience how they played themselves out in practice,

there could be no doubt about the broad attitudes which prevailed. I recall that homosexuals were called 'pooftas' and that they were frequently the topic of ridicule and teasing, so much so that boys would never have dreamt of declaring their sexual orientation. As far as patriarchy was concerned, boys saw the world through their own eyes and were the constant reference points. So it was, for example, that rugby's pre-eminence was never challenged and nor was the fact that certain subjects were reserved for boys and others for girls. Housecraft and Shorthand and Typing along with Bookkeeping were girls' subjects, while Mathematics and General Science and Woodwork were there to be taken by boys who needed to be prepared for their future roles as breadwinners and household heads (Winch, 1982).

Apart from sport, there were no other extra-curricula activities. There were no clubs and societies to attend to pupils' cultural development. There were no church links, although there was always a Bible reading and a hymn during assemblies. It seemed as if the cultural and spiritual side of boys' development was left to parents and I had no sense that the school sought to provide for the development of 'character' by immersing boys into the totality of its being, which was what I later felt when I attended St. Stephen's College in Balla Balla (Fig. 1). I realised later that this could not have been expected of Jameson High which rather than being a boarding school in the full sense was a community school which happened to have hostels attached to it.

I spent three Sunday exeats with the Lotters on their small-holding where I felt as if I was going to another world. They were fairly prosperous, professional people who had acquired the small-holding soon after arriving in Rhodesia after the Second World War. Their home was spacious and attractively furnished and its garden setting was beautiful. They were worried about the future of Rhodesia though, and I gained the impression that they were not in favour of UDI. On one of the Sundays I met several of the Lotters' friends who had been invited to a luncheon. I remember the men, in particular, expressing concern about the situation in the country, with some also regretting the passing of the Federation. 'The African' was spoken of in such a way as to refer to all Africans and 'he' was clearly regarded as not being ready to take over the country. Nevertheless, UDI was not thought to be a wise option. There was also a sense in which they could not understand why the British government was so insistent on giving independence to an African majority only. 'Can't they see what's happening to the north of us?' I remember one of them saying.

My departure from the school, after only one month, was hastened by an experience one Sunday night after I had spent a most enjoyable day with the Lotters. Just before 'lights out' I was seized upon and frog marched by a group of boys, including prefects, to a nearby cemetery, to be firmly bound, with a liberal length of rope, to a large gum tree. I was stripped to my underwear and warned not to try to escape until I was released. I could have escaped but elected to do just as I was told. I spent a few hours there in the cold until eventually a boy arrived to cut me loose, with the instruction that I should accompany him back to the dormitory.

I had written several letters to my parents to inform them of what I was experiencing. That Monday morning I walked straight off the school premises, with no permission to do so, to the Post-office in Gatooma, so that I could use the public telephone to contact my mother. I got through surprisingly quickly and told her of my most recent experience and asked if I could leave the school immediately. Devastated at what I had told her she said that I could go ahead and book my train ticket to N'dola station (Fig. 1). Soon after I was back at school I learnt that my father had already been in touch with the principal who had instructed the boarder master to make the necessary arrangements for me to leave. My parents had left pocket money with him and an amount to cover my return rail fare at the end of the term. I walked back to Gatooma to book my ticket at the railway station and then returned to the school for the last time to pack up. The 'milk train', as the slow train was called, from Salisbury to Bulawayo passed through at 6pm that night. I was waiting on the platform with time to spare. The Lotters arrived to bid me farewell and that added a decidedly human touch to what I had been obliged to endure.

The train pulled into Bulawayo station early the next morning and I had a day to pass in Bulawayo before boarding the train for N'dola which left that night at 8pm. I did not wander too far from the station for fear of getting lost in a city I had only ever passed through by car, but I remember having quite a pleasant time looking at some of the shops. When I boarded the train for N'dola I was relieved to find myself on my own in a coupé compartment. It was a slow journey with little to do to pass the time after the evening meal had been served in the lovely wood-panelled dining-car. We crossed over the Victoria Falls early the next morning and that was the highlight of the journey. I remembered the first time I had made the crossing with my mother in 1955, which was when we first went to Northern Rhodesia. This time the train stopped on the bridge so that we could all see the spectacle before us. Some people got out to take photographs.

Then it was on to Livingstone, where we were met by dozens of curio-sellers on the platform. Lusaka was next and then finally, N'dola, which we reached at 8pm that night. I remember my parents waiting anxiously for me on the little platform, relieved that I was safe, and anxious to hear in more detail what I had been through. I was greatly relieved to have the Jameson experience behind me and to be going to the home I had not yet seen.

#### 4.5. MUFULIRA: ZAMBIA

Mufulira was a Copperbelt mining town (Fig. 1) cast in the same mould as Luanshya, but by the time I arrived in 1965 it had become thoroughly caught up in the changes ushered in by Zambian independence. Many whites had left, although some like us, had begun to return on hearing that a good life was still possible and that good money could still be made. The positions of those who did not return were taken up by a growing number of mainly working-class white expatriates, most of whom were from Britain. All whites were now employed on a contract basis rather than as permanent staff. This affected me greatly for while I had seen Luanshya in permanent terms, at least for part of the time we were there, I knew that I would never be able to regard Mufulira as 'home' in the same way. A 'Zambianisation' programme was in full-swing and the contracts of white employees were not renewed once qualified Zambians were able to perform the tasks involved. My parents stayed on for eight years and lived in a lovely house at number 7 Quorn Avenue which was in the heart of the 'little England' that Mufulira continued to be. From there they were able to enjoy a lifestyle of privilege which was no different from what they had enjoyed in Luanshya. They left in 1972 to head once again to the south of the Zambezi River.

As soon as I arrived in Mufulira in June 1965, I was immediately sent off to the local government high school while my parents set about the task of investigating a more satisfactory boarding school arrangement for me. There was only a handful of white children remaining at the school. Mufulira High, like Luanshya High, had been built in the early days of Federation to accommodate the children of the growing white mining community. There were once as many as 500 white children at the school. By the time I arrived there had also been an exodus of white teachers and those who remained were open about their intentions to leave as soon as they could.

Apart from the overwhelming presence of African pupils in the school, and some teachers as well, there was not much to suggest that the old Northern Rhodesian dispensation had changed. English was the language of instruction and we sang Christian hymns and said Christian prayers during assemblies. The Cambridge Examining Board was still responsible for the setting of the final examinations and therefore still set the curriculum. Textbooks in support of this curriculum were written by white authors and the subjects were the same as they had been previously except for the removal of Afrikaans. This hold of the old order over the new found expression in the town as well where I remember Africans doing what they could to copy western styles of dress, lighten their complexions and straighten their hair.

I remember being taught Science by an Indian lady and Geography by an African man. My racialised socialisation had clearly taken root for I readily joined the two or three other white children in my class in taking their lessons lightly, finding it difficult to accept that they were credible teachers with 'real' knowledge to offer. I made little effort to become involved in the life of the school and left the premises as soon as I possibly could in the afternoons. I was content to bask in the knowledge that I was no longer at Jameson High School. I was never entirely at ease, though, for I knew only too well that I would soon be going off to another boarding school and I did not know how I would manage.

After trying to find a more suitable boarding school for me to attend, my parents decided on St. Stephen's College, in Balla Balla, some 60kms to the south east of Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia(Fig. 1). They did so on the basis of what they had heard about it from a number of my father's work colleagues. Their sons were happy there and were doing well and I remember that a gathering was arranged for me to meet them. This coincided with a visit to the Copperbelt by the Headmaster, Mr H.H. Cole, who had felt the need to embark upon a marketing exercise for the school. Political tensions between Zambia and Southern Rhodesia had heightened since it was widely anticipated that the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, was about to declare independence from Britain. Mr Cole's brief to himself was to settle parents' concerns about how their boys' schooling at St. Stephen's College might be impacted by a possible stand-off between the two countries. My parents met Mr Cole, received his assurances, and signed my enrolment forms.

#### 4.6. BALLA BALLA: RHODESIA

I left for St. Stephen's College a few weeks later, as a fourteen year old boy, in time to start the third term of 1965. I joined all the other St. Stephen's College boys from the Copperbelt at the N'dola station one Saturday night. There must have been about eighty of us, for when we boarded the train we filled all of two coaches. Everyone was formally dressed in their 'number ones' and so I did stand apart somewhat, for I would only be able to get fully kitted out once I had had the opportunity to visit the school suppliers, either 'Haddon and Sly' or 'McCullough and Bothwell', in Bulawayo. I clung to the few boys I had already met from Mufulira as I was desperate to mix in quickly as best as I could because I knew that I could not afford another Jameson experience.

No sooner had the train pulled out from the station than the boys all started to visit each other in their respective compartments so as to catch up on how they had all spent their 'hols'. I was taken along by the 'Muf. Boys' and was relieved to find that I was readily accepted. I was amazed that everyone 'lit up' at the earliest opportunity. It was to my great credit that I was able to do the same and to create the impression, in so doing, that I was an old hand. The 'Muf. Boys' had prepared me well.

The train rolled into Lusaka early the next morning. We were joined by boys from Lusaka and the Zambian Midlands who filled another coach. There were now more boys for me to meet but I coped well enough. We arrived at Livingstone and then the Victoria Falls Bridge in the afternoon and I remembered afresh the journey I had made only a few weeks previously in my escape from Jameson. I was more resolved than ever to make a success of St. Stephen's College. Once again, the train stopped on the bridge. We clamoured out to catch a view of the Victoria Falls and we all peered over the railings down into the gorge below.

We reached Bulawayo early the next morning, only to have to climb aboard another train which was nick-named the 'Balla Balla Express'. I never did find out where the train went to, or what it did, once it had been to Balla Balla which was hardly a destination to speak of other than the fact that the school was there. Nicknamed the 'metropolis' by the boys, Balla Balla contained nothing more than a small hotel, a store, a filling station and a mill where local Africans came to have their maize ground. The 'Balla Balla Express' consisted of three passenger coaches, all with seats as opposed to sleeping compartments. It was anything but an express since the 60km journey from Bulawayo to

Balla Balla took three hours and the train stopped at every conceivable stop. I have no recollection of what it carried apart from us but I do recall the presence of a goods wagon so there must have been something.

We crawled into Balla Balla at around midday. We had to find our black tin trunks, each with our name stencilled in white, from the baggage section of each coach, and then we had to carry it along with us as we walked the kilometre or so to the porter's lodge at the entrance to the school. There we had to sign in and hasten off to our assigned dormitories in a rush to find as decent a bed as possible.

I remember being taken aback by the desolate barrenness of the face St. Stephen's College presented when I first saw it. The buildings were all grey, plastered but unpainted, with windows and doorways hewn out in granite which had been cobbled from the many *koppies* (small hills) that peppered the local countryside. The roofs were of unpainted corrugated iron, tall and steeply pitched. In the case of the dormitories, which had been built around a large quadrangle, the roofs stretched down to low, cloister-like verandahs, with Norman-style rounded arches. In some ways, it was as if the builders had not completed their task, for here and there, among the widely spread mix of classrooms, halls, dormitories, houses and administrative buildings was a structure which clearly needed completion. The grounds were dusty and sparsely vegetated, covering some 250 acres in extent and being set in the Matopos foothills deep in the Rhodesian bush.

I became interested in the history of the school and learnt more about it over time. I learnt more however, as I was preparing to write this narrative. I was fortunate to have access to a wealth of archival material which has been mentioned previously in Chapter 3. I learnt that the architectural style of the school was a copy of the pattern at Denstone College, a British public school where Reverend Maurice Lancaster, the school's founder, had taught. He had thought the style well-suited to the Matopos landscape. He had dreamed, initially, of establishing an Anglican Diocesan school at which teacher priests, who would live in a monastery attached to the school, would teach. He had struggled to find a suitable site but was finally successful when Mr Alister Sanderson, a prominent cattle rancher in Matabeleland, had donated a small part of one of his ranches near Balla Balla.

The foundation stone was laid in 1956, and the first pupils, all thirty-five of them, were enrolled in 1959, six years before my own arrival. Reverend Lancaster's dream was that his teacher priests would prepare white boys for Christian citizenship and leadership within the social, political and religious life of the newly established Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He believed that the stark, austere, church-like buildings, in a bush setting, would come together to make his dream become a reality.

The nature of the foundation stone laying ceremony spoke volumes about the elitist nature of the school which was intended. The stone was laid by the Governor-General of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Peverill William-Powlett and the service was conducted by the Archbishop of Central Africa, the Most Reverend E.F. Paget. There were some three hundred invited persons on the official guest list. They included the present and past prime-ministers, the present and past chief justices, army chiefs, ambassadors, church leaders, business and education leaders. Not a single African person was included. Women were invited in their married capacity and not as individuals in their own right.

When the foundation stone was laid there were already two private Anglican boarding schools for white boys in Southern Rhodesia. One was Falcon College, which was situated only a few kilometres away, near the neighbouring hamlet of Essexvale (Esigodini, after 1982). The other was Peterhouse in Marandellas (Marondera, after 1982) (Fig. 1). Both were still fairly recent establishments and there was some debate, among Anglicans, about the need for a third school. Reverend Lancaster had persisted, however. He wanted a school with a strong Anglo-Catholic flavour and saw his idea of 'teacher priests' as being unique. He was, furthermore, convinced that the market provided by the creation of the Federation warranted the building of a further school.

The 'teacher priests' never materialised although, to begin with, Reverend Lancaster was joined by two other priests from England, namely a Reverend D Chandler, who served as the first headmaster, and a Reverend D Charlton, who was the first chaplain. Both were expected to join the teaching order once it was established. As it turned out, the Reverend Chandler left soon after his arrival so that he could get married, and the Reverend Charlton left soon afterwards. The Reverend Lancaster had been dealt a major blow and soon moved on himself. The result was that almost as soon as the school was established its teachers, apart from the chaplain, were drawn exclusively

from the laity. There was among them, and the headmasters who served the school, strong British public school and university representation. With the support of the governors, they set the school firmly along a path which would see the same school traditions and practices as those to which they had become accustomed taking root at St. Stephen's College. Reverend Lancaster attained this at least, even if the school that eventually emerged was not quite what he had envisaged.

Reverend Lancaster's initial dream for his school was dealt another blow, from which it never recovered, by the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963. Worse was to follow when Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia were thrown into open conflict with each other as a result of UDI.

These political developments substantially changed the geographical space into which St Stephen's was born. The school's market was fractured and a question mark placed on its ability to survive. Significantly, the changes forced the school to accommodate boys from a whiteness which was far broader than the narrowly framed bourgeois variation of whiteness which was originally intended. What is more, the majority of pupils would eventually come from a country, Zambia, which would be at war with Rhodesia.

During the federal years boys who came from Southern Rhodesia were typically the sons of professionals, senior civil servants, business leaders and 'gentlemen' farmers, a kind of 'warrior class'. It was anticipated that boys who came from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would be of a similar background. However, after the Federation had ended boys who came from Zambia were mostly the sons of miners from the Copperbelt. As in the case of my father, these men could only send their sons to the school because the fees were heavily subsidized by mining companies keen to retain white employees who were reluctant to associate with the local state schools. Endeavours on the part of the school to counter this situation by recruiting more boys from Rhodesia were unsuccessful and the school found itself with no option but to accommodate boys whose social origins were at variance with the elitist backgrounds which were initially envisaged.

Political developments within Rhodesia were also problematic in that while the Federation had been bound up with notions of Empire and bourgeois whiteness, the nationalist project of Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front party drew strongly on working-

class 'Rhodie' support which was also a conservative variation of whiteness. St. Stephen's College found itself having to deal with a completely different social and political context as a result. Its formal culture was entirely at ease with the Federation and its links with the empire. Not so in the case of Smith's Rhodesia. When I arrived in 1965 the Union Jack fluttered alongside the Southern Rhodesian flag at the entrance to the school outside the porter's lodge. There was a framed photograph of the Queen in the headmaster's study, a large map of the Federation in the staffroom and prints of such literary figures as Charles Dickens, William Shakespeare and Jane Austen in the library. Such outward trappings of connectedness to Britain and its empire provided the backdrop against which the norms and values of the school were asserted. Tucked away in the Rhodesian bush as it was, St. Stephen's was an essentially British bourgeois space.

I remember the much anticipated declaration of independence on 11 November 1965 particularly well. It had been made known that an important announcement by the prime minister was to be broadcast on the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation at 1.15pm. Since our lunch was normally served at 1pm it was arranged that we should listen to the broadcast in the dining-hall just as we were finishing our meal. A number of the masters brought along their transistor radios for the purpose. We sat in silence to hear Mr Ian Smith speak in the well-known, dry, flat tones of his Rhodesian accent. For those in the British public school tradition he was already disqualified from being accepted by them because this was as an indication of his lack of cultured training. Mr Smith declared that he was, on behalf of the people of Rhodesia, striking his own blow for Christian and western civilisation in Africa. The British were betraying the goals of the empire and abandoning the whites of Rhodesia who had been loyal for so long. 'Our' Africans, he asserted, could be counted on for their support for they too could see what chaos was beginning to unfold north of the Zambezi.

There was much excitement in the dining-hall after the broadcast and it was clear that support for the declaration amongst the boys was overwhelming. I was developing a political consciousness at the time and was delighted to see white Rhodesians taking a stand to ensure that they would not experience the same sense of loss as the whites of Zambia had just experienced. It meant a tremendous amount to me to be in Rhodesia at this historic time. I found myself identifying with white Rhodesians and their stand and I felt very proud.

'Our' Africans were, in the language of the prevailing popular white Rhodesian culture, our 'Afs'. This was the least derogatory term for people who were considered 'ours' because of their apparent willingness to submit to white control and to be loyal. Our 'Afs', white Rhodesians asserted, knew that they needed 'us' and they were the best off, and the happiest, in Africa. If there were isolated cases where this appeared not to be the case, it could only be because of the work of thankless white liberals and African 'agitators'. Some whites, found more polite, sophisticated ways to express themselves. They spoke of the 'Africans' not yet being ready to rule themselves, and needing the whites to lead them to an eventual ability to do so. The process involved would, they believed, take many years. I noticed this way of thinking amongst some of the parents of boys whose Bulawayo homes I periodically visited on Sunday exeat outings. It seemed also to be the dominant view of the masters. Most made it clear that they opposed Smith's actions, not only because it was a rebellion against the crown but also because it would intensify racial conflict. They were insistent, nevertheless, that they, and other whites like them in Africa, were the true carriers of Christianity and civilisation, the points of reference for everything else in life. Such a defence of bourgeois whiteness was apparent in class discussions and, less formally, in debates and discussion group activities in which masters frequently participated. I found their stance confusing. Smith's whole argument was that his stand was necessary precisely because Britain was abandoning 'civilised' standards. I obviously had much to learn about the nature of whiteness and the divisions within it.

Race had long been an all pervasive, compelling issue in my life. I had learnt about it and seen its various manifestations in a variety of geographic settings. As a new boy at St. Stephen's College, it was Luanshya and what I had experienced there which often came to mind. Many of the adults of Luanshya had clear memories of the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya in 1952, memories which often found their way into their conversations. I was too young to participate at the time but I heard the gist of what they were saying. The experiences of Kenyan whites were an ever-present reminder of what might happen in Northern Rhodesia. The more recent Congo crisis brought the possibility into sharper relief and this was something I could relate to on a more personal level. Seeing thousands of whites pour over the border into Northern Rhodesia, as Northern Rhodesian territorial troops stood by, had a lasting impact on me and found an easy home amongst the fears and prejudices of the local white population.

I remember the motor car convoys and accompanying my parents to drop off food at one of the 'hospitality centres' which had been set up to receive refugees. I remember the dazed, confused expressions on the faces of the white Belgian refugees and people giving vent to their anger. Just four years later I thought, the British seemed willing to allow the possibility of the same thing happening in Northern Rhodesia by allowing a majority rule constitution to become a reality. However, in 1965 'little' Rhodesia was declaring that enough was enough, making its gallant stand against Britain and the United Nations which, Mr Smith declared, had clearly lost their way. 'Good ol' Smithy', went the popular saying.

I sensed that the masters were different from me, not only because of their different attitude to Mr Smith's declaration of independence. I did not appreciate it at the time but subsequently I have realised that theirs' was a bourgeois whiteness, one which was loyal to Queen and Empire and all they represented, a whiteness which was invisible to them. They had no thoughts of handing over to African majority rule but it was just that there were 'other ways' of securing continuing white rule. I was fascinated by the masters, although I did not fully understand them, and part of me wanted to be like them. I have realised that this had much to do with my decision to want to become a teacher. I do not remember learning anything in class that inclined me to be critical of their whiteness and, significantly, they saw no need to explain themselves in any way as they seemed to regard themselves as the universal norm in life. We wrote the examinations of the British Associated Examinations Board and this meant that bourgeois whiteness also determined what the masters taught us. The world I learned about was cast in white, elitist terms and it was, it seemed, not open to question.

It would be incorrect to assert that I learnt nothing about critical engagement at St. Stephen's College. Where it emerged however, it was not directed towards the actions of white bourgeois people. Where evil was committed by whites, as by the Nazis, for example, it was by whites who were not like 'us' and it was 'us', anyway, who prevailed over them and restored all that was good. South Africa's apartheid policy was cast as 'extremist' and 'misdirected'. Again, the perpetrators, the Afrikaners, were not the same kind of whites as 'we' were. They were of dubious background and spoke in a coarse, unsophisticated tongue and their racial policies were harsh and inhumane. 'We' were more refined and 'genteel', and our treatment of Africans, in the Federation and the empire at large, was more informed and reasonable. Even Smith's approach was more

tolerable although it was clearly too coarse and too overtly racist for their liking. 'We' had, after all, desisted from joining up with the Union of South Africa in 1923, opting for responsible self-government instead. Colonialism and notions of Empire were seen as forces for good. The problem was that Britain was rushing decolonisation too much. I remember learning to engage critically with some of the social issues raised by authors such as D.H. Lawrence and Charles Dickens but the approach was invariably that 'we' were able to be critical of ourselves and to correct 'our' wrong doings. There was also a prevailing sense that politics did not belong in the classroom anyway and that if things 'got too political' the master should move on. I recall that some of the parents I knew felt this way. I was also aware of a sense that the church should not meddle where it had no jurisdiction. I do recall however, that senior church officials did speak out against the rebellion against the crown and that the masters thought that it was the least that they should do.

Central to the Eurocentric nature of the formal curriculum, and the elitist white bourgeois value system of the school, was the focus on boys being able to speak and write 'properly'. When I arrived at the school Latin was a compulsory subject for all boys in Forms 1 and 2, it being the conviction of those in charge that Latin laid the necessary foundations for a highly valued proficiency in English usage. Having never taken the subject, and having arrived at the school towards the end of my Form 2 year, I was excused from Latin classes but had to complete countless English grammar exercises whilst everyone else did their Latin. The master, Mr Harding, adopted an unforgiving stance, openly declaring that he was unable to see how I would ever be able to make up for such a serious deficiency in my educational background. I felt very awkward and carried the weight of his comment with me for some time. This was another indication of the difference between me and the school's whiteness and it confirmed a sense of inadequacy that I was beginning to feel. As the proportion of boys from the Zambian Copperbelt increased so the pressure to drop Latin increased. By the time I left St. Stephen's College at the end of the year in 1969 the decision had been taken and the master had left to return to England. The school was finding, it seemed, that it had to accommodate a broader, more inclusive whiteness than the initial bourgeois whiteness it had intended to embrace. The strong focus on English proficiency persisted, however. When I wrote my General Certificate of Education (GCE) 'O' Level examinations at the end of Form 4 (public examinations written at the end of the equivalent of Grade 11 in

South Africa today), 'English' counted for two subjects, one being 'English Language' and the other being 'English Literature'. Similarly, when I wrote my 'A' Levels two years later, I had to pass 'The Use of English' in addition to the specialist subjects I had chosen to study.

Boys were also expected to be able to speak 'correctly', the model of usage needing to approximate, as closely as possible, an elitist 'bourgeois standard' of correctness. The 'flat vowels' of the Rhodesian accent were particularly abhorrent to those who sat in judgement, and boys were often required to repeat what they were trying say 'properly' in order that they could be understood. I had not been at the school for very long when I was summoned to the study of Mrs Turner, the wife of the Mathematics master, who was responsible for the teaching of English elocution. It had been brought to her attention, she informed me, and she could hear for herself, that my South African accent, which she regarded as being far worse than the Rhodesian accent, needed attention. For the duration of my first term I found myself in her study twice a week attending compulsory lessons. In the end she informed me, and also apparently the headmaster, that she might have been able to 'do' more with me but for the undermining effects of my learning Afrikaans as a second language instead of the more refined, and much preferred, French. Interestingly, elocution lessons suffered the same fate as Latin. The Turners left the school soon after my own departure and lessons were no longer offered.

My struggle in coming to terms with my school's official attitude to South Africa and Afrikaners was made all the more difficult by the liking and respect I had developed for a family of Afrikaner Rhodesians who owned a cattle ranch, New Brighton, in the immediate vicinity of St. Stephen's College. Boys could elect to take riding lessons as one of their extra-mural activities and I was fortunate enough to be able to join a group of about a dozen boys who went riding every Tuesday afternoon on New Brighton. Mr Cummings, the ranch owner, fetched us immediately after lunch and, as we piled into the back of his *bakkie* (small open-backed pick-up truck), we knew we were in for an afternoon packed with fun and adventure. Our rides were typically 'task related', to the extent that we would set off to help Mr Cummings check fence-lines, firebreaks, dipping tanks, boreholes or the quality of grazing in the different 'camps' of the vast ranch. When we returned to the homestead after our rides, and had brushed down our horses, we were always treated to cold-drinks and home-made biscuits which Mrs Cummings,

who also taught some Afrikaans lessons at the school, had made. As we returned to school we would take turns to open and close the gates of the 'camps' through which the bush road passed and we were always encouraged to scan the bush for game. Mr Cummings had a particularly keen eye and would invariably be the first to make an important sighting. Sometimes, if he had his rifle with him, he would shoot an impala or a duiker, and we would have to scramble to haul the dead animal on to the *bakkie*.

Mr Cummings senior was well into his eighties at the time and it was he who had moved to Matabeleland from the Transvaal and first developed the ranch in the 1920s. The family was now living in the house he had then built. It was a long, low rise, red brick structure with a corrugated iron roof and wrap around verandah most typical of earlier Rhodesian farm houses. His son, the current Mr Cummings, had added considerably to the development of the ranch over the years. For her part, Mrs Cummings had developed a beautiful garden which was sustained by a uniquely productive borehole. I became acquainted with their two sons, Edward and Ian, quite well. They had both been born on the ranch and had their hearts set on joining their father and one day taking over from him.

It was easy to be taken in by it all. As I became more emotionally tied up with Rhodesia and came to know them better, the Cummings came to symbolize the pioneering spirit of Rhodesia, the same spirit that the Smith government was trying to draw on so heavily in its nation-building project. It was people such as them who came to symbolise, for me, those who had broken the back of an unforgiving continent and tamed its backward tribes. It was people such as them who had become so deeply attached to the charismatic landscape around them that they seemed to have taken it into their very beings and I found myself being easily able to identify with this. Mr Cummings never had much to say about the politics of the day but I remember him once drawing up alongside me on one of our rides. The mines in Zambia had recently been nationalised and the few white farmers in Zambia were worried about what Dr Kaunda might do to their farms. We looked out across the vastness of the ranch before us. 'Whatever would happen to all of this?' Mr Cummings asked, 'if ever 'they' took over here'. It was a prophetic question indeed.

The school's embracing of its elitist bourgeois culture, meanwhile, was relentless. As an Anglican Diocesan school there was, expectedly, a strong focus on Anglicanism and on

us learning our place within it. We had chapel every morning before the start of lessons, and twice on Sundays, Holy Communion in the mornings and Evensong in the evenings. We had a resident chaplain, the Reverend Raymond Ashley, a servers' guild, choir boys and the burning of incense. I sang in the choir from the time of my arrival and ended up, in my final year at the school, as head choir boy. Since I had not been confirmed when I arrived I had to attend compulsory preparation classes and was confirmed by the Bishop of Matabeleland at a confirmation service in the school chapel. There were strong links with the cathedral in Bulawayo and the school's choir participated regularly in its services. In addition, we all had to take Divinity as a supportive, formal curriculum subject. How much all of this came to mean to us at a deep spiritual level was questionable but it seemed that that was less important than being seen to be going through the motions of compliance. The chaplain once preached as much, when he declared that all 'fair-minded' and 'respectable' men (and women) ought to be regular parishioners since it would set them aside and enable them to play out their leadership roles in society. Anglicanism was cast as a powerful norm. It was cast as an integral component of bourgeois whiteness and it conferred upon it a benevolent respectability and authority and we were expected to count ourselves fortunate to be inside the fold.

As at all Rhodesian schools, sport featured strongly in the rituals and practices of our daily routines. Cricket and rugby were the favourites, these, as distinct from soccer, for example, which was regarded as a working-class and African sport, being considered as the games played by gentlemen. They were the two compulsory sports in that each boy had to play at least one of them during the course of a year. There were minor sports as well, such as tennis, cross-country running, hockey and athletics, and we were encouraged to participate in at least one of these during the course of a year. Sportsmanship and 'playing the game' were much valued for their role in setting the tone of the school and in the building of our characters as gentlemen. My experience, however, was that 'winning the game' seemed to matter much more than anything else. There was no doubt that athletic prowess and point scoring ability conferred upon those who were able to achieve this, an easier passage through the rigours of school life. Many of these 'fortunates' were able to bask in the knowledge that they were regarded as heroes, especially by junior boys.

Rugby was the particular favourite because of its role, we were taught, in building school spirit, teaching self-control and toughness and promoting 'male' bonding'. On Saturday afternoons, if the first team was playing at home, the whole school had to turn out in full school uniform, sit in neat, orderly rows in order to sing and chant much practiced songs and war cries under the leadership of prefect cheer-leaders. The biggest game of the year, against the neighbouring Falcon College, drew a particularly enthusiastic response, and because the school was so close by, many of its supporters also used to turn out to watch the big game. The headmaster used to make much of entertaining his guests from visiting schools in the staff-room (a pavilion was built after I had left) and his party was usually joined by several of the masters and their wives. People from the local farming community also often came along to watch, while members of the African staff also turned up in their numbers to add to the air of excitement and expectation. If the home team won, the excitement was carried long into the night, with the coach and his boys receiving much acclaim well into the following week.

Away games, given the school's isolation, invariably meant much travelling time in the school's aged bus, acquired cheaply as a cast off from the Salisbury municipality, and a not very reliable *kombi* (small mini-bus). An early morning start was invariably required, particularly for the more distant games. Several of the masters would sometimes travel by car and the boys who accompanied them were always more fortunate. Our teams and their coaches were always well-hosted and there was the same build-up to the first team game in the afternoons as that which we experienced at home, our team now drawing its support from the lower order teams which had played earlier in the day. The game was not over, typically, until 5pm so it was often dark and late by the time we returned to school.

My having to wear glasses from the age of thirteen weighed against any chances of my excelling on the sports-field. I could play no cricket at all but, as at Jameson High School, managed a fair game of rugby and ended up playing in the second team. It was quite a treacherous game to play since the fields were comparatively thinly grassed, there being so little rain and groundwater in the Balla Balla area. We were, nevertheless, expected to 'play up' and 'play the game', as the saying went, and to tackle and be tackled as if it was all taking place on a large bed of foam rubber, our coaches being convinced that we needed to be toughened up for the games on

Saturdays. We were able to play on the main field, with its more substantial grass covering, when we were used by the first team as what felt like 'practice fodder'.

During the second term, which was when rugby was played, we had rugby practice on three afternoons a week. There was a preoccupation with physical fitness and to achieve the necessary goals we would often be required to follow rigorous cross-country routes through the bush surrounding the school. These were exploits which were sometimes accompanied by our having to complete various sprinting exercises up and down dry river-beds. Our immersion in the 'culture' of the game was made complete by the expectation, communicated by both boys and certain of the masters, that we should be willing and able to follow the 'form', or otherwise, of our top players, as well as the accomplishments of Rhodesia's district and provincial teams, and even more so, the national team. Being able to name players and recount their various manoeuvres and point scoring achievements made acceptance into the 'culture' all the more easy. I excluded myself from such conversation, both by my ignorance of such trivia and lack of interest, and suffered a degree of exclusion as a result. When conversation turned, as it often did amongst the boys, in such directions, I would invariably have to keep conspicuously quiet or slip away at the earliest opportunity.

To build the cultural side of our characters there were several clubs and societies to cater for our interests. We were expected to belong to at least two, it being constantly drummed into us that a well-rounded 'cultural accomplishment' was vital to our being able to play out our roles as 'gentlemen leaders' in the broader society. The time and effort involved however, was completely overshadowed by what was expected of us on the sports-field. I immersed myself fully in the cultural side of school life, probably to compensate for my lack of prowess as a sportsman, and upon reflection, became involved in too many activities to do justice to them all. My most sustained membership was that of the Debating Society, the Literary Society and the 'Ten Club' which was an exclusive discussion group, the membership of which was by invitation of the master in charge. As a member of the Literary Society I became, in my last year at the school, the editor of the weekly school boy publication, *Telstar*. I particularly enjoyed this role. I had to write an editorial for every edition and whenever I could I would use my space to link whatever was newsworthy in the school to Rhodesia which I portrayed as a wonderful country.

Since I took piano lessons I was automatically a member of the Musical Appreciation Society. The members of this group would often travel to Bulawayo on Tuesday evenings, to hear the Bulawayo Philharmonic Orchestra play in the City Hall. The concerts were stiff, formal affairs, invariably attended by the members of 'Bulawayo society' who would turn out in their best, sometimes quite elaborate, evening wear. After special guests had been welcomed by name, usually including people such as the mayor or government ministers, we all stood to 'God save the Queen' which continued to be played throughout the country until Rhodesia was declared a Republic in 1969. I often wondered how many of those in attendance really appreciated the music on offer and whether people were simply going through the motions in order to be seen by the 'right' people. I have to confess that much of what I, in turn, was supposed to be 'appreciating' passed me by. 'Pop' music stood in sharp contradistinction to what I learnt about as a member of the Musical Appreciation society. We were taught that 'pop' music was not music at all. It catered only for the 'uncultured' and uninformed masses. Some of our masters thought that we should not be allowed to listen to it at all. In much the same vein, anything that was not European or western was given scant attention and may as well not have existed. Much the same applied to what I learnt in the Literary Society. If works were not English, or at least western, they did not, and could not, really constitute literature.

The notion of boys maturing into balanced bourgeois gentlemen, with appropriately developed manners and courtesies, was imbued with a strong sense that boys should spend as much time as they could in the 'great outdoors'. They needed to acquire knowledge and an appreciation of the natural environment and the landscape, and learn how to survive within it and become master of it. The school's isolated bush setting was ideal in this regard. We were encouraged to spend our Sundays, if we were not taking a formal exeat to visit family or friends usually in Bulawayo, out on a 'picnic lunch' in the bush. This meant that after Holy Communion we would collect packed lunches from the kitchen, sign out and, always in groups of at least three, venture out to range far and wide, dressed in our compulsory khakis, bush hats and *veldskoene*. We would usually take along our 'billycans' and a supply of coffee and 'Molico' milk powder, bought either at the little trading store in Balla Balla, or brought along as 'tuck' from home. We would also take a few *gwaais* (from the Zulu, meaning cigarettes) along, also bought at the

store in Balla Balla, as it was relatively easy to smoke and avoid detection by prefects or masters.

There was little to suggest that we were in beef ranching country. Now and then we came across fence lines and dipping tanks but it was far more usual to come across troops of baboons and small groups of impala or duiker than cattle. There were many snakes and boys who were members of the Wildlife Club would often return with new contributions to be added to the school's snake pit. Some boys used to raid birds' nests, which I was uncomfortable with, so as to add to their egg collections. As part of our adventures we would often scale the many granite *koppies*, often all the way to the top, so as to be able take in a wider view of the beauty that lay before us. We came to know many of the ubiquitous *koppies* by name and were able to recognize them by their shapes and profiles. I cherished these times and, in my adolescent ignorance and arrogance, came to see the landscape as almost being mine. There were even times when I felt a sense of control over it. We had to keep a careful eye on the time as we had to be back at school in time for showers, supper and Evensong at 7pm.

We had no idea that this very bush which we took to be ours was soon to be occupied by groups of 'terrorist' infiltrators as they began to create small arms caches in readiness for full-blown bush warfare. An entry by a master on duty in the duty book in 1973 records the presence of growing numbers of 'strange Africans' on the school premises at night. The Headmaster noted alongside the entry that he would inform the British South Africa Police at their base in nearby Essexvale (now Esigodini). It could have been that this was a first indication that the security situation was beginning to change. The many clefts and caves in the dozens of *koppies* around the school provided the ideal hideaway sites. When the security forces made the first discoveries they were kept under wraps so as not to alarm the school or the local population. Soon after I left however, the public had to be told and boys were barred from going off the school premises altogether. Further down the line, the deteriorating security situation ruptured the sense of security we had once enjoyed, so much so that it was eventually decided to close the school.

Our having to slavishly follow a rigid daily routine played a key role in helping us to move through 'school time'. Our lives were ruled by a mix of bells, time limits and deadlines which combined to enforce conformity and the maintenance of discipline,

order and standards. Our uniforms provided the most obvious outward sign of our need to learn where we fitted into the greater school structure. Our daily 'working uniforms' consisted of khakis (shorts and shirts), worn with long grey socks (held with garters to just below the knee) and black shoes (which had to have a constant, almost impossible to maintain, dust-free shine). Prefects wore white shirts to set them aside and make them more recognizable. We always had to dress for supper, which is to say that after showers we had to get into our 'number ones', which consisted of charcoal longs, long-sleeved white shirts, tie, charcoal blazer and black shoes. Prefects wore a slightly different tie. We had to wear the same uniform whenever we left the school premises in any formal capacity but then we would also have to wear our straw bashers. To maintain the correctness of our appearance our hair always had to conform to strict 'short back and sides' parameters and, to this end, barbers from Bulawayo would travel to the school every third Sunday to set themselves up in one of the classrooms to engage in a mass haircutting operation directly after Holy Communion.

The requirements of such a rigid daily routine were enforced by a strict code of discipline and punishment. 'Boy government' was a distinctive feature of the school and was instrumental in making this possible. Duties, rights and responsibilities were apportioned according to one's position within the school-boy hierarchy. Initiation and 'fagging' were uncontested norms for boys at the bottom, and power and privilege for those at the top. Prefects wielded considerable power, especially in the case of the head boy, his deputy and the heads of the three houses, 'Lancaster', 'Sanderson' and 'Tracey'. Becoming a prefect, typically, was a reward for sporting prowess which was normally, but not always, linked to leadership ability and popularity. Academic ability and performance in the cultural fields counted, but for less.

To all intents and purposes prefects were responsible for discipline in the school, with the strong house system ensuring that they were backed by their housemasters. Prefects could, and did, administer corporal punishment. They were supposed to deal with lesser offences and did so by issuing twenty, forty or sixty minute hard labour 'fatigues' according to the severity of the infringements involved. These could range from having dust on one's shoes, to an untidy locker, to inappropriate table manners, to showing disrespect to a prefect. If too many 'minutes' were accrued (typically more than 120 minutes in a week) prefects could either cane a boy or, if problems persisted, they might refer boys to their house masters who were the ultimate gate keepers of

discipline. Housemasters also dealt with misdemeanours relating to a boy's classroom performance, if they received unfavourable reports from the masters teaching the various subjects.

It seemed to be the case that those in authority believed that the keeping of discipline and the process of toughening boys up and the moulding of their characters would be well-served by them being raised in an environment of military-like austerity. Each of the three houses (of about sixty boys each) had junior and senior dormitories with long rows of narrow steel divan beds and thin coir mattresses. Boys' clothes and personal belongings were kept in small wooden lockers at the side of their beds. There were no curtains and on hot nights cold water was thrown onto the cement floors in an endeavour to cool the air. We showered in a communal 'shower room' from whose walls four or five jets of water, which ran cold after only a minute or two, had to be shared by any number of boys (seniors first) clamouring to secure a share of the precious commodity. There was no time to be shy or self-conscious and to be so would only have drawn attention and comment. Basin and toilet facilities were also spartan, while beyond the dormitories, the classrooms, dining-hall and chapel presented a similar face of restraint and self-denial. In all of this the subjugation of the individual to the group was total and any notion of rebellion unthinkable.

As I was writing this narrative I was reminded of Randal's (1982) observation that there is quite a long tradition in British public schools of boys sometimes exhibiting rebellious behaviour, the more so where poor teaching standards made it difficult for teachers to be respected and therefore to maintain discipline. Such behaviour however, has not, typically, resulted in the rejecting of the culture out of hand. It was different at St. Stephen's College where there developed among the boys an informal, alternative boy culture which set itself up in opposition to the formal bourgeois culture of the school. It became all the more noticeable as the contingent of boys from Zambia grew in size. Its existence meant that there were various 'popular' controls over what boys could 'be' and do. A different kind of conformity was now expected and non-compliance was met with a variety of sanctions, ranging from teasing and mocking to rejection and sometimes physical bullying. Most boys managed the 'fit', but some did not and ended up as unhappy, homesick, loners. I was often made to think of my earlier time at Jameson High School and of how fortunate I was to have been able to escape the same kind of experience now. I sometimes drew alongside some of the loners at St.

Stephen's College. Their parents were insistent that they should stay on regardless of how unhappy they were. I recall that there were times when boys 'ran away', only to be forcefully returned to the school by their parents and, on one more memorable occasion, by the police.

The popular language code differed markedly from the school's formal, 'elaborate' code. It was distinctly slang infested and was strongly frowned upon by the masters. In respect of our dress there were clearly defined, acceptable ways of 'interpreting' the school uniform. Short, tight shorts, which were the fashion throughout Rhodesia at the time, were mandatory whenever we were in our khakis. Our charcoal longs had to conform as closely as possible to the tight 'stove pipe' ideal. Our shirts had to be tight fitting and, if they were short sleeved shirts the sleeves had to be short and tight in order to reveal the size of one's biceps. The plight of those less fortunate in this area was only made all the more obvious by their endeavours to keep in line with the fashion of the day. Our black shoes needed to have just the right point towards the toes and, for a time, had to have metal studs nailed to the heels so that the right sound was made when walking on a hard surface, which was often intentionally sought out for effect. The short back and sides haircut requirement was 'managed' by keeping the tops and sides as long as possible so that, with clever combing, boys might achieve a reasonable facsimile of Beatles-type styling. It was the only pop music which gained approval and it was required that we should all like the same stars and groups and be informed about their latest hit parade movements and achievements, especially on the much favoured LM Radio (a private broadcasting corporation in Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) in Mozambique). We were each allowed to have a transistor radio which we could use at certain times over weekends only and it was important to be seen and heard listening to the 'right' musical programmes.

There were also expectations in relation to our work. To be seen to be too serious about our studies was invariably interpreted as trying to curry favour with the masters, or being a 'bog fly' as expressed by the popular terminology. If a boy did well it had to be by dint of simply being 'clever'. This was, in fact, a widely held expectation and boys who struggled to achieve were cruelly labelled 'thick' or 'slow', but they were not ridiculed in the same way as the 'bog flies'. I was sometimes regarded with a degree of suspicion by some of the seniors until the results of my GCE 'O' level examinations settled matters since it was not possible to curry favour with examiners in faraway England.

The 'boy culture' was especially unforgiving with reference to issues of race, gender and sexuality. There was enormous support for Mr Smith's Rhodesian nationalism and to try to differ with the popular assertion that 'Afs' or 'munts', as they were alternatively labelled, were incapable of ruling themselves was almost impossible. As 'boys' and 'girls', regardless of their age, they were 'our' servants, and any sense of them trying to lift themselves beyond their 'station' was rejected out of hand. If they did they were regarded as being cheeky, over confident and too ambitious. They were marked as being as different from us as they could possibly be and any notion that they might one day attend the same schools as us, or live in the same areas, let alone rule the country, was beyond contemplation. There was frequent reference, by way of supporting this prevailing attitude, to what was popularly regarded as the rapidly deteriorating position in Zambia.

In respect of gender, a similar set of bullish attitudes prevailed. Rhodesia was a powerfully patriarchal society and the attitudes that accompanied this permeated both the formal and informal cultures of the school. 'Maleness' was a given point of reference and the world was cast in its image. Few of our mothers worked outside of the home, and there were only a few career openings for women. There was an expectation that women should be mothers and home-makers. The formal school culture went further and preferred to cast them as 'genteel' ladies of the home, with full social calendars, devoted to supporting their husbands as they played out their leadership roles in society. Servants in the home made this possible and in fact, having servants was almost a social requirement. According to both the formal and informal cultures white women of any age or social background had a social standing which was automatically above all African men and African women. White men were expected to do everything possible to protect their women from African men who, it was believed, were often overcome by their rampant sexual appetites. White men, by contrast, certainly those of bourgeois background, were always apparently, able to control themselves. I remember that white women always ensured that they were never alone in the company of African men and parents made a point of teaching the same to their daughters.

The formal and informal cultures agreed on the matter of boys' sexuality. The formal culture did not have too much to say but the silences in key areas spoke volumes. It offered nothing by way of teaching or guidance in respect of a boy's physical development and seemed to be quite accepting of the fact that we would learn all we

needed to know informally from each other. It was also accepted that as we grew up we would be able exercise control over our emotions and hormonal changes, this being, we were assured, a sign of a good home upbringing. Boys used to say that Reverend Lancaster's decision to build the school in such an isolated place in the bush was, at least in part, motivated by a desire to help boys cope with their hormonal changes, since girls would be so far off and out of mind.

Our heterosexuality was another given. Any departure from this norm was seen as deviant and certainly something that did not belong to respectable white culture. We were threatened with expulsion if homosexual tendencies were discovered and confirmed. We used to hear of such expulsions at other schools but the same did not occur during my stay at St. Stephen's College.

In the boy culture sexuality was invariably out in the open, especially since we lived in such close proximity to each other. It was talked about in base, crude terms, so much so that it was a primary source of our behaviour and attitude formation. Any suggestion of deviance from heterosexual behaviour was cuttingly dealt with and boys who might have thought of declaring themselves as homosexual would rather have thought of running away or committing suicide. It was decidedly un-Rhodesian. It was interesting that one or two of the masters were thought of as being 'pooftas', and while it never went further than that, there was a requirement that we had to be careful of how we interacted with them for fear of earning a suspicious label ourselves.

Within the confines of the heterosexual norm, physical prowess and sexual conquest were highly prized. Girls were 'measured' by their sexual appeal and 'availability' and self-respecting boys were expected to 'score' whenever they could. Sexual experiences were obviously difficult to prove and, in the face of powerful expectation, exaggeration was inevitable. The natural leaders, nevertheless, accounted for themselves with aplomb, while those who could not be convincing, either because they could not hold the 'story line', or because they genuinely failed to 'score', had to deal with an accompanying sense of rejection and inadequacy. Interestingly, boys thought of themselves as one day marrying respectable girls who had not themselves been 'sleep arounds'.

All of this was placed within a set of norms which spoke to our own physical development. Boys who appeared 'normal' during shower time were assured of an

easier passage to acceptance than those who were considered to be too late in developing or too small or too large. Shy, self-conscious boys only made life difficult for themselves. The formal school culture agreed with the boy culture. Boys were expected to be in control of their sexual drives and masturbation was always something which other boys did. Once again there was a strong focus on fitting in and knowing one's place in the social system.

It was during the school holidays that these various aspects of the boy culture came together to make themselves particularly fully felt. Living in the small copper mining town of Mufulira I was part of a group of boys from St. Stephen's College who often socialised together, although we were invariably joined by children from other boarding schools who were on holiday at the time. A hard drinking, frontier mentality prevailed among many of the adults who lived and worked on the mines of the Copperbelt and their children quickly learnt similar behaviour patterns. Dance 'sessions' were frequently organised. They were sponsored by the social and sports clubs, which were favourite white retreats, as fund raisers, and it seemed as if everyone used to attend. Now was the time to dress and drink and smoke and 'score' and drive, when older (in Dad's car) as never before. Any sense of non-conformity was ruthlessly sanctioned and it was discomfoting to see those who did not make the grade trying so hard to do so, especially, in the case of boys, when girls also got involved. I knew that I simply had to be accepted and worked hard to get by without being a targeted isolate.

I ended up staying at St. Stephen's College for just more than four years and managed to avoid a repeat of my Jameson experience. I was never fully absorbed into the informal culture of the school but it would be wrong to say that I was not affected by it. I was however, impacted by the formal school culture. I wrote and passed my 'O' levels in 1967 and became a prefect the following year at the end of which I did my 'M' level examinations (public examinations which followed 'O' levels by one year). This means, in essence, that I became an agent of bourgeois whiteness, although I did not see it that way at the time. I enjoyed my 'M' level year and elected to return, in 1969, to do my 'A' levels, which was more than I needed in order to gain admission to the University of Natal where I had decided to study. In my 'A' level year I was made head of my house and also deputy head prefect of the school and, although I thoroughly enjoyed the experience, I did have to fend off a challenge from a group of senior boys who felt that I

should never have been put into those positions because of my lack of sporting prowess.

My decision to study 'A' levels meant that I was able to stay on in Rhodesia for another year and I thoroughly enjoyed soaking in the nationalist fervour that was peaking at the time. Rhodesia seemed to be able to withstand anything that came its way in the sanctions war against it and I loved to watch its progress. Zambia, by contrast, and I saw this every time I went home for the holidays, was almost reduced to its knees. The country was a leader in the sanctions campaign against Rhodesia. It became the victim of its own actions however, since it was unable to receive many of the goods required for its own survival, because these goods came either from Rhodesia or were routed through Rhodesia from South Africa and Mozambique. The real crunch came when the border between the two countries was closed to goods traffic and I remember following newspaper reports about how Zambia, in particular, was affected by this. Initial emergency airlifts were unsustainable and attempts to use alternative land routes to the sea faced severe setbacks. Work was quickly started on the 'Tanzam' rail link to Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. While construction was underway, the Great North highway from Kapiri Mposhi (between Lusaka and N'dola) to Dar-es-Salaam was used (Fig. 1). It could not cope with the high truck volumes however, and became an impassable quagmire during the rainy seasons. There were difficulties after the new rail link had been completed for it was poorly managed and rolling stock was quickly rendered unusable. Rerouting Zambia's trade through Dar es Salaam also produced logistical problems that were not anticipated. All of this meant that Zambians endured stricter petrol rationing allocations and more severe food shortages than was ever the case in Rhodesia, which stepped up its own manufacturing capability impressively, in addition to assistance received from South Africa.

The departure of boys who had finished school at St. Stephen's College was usually marked by them being sent on their way by a leavers' dinner or a final speech day. At such occasions the Headmaster, or a member of the Board, would typically refer them back to their time at the school and call forth all the good things that had happened. This would invariably be followed by a guest of honour who would point the way forward, to what boys were yet to make of their lives. Boys were reminded that as young gentlemen of 'noble character' they were now tasked with the responsibility of making their individual mark on society. School spirit, honour, teamwork, loyalty and

comradeship were much celebrated as representing all that is best in communal, boarding school life. There was a confidence that leavers, possessed of these attributes and more, were well qualified to now go out as leaders into the world. Boys had succeeded in life thus far only because of their own hard work and individual effort and the foundation the school had provided. There was a confidence that as they emerged as individual leaders they would make their school proud. The following extract of an address given to the leavers by Mr A. Sanderson, the Chairman of the board, in 1963, captures the essence of the sort of message that was conveyed:

In this country of ours today we are living in history making times and you young gentlemen who are going out into the world will be among the history makers for I believe that it is you who will have to make the decisions which will shape the ultimate destiny of this wonderful country of ours. Your education here at St. Stephen's has been designed to equip you for this responsibility.

Speaking at the Speech Day in 1974, some eleven years later, the guest of Honour, a member of the Board and the former headmaster, Mr H.H. Cole, was equally convinced of the readiness of the leavers for the leadership roles that lay ahead of them. He added the rider however, almost as if the thought had just occurred, that the future the boys were going to shape had to include 'the African' who was referred to almost like a scientific object and someone new on the political scene. The following extract from Mr Cole's speech illustrates the point:

One other factor which we in Rhodesia must have very much in mind when we think in terms of progress is the question of the African. We are in a unique situation here, because of the great and increasing disparity in numbers between black and white and yet the enormous contribution that Europeans have made to the development of the country and their stake in it. If we are to progress, properly, safely and equitably, it is essential to improve the condition of the African, to give him the opportunity to advance and gain his confidence. This is a matter that concerns us all, you and me and every white Rhodesian, the need to treat the African with courtesy, understanding and respect (cited in the Sanderson Papers, 1955 - 1975).

Leavers were implored, for their own good, to take heed and to mark the progress they initiated carefully, applying the brakes and changing course as and when necessary. It would be unwise to rush the process by which the African was uplifted and he wanted the leaders from St. Stephen's College to know as much.

As I left St. Stephen's College at the end of 1969 and embarked upon my last journey, from school in Rhodesia to my home in Zambia, I thought about the many times I had made the journey. We had three terms per year and this meant that I made the return journey three times per year. The earlier trips I made by train across the Victoria Falls Bridge could not be sustained because shortly after UDI Rhodesia Railways was prevented from entering Zambia by the Zambian authorities. The school was then forced to enter into an arrangement with a local Rhodesian motor coach company, 'Express Motorways'. In terms of this contract, the St. Stephen's College boys from Zambia were transported to school and back in two Express Motorways coaches that travelled through the border post at Chirundu in the Zambezi Valley (Fig. 1). Each time the coaches entered Zambia special prior consent had to have been secured from the Zambian authorities. They were long, boring journeys, each lasting 24 hours. When we crossed over into Zambia army troops were invariably on hand to escort us into the immigration building and on several occasions they would search the coaches and our cases and trunks. Just a year or so after I left school these journeys had to be abandoned as a result of the deteriorating security situation. Boys then had to fly between the two countries on flights which avoided flying through the air spaces of either country. The most convenient way was to fly via Botswana (Fig. 1).

As Zambia and Rhodesia entered into open conflict with each other the border crossings by rail at Victoria Falls and by road at Chirundu (Fig. 1) took on a special place among my memories. Both were spectacularly beautiful bridge settings. The Zambezi was once seen as such a potentially powerful binding force between the two countries, so much so, that the Kariba Dam hydroelectric project had been completed just a few short years previously. Both countries were meant to share the electricity generated in a sweep of goodwill intended to have the additional symbolic value of showing the good that could come of Federation. Throughout the years of open conflict, which lasted until 1980, the border was an extremely unstable zone. It remained closed to goods traffic and was only occasionally opened to passenger traffic.

Later when I travelled between Pietermaritzburg, as a university student, and Mufulira, I felt the full brunt of the unstable border situation along the Zambezi. I undertook two flights home a year. There were no direct flights between South Africa and Zambia. Sometimes I flew with South African Airways to Gaborone in Botswana and then from Gaborone to Zambia with Zambia Airways. These connections were infrequent and

sometimes difficult to match with my particular travelling dates. Sometimes I travelled via an alternate route. If the Rhodesia-Zambia border was open to passenger traffic I used to fly into Victoria Falls with either South African Airways or Air Rhodesia. Those of us going to Zambia were then taken by *kombie* (mini-bus) to the Victoria Falls Bridge. We would then walk across the bridge to be collected by a *kombie* on the Zambian side to be taken to the airport at Livingstone from where we would board a flight to Lusaka and then to N'dola. There were army troops on either side of the bridge and sometimes the *kombies* were not always on time. I became quite familiar with the bridge and the view from there to the falls. I often thought that I was absorbed in the history of the two countries in a rather unique way as I made those journeys.

#### 4.7. PIETERMARITZBURG: SOUTH AFRICA

When I left St. Stephen's College I went to Pietermaritzburg (Fig.1) in 1970 to read for a Bachelor of Arts degree which I intended to follow with a post-graduate teaching diploma in the form of what was then known as a University Education Diploma (UED). It was then that I began the process of looking back and asking questions about my experience of school. Certain of my UED courses, such as those which introduced me to the Philosophy, Sociology and Psychology of the teaching and learning process, were especially significant in this process. The term I spent doing my period of practice teaching at Maritzburg College, also caused me to think in new ways about my own experience of school. It exposed me to a kind of schooling which was, in some ways similar to and yet also different from that which I had experienced at St. Stephen's College and other schools I had attended as a pupil.

Maritzburg College was a state school which was established in 1863 before private school education in Natal had become a viable option. It was modelled along British grammar school lines and it set out to attract the sons of the colonial elite. Private schools were established over time, but Maritzburg College remained a school of choice for many parents with means. My experience there as a student teacher, and therefore an agent of bourgeois whiteness, caused me to begin to question and reflect upon how I had 'survived' the formal and informal cultures of the various schools I had attended. I remember being intrigued with the age of the school and learnt how to appreciate its magnificent old red brick Victorian buildings. It was a much larger school than anything I had experienced and this took some getting used to.

As I looked back at my own experience of school much about the bourgeois culture at St. Stephen's College continued to bother me. I was ill at ease with the relationship between it and the low esteem with which it held South Africa and Afrikaners as well as the white Rhodesian nationalist project. While I had by now identified with it in broad terms I was able to see that my identification was in no way seamless

I also found that my own family background began to come into sharper relief. I reflected upon my father's British working-class background and my mother's links with the Gladstone family in Britain. I thought about my diverse and varied experiences at different types of schools in different geopolitical spaces within which political, geographical and educational spaces interacted in unique and complex ways to define, constitute and defend whiteness. I came to the realisation that while my pre St. Stephen's College experiences had prepared me for my time at the school, there was also a very real sense in which they had not. When I arrived at St. Stephen's College I stood apart from boys, mainly from Rhodesia, who had been to private preparatory schools. While they slipped easily into the school's formal culture, I found myself facing something new and different, a situation fraught with difficulty and contradiction. I realised that I drew a considerable measure of comfort from the fact that I knew there were, certainly amongst the Zambian contingent, others like me. I reflected more carefully on this contingent as well, and realised that there were sharp divisions between boys from the British working-classes and those of South African origin. I found myself struggling with both, unable to really identify fully with either, apart from the Zambian connection.

I reminded myself that I never did manage to speak with the accent that the formal culture at St. Stephen's College would have preferred and that I had refused to apologize for my South African background. I came to realise that I was never entirely at ease with aspects of the school's style, its tastes and preferences. The preference for the masters to be British with British public school and university backgrounds I began to perceive as arrogant. I questioned masters' insistence that boys should always be called by their surnames only and I began to feel ill at ease about the way in which discipline and punishment had been handled, particularly in respect of the caning that prefects used to undertake so readily. I began to question the quality of the teaching I had been exposed to. Much of it had indeed been excellent but the teaching of some of the masters, for all their insistence on 'ceremony' and 'standards', seemed not to

measure up to what I was now learning about teaching and learning. I also began to see a contradiction in the school's embracing of 'high' Anglicanism, as being integral to bourgeois culture, and yet, seemingly, being less concerned with boys making a genuine Christian commitment. I reflected on the preoccupation with sport, and found an on-going unease with the fact that cricket and rugby had been so easily allowed to set the tone for the school. And all the while the stand for white supremacy and the simultaneous rejection of Rhodesia's break with Britain was a 'contradiction' with which I continued to struggle.

I also found myself questioning the school's 'boy culture' more rigorously. I realised that I had often had to pretend to be the person that I was not, in order to withstand the peer pressure. Now my exposure to a wider world, and to academia, brought many of the difficulties I had experienced into clearer focus. The sharp contrast between the 'boy culture' and the formal school culture also became more clearly defined.

When I enrolled at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg in 1970 the student population was just less than two thousand men and women. They were all white students and many came from Rhodesia. The Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal and Rhodes University in Grahamstown were long established preferred academic institutions amongst Rhodesian students. I found myself living in the William O'Brien Residence, with about four hundred other young men, about half of whom were in their first year of study. I stayed there for the three years of my first degree and during that time experienced a residence culture which had strong similarities with the boy culture I had experienced at St. Stephen's College, and even at Jameson High School, an obvious, and not insignificant difference being that there were far fewer confining rules and expectations in relation to discipline. As a result, many of the students, Rhodesians and South Africans, but the 'Rhodies' the more so it seemed, broke loose like feral animals. Some of the Rhodesians had already seen active service in the army. They were a hedonistic bunch, bent on consuming vast quantities of beer, and preoccupied with trying to bed down every girl in sight. While there was a close camaraderie among the Rhodesians, because they were Rhodesians, the 'Rhodies' stood aside from those who were part of a bourgeois grouping and who managed to mask their behaviour as being simply that of a 'decent bunch of chaps' having some wholesome fun before having to settle down in life.

'Popular knowledge' at the time, and this was confirmed by the warden when he first welcomed us as 'freshers', was that one out of two first year students in the William O'Brien Residence failed at the end of the academic year. Most of them left after that but many repeated the year. Most, but not all, were 'Rhodies'. The evening noise levels were so high, and the hard partying such a frequent occurrence, that I was compelled to work in the library every night and over the weekends.

Until my experience of William O'Brien Residence I had tended to regard what had happened to me at Jameson High School in Gatooma as an isolated case of white boys behaving badly and had not allowed myself to see them as being in any way representative of a broader population of white Rhodesians. Now I found myself being exposed to 'Rhodies' who behaved in ways that were sometimes not far removed from what I had experienced at Jameson. I began to sense, furthermore, that they thought that they were entitled to behave badly, let alone be at university, because they were white and they would be protected by their whiteness. As my university studies unfolded the degree to which I felt uncomfortable with my experience of William O'Brien Residence intensified. I started to feel also that to rely on my being white in order to succeed was not acceptable. I reasoned that I had worked hard to earn my place at university and I felt let down by the behaviour and attitude of many of the 'Rhodies'. They knew that they would be fine back in Rhodesia even if they failed.

The 1960s and early 1970s were the halcyon days of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa. They were the days of prime-ministers H.F. Verwoerd and Mr B.J. Vorster, both Apartheid strong men, and economic recession, unemployment and austerity were hardly heard of. World opposition to apartheid, and opposition from within the country, was weak and uncoordinated. There was a widely felt confidence that whites could survive as a ruling elite. While the nationalists thought primarily of Afrikaner whites (inclusive of all classes) they extended their net to include English-speaking whites, and all other whites, in an endeavour to bolster their numerical position as a minority in the country. Although I was beginning to think critically about my past, I was still taken in by the propaganda that they and the Rhodesian nationalists circulated and I remained convinced that both Rhodesia and South Africa should continue to be ruled by whites.

It was my sense that many of the Rhodesians in William O'Brien Residence, whether they were bourgeois or not, did not think particularly highly of South Africa. They

regarded themselves as being in the country to study because the University of Rhodesia was 'full of Afs' (its multiracial roots, and the numerical strength of African students predated the rise to power of the Smith government which, strangely, had not intervened to change the situation), and also because many did not possess the 'A' levels they needed to gain admission. They were not especially politicized but were nevertheless quite vocal in declaring that the Afrikaners were right to keep South Africa in white hands. They preferred 'their' way of doing it in Rhodesia however, and, as at St. Stephen's College, the 'Dutchmen' (a derogatory term for Afrikaners) were often the target of a measure of teasing and humiliation.

The unease which I was experiencing was compounded by the fact that I could see no fit between the first year culture at William O'Brien Residence and the academic culture of the university. The formal university culture was elitist by virtue of the university's admission requirements. It was also elitist because it was cast in the British liberal bourgeois mould. The University of Natal was home to many staff and students who were strongly opposed to the apartheid policies of the Afrikaner nationalists and the conservative English-speaking whites who found their political home in the opposition United Party. The opposition of the liberals at university to white domination per se was less clearly articulated. I recall that detention without trial was a major issue at the time and that there was often more of a preoccupation with issues such as this, and with how individuals were being treated, than with white power and domination as such.

The liberal student organisation, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) seemed to speak for most of the students in the anti-apartheid camp. This organisation was regarded by the Afrikaner Nationalists and their supporters as being a dangerous organisation, dangerous because liberals were, naively and conveniently, equated with the 'communists' who were regarded as the real enemies of the state. I was also vaguely aware of a sense in which liberals were regarded by some in the anti-apartheid camp as being insufficiently committed to the wholesale transformation of the South African political scene. I made no attempt to take this position seriously however, and never really understood it. There were many protest speeches and marches and it was now for the first time that I heard calls for an institution at which I was learning to be opened to students of all races. It was also the first time that I began to realise that it was indeed possible to oppose the ruling party of a country without being considered to be unpatriotic. Nowhere did I hear calls for the end of white rule and domination as

such. Rather the focus seemed to be on Africans being given a fairer deal. Everything that was wrong, furthermore, was because of what the Afrikaner nationalists had done.

Slowly the few seeds of critical thinking which had been sown at St. Stephen's College were beginning to be augmented by others which were now falling on more fertile ground. My formal university studies played a strongly supportive role in enabling me to understand more fully what was unfolding around me, in residence, in the broader life of the university, in South African society as a whole, and back in Rhodesia. As I continued to reflect upon my experiences of school and the role they had played in the process of my socialisation, I began to realise that the stage was being set for a lengthy process of 'unlearning' and 'relearning' to begin.

I spent five years at university, completing my Bachelor of Arts degree, UED and Honours degree (in Geography). In that time I came to know Pietermaritzburg well, the more so since many of the studies I undertook within my Urban Geography courses had a Pietermaritzburg focus and application. Pietermaritzburg was, significantly, the capital city of the former British colony of Natal and Natal had always been the most decidedly British of South Africa's provinces. When I was a student in Pietermaritzburg I recall people saying that their the city was the capital of 'the last outpost of the British Empire', and while there was usually a light hearted side to the connotation, there was also an element of truth in it. I learnt in my Geography classes that although the British built the city on a grid which had already been set out by an earlier group of *Voortrekkers*, (Afrikaners who moved into the South African interior from 1838 to escape British rule at the Cape) what they actually built was a city which was, especially in respect of its architectural styles, a spatial expression of the confidence, and even the arrogance, of the empire. Like many of the locals, I learnt to regard the old red brick buildings of Pietermaritzburg, along with its lanes, gardens and parks, with a degree of attachment and affection. The university and many of the schools were an integral part of the city, each contributing to the beauty of the city in their own way. The main campus of the university, proudly presided over by the Arts block, was particularly attractive and brought with it a special charm.

As with all South African cities Pietermaritzburg was a racially segregated city. Africans, Indians and coloureds lived in separate townships. One of the African townships was Edendale which I once visited on a Geography excursion. Africans could only enter the

city of Pietermaritzburg in terms of the prevailing pass law regulations. I remember being taken aback at the squalor and filth I saw in Edendale. Indian and coloured people also lived in their own designated areas. The use of public facilities was also segregated by race. There were separate benches in the parks and separate public toilets. I used to travel by bus from the university campus to the city centre. The back six rows of seats were always reserved for 'non-whites'. I experienced no racial mixing at all at this time. Africans served our meals in residence and cleaned our rooms. I remember a spate of graffiti appearing on some of the city walls towards the end of my stay. The theme was 'Free Mandela'. It passed me by. Mandela was a 'terrorist' like the ones the Rhodesians had to contend with back in Rhodesia. While the process of my questioning certain aspects of my past had begun it had not yet taken me to the point of thinking that people like Mandela should be released or that white domination in South Africa should in any way be terminated.

I had every intention of returning to Rhodesia once I had qualified. St. Stephen's College had offered me a position and I was keen to return to my alma mater, in spite of my having, by now, developed a few misgivings about the nature of the educational experience I had received there. I eagerly anticipated returning after I learnt that my parents had decided to leave Mufulira at the end of 1972. My father had acquired a job at the Alaska copper mine near Sinoia (now Chinoyi) in Rhodesia, about 150kms to the north west of Salisbury (now Harare) (Fig.1). When I went 'home' for the Christmas holidays in December 1972 I found my mother and father settling into a very attractive house in a little mining camp which was much smaller than any of the Copperbelt towns. The Christmas holidays of 1972 constituted my only experience of the place, for shortly after I had left to begin the 1973 academic year in Pietermaritzburg, I heard that they were on the move again. My father, along with several other recently appointed employees, had been retrenched as part of the mining company's reassessment of its profitability in the light of the sanctions campaign against Rhodesia. The next time I saw my parents they were in Durban where my father had again secured a position with the Durban municipality. It was this change in direction for them, as well as my having become romantically involved in Pietermaritzburg, which caused me to change my own plans about returning to St. Stephen's College. Instead I decided to take up a teaching position with the Natal Education Department, in Pinetown (Fig. 1).

As Rhodesia's liberation war proceeded I watched with interest how its geography placed the Alaska/Sinoia area in the very heart of one of the most war active parts of the country. I was also interested to receive my military call up papers just a few months after I had become a permanent resident of Rhodesia, a formality which I had attended to whilst on holiday in Alaska in the December of 1972. The Defence Department had granted me a student deferment but had obviously not fed this through to the relevant lower authorities. There were many times when I stopped to think retrospectively about how my life might have changed had I actually gone into the Rhodesian army.

#### 4.8. CONCLUSION

My personal narrative, as it has unfolded in this chapter, has focused on my school and university years. During these years I experienced and learnt from different variations of whiteness in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa. Integral to what I learnt was bound up with how the variations of whiteness changed over time. The particularly strong role played by the educational spaces I experienced is apparent. My attention turns, in the next chapter, Chapter 5, to my life as a professional educator and both agent and learner of whiteness in South Africa.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONTINUING TO THINK 'WITH' MY STORY: MY YEARS AS A PROFESSIONAL EDUCATOR

As my personal narrative continues to unfold in this chapter I am primarily a teacher and agent of whiteness, although I do continue to learn whiteness in ways which become apparent. I am a teacher and agent as I fulfil the role of a professional educator and I continue to be a learner of whiteness in my workplaces and as I further my university studies. What is noteworthy is that the South African variations of whiteness which I had experienced up to this point go through fundamental changes of their own. As in the other two geopolitical spaces in which I relate my narrative in Chapter 4, these changes are such that whites in South Africa ultimately lose political power, which according to so much of what I had learned over the years, was simply never supposed to happen.

#### 5.1. PINETOWN: SOUTH AFRICA

##### 5.1.1. Pinetown High School

Pinetown at the time of my arrival was a fast growing industrial town situated some 25kms west of Durban (Fig. 1). I had learnt, in one of my Geography courses in Pietermaritzburg, that it had been, for many years, a small, quiet suburban settlement, a little too far from Durban for the comfort of many people. The town grew rapidly in response to Durban's post-war industrial growth and its need for more industrial land. Pinetown was a white town made up of mainly blue-collar suburbs, surrounded by African townships providing the labour needs of the settlement.

I took up my first teaching post at Pinetown Senior High School in January 1975. It was a co-educational high school which catered for pupils in Standards 8 to 10 ( the equivalent of Grades 10-12 in South Africa today). It was a community school which had been established in 1955 to serve the needs of the white working-class area of Pinetown. It was by now a large school catering for some nine hundred pupils, much larger than anything I had experienced before.

The headmaster, Mr Dudley Nourse was a Durban High School (DHS) man, this school having been founded along the same conservative bourgeois lines, and with the same intentions, as Maritzburg College, where I had completed my practice teaching. He had

not been at the school for long when I arrived and he was doing his utmost to recreate as much of the DHS ethos as he could at Pinetown. I remember him concluding his initial interview with me by expressing the hope that I would be one of the men upon whom he could rely for support. It did not occur to me then that I was once again being drawn into a position of being an agent of a relatively conservative bourgeois whiteness.

Mr Nourse gave me English and Geography to teach and I remember spending an inordinate amount of time marking and preparing lessons. New syllabi had just been introduced by the Natal Education Department and especially in Geography, there was inadequate textbook support for what was expected of the pupils. Since I had an Honours degree in the subject, that was not common among teachers at the time, there was an expectation among my colleagues that I should lead the way in preparing new course material for the department. I spent many hours writing out numerous pages of notes for pupils in all three standards, on carbon stencils from which multiple copies could be made in the required numbers. A pattern was soon established, for even as textbooks became available pupils and staff came to expect, and even insist, that there should be a set of my notes to accompany the material being covered. I drew a sense of security from this and felt as if I had earned my place in the school. In my own teaching I eventually struck a compromise in that my pupils would both receive notes from me and have to write their own notes (from sources either provided by me or which they had to find independently). It was a model I kept to throughout my teaching career, including the many years I spent in teacher education.

There was a distinct hierarchy among the staff at the school and I felt a strong pressure to conform to the expectations of the more senior teachers under whom I worked. Inspections from the Headmaster and inspectors of the Natal Education Department were a constant threat, particularly in the first year of my career, and it was on the favourable reports of these men that the confirmation of my teaching appointment, and later any promotion prospects, depended. I found it interesting, when being inspected, that it was automatically assumed that effective teaching and learning could only ever take place in a classroom where the teacher stood in front of the class engaged in active exposition and/or demonstration, while the pupils sat in their rows before him or her, hanging on to every word, or at least seeming to do so, and speaking only when spoken to. There was a strong focus on teachers being able to discipline children and a frequently communicated expectation that offenders should be dealt with on the turn

and sent to the office if necessary. In the case of boys 'the office' invariably meant a caning. Teachers were not supposed to cane boys in their own capacity and I never did. But there were male teachers who regularly did so.

Officially we were supposed to teach according to the dictates of 'Fundamental Pedagogics' in support of Afrikaner nationalism and CNE. I was never aware of the Natal Education Department checking up on the teaching of this ideology but its principles and dictates certainly made their presence evident in the syllabus detail and curriculum guidelines which were given to teachers. Sometimes there were nuances and subtleties involved and it took an experienced teacher to read them and teach around them without submitting to what the authorities were after. An example that comes to mind was the teaching the Geography of the Bantustans to Standard 10 pupils. The various content areas to be covered were spelt out in detail in the syllabus outline. The approach to be followed was purely descriptive. Nowhere were teachers supposed to get their pupils to engage critically with the subject matter. As such, the existence of the Bantustans was simply taken as a given. Dealing with 'tricky' questions which might have emerged, such as the obvious 'why' the Bantustans existed in the first place, was taken care of by the instruction, in the official guidelines, and verbally repeated by inspectors on numerous occasions, that teachers should not entertain questions of a 'political' nature in class. Mr Nourse was a strong opponent of the apartheid policy and was flexible in respect of what he expected of his teachers in this regard. He nevertheless asked his teachers to proceed 'within reason' as he used to put it, in respect of their interpretation of the requirement that politics be kept out of the classroom.

The Soweto uprising of 1976 occurred within a short time of my arrival at the school and even here there was the expectation that we should not expose pupils to too much. It seems almost unforgivable, as I reflect upon on that time now, given the great significance of the uprising in South Africa's history, that this was actually so. Much could have been added to the integrity of what I was teaching had I have drawn this into my classroom content. That however, would have also depended on my own position. Mr Nourse touched on the unrest in the country in assemblies from time to time but it was more with a call for calm heads in mind than anything else.

It was under Mr Nourse's watch, interestingly, that officially designated 'Youth Preparedness' lessons were given over to other subjects such as Mathematics or English, instead of being used as propaganda lessons to prepare pupils for their adult lives under apartheid. I remember thinking back to my days as a pupil at Milner High School in Klerksdorp and wondered if the same would ever have been possible outside Natal where the Afrikaner Nationalists had such a firm grip on the white politics of the country.

I married Glynne Lewis at the end of my first term at Pinetown Senior High School. We had met a year or so previously when we were both students in residence at university. Glynne was from Kokstad where she lived with her family on a farm, 'Slippery Drift', close to the town. Her father was a medical doctor who was in charge of the local 'Usher Memorial' hospital and it was her mother who assumed the greater share of the responsibilities involved in running the farm.

Glynne and I bought a plot on which to build our first home in 1977. The only 'land- build package' we could afford as first time buyers was in New Germany which was a fast growing industrial and residential extension of Pinetown. The large African township of Clermont lay adjacent to New Germany on its northern flank. Our plot was located very close to the border with Clermont and we were always thankful for the 500 metre 'buffer strip' between 'us' and 'them'. We lived there for fifteen years and I used to worry about its location. When we finally sold up the estate agents said that we might have got a higher price had the house been in a 'better area'.

Glynne's paternal grandfather came from an aristocratic family in England. He had come to South Africa in the late 1800s to join the Cape Mounted Rifles which had been tasked with the responsibility of settling the border regions between the then Transkei region and the Cape Colony. On the completion of his service with the Cape Mounted Rifles he had elected to stay in South Africa. He made money by setting up a string of trading stores in the Bizana district of the Transkei Bantustan (some 250kms to the south of Durban) playing a leading role in founding the town of the same name. He bought a substantial amount of land around Kokstad, further inland from Bizana, and established farms which he left to his sons, Glynne's father Jack, and her uncle, Tom. They were beautiful, profitable farms, situated along a perennial river and were the envy of many farmers in the district.

Glynne's mother Peggy was proud of her husband's position and social background and she and I clashed from the early days of my marriage to her daughter. She did not hold the teaching profession in high regard and regarded it as being 'hardly a profession'. Before Glynne married me she was warned that I would never be able to provide for her in the manner to which she had become accustomed. She was warned all the more since there seemed to be nothing in my social background that might be able to compensate for my low earning potential. 'Are you quite sure about this?' Glynne was asked the night before her wedding.

Glynne and I were very happily married for 25 years until she died of cancer in 2000. The relationship with her parents was always somewhat strained, the more so because Glynne had completed a Bachelor of Arts degree instead of following her father into medicine. Glynne was, furthermore, always a sickly person and was unable to sustain a career path. We were, as a result, dependent on my salary. Her parents blamed her situation on her degree choice and regarded her ill health as being 'all in the mind'. Our financial stresses were the fault of my being a mere teacher.

Every time we visited 'Slippery Drift', and there were long periods when we did not, I was reminded of the comfortable conservative bourgeois lifestyle Glynne's parents enjoyed. There were aristocratic pretensions as well because of their ownership of land and Glynne's paternal ancestry. These were married to strongly communicated notions of racial superiority and race prejudice which I used to object to, particularly as I began, in time, to question my own attitudes and prejudices. I was quite open about some of the questions I was beginning to ask, to my great detriment it seemed, for now I was a working-class man with low professional status and earning potential who had also become a dangerous liberal. I became tolerated, I suspect, for Glynne's sake and for the sake of our daughters, Carin and Laura.

I was keen to succeed at Pinetown Senior High School and to get ahead in my chosen profession as quickly as I could, the more so because of the lukewarm reception I had received in Glynne's family. I involved myself fully in the school's extra-curricula activities, most especially its rugby and athletics programmes. On the cultural side, I established a debating society and was also the teacher who supervised the production of the pupils' newsletter, *Ndaba Zethu* (Zulu meaning 'Our business'). This recalled my *Telstar* days at St. Stephen's College.

At the end of 1978 Pinetown Senior High School and its Junior High School counterpart (Standards 6 and 7) ceased to exist. They were replaced by Pinetown Girls' High School (on the campus of the Senior High School) and Pinetown Boys' High School (on the nearby campus of the Junior High School). At the time there was support for this move among the leadership of both schools and certain officials in the Natal Education Department, but interestingly these were the last single-sex high schools to be established by the Natal Education Department. Mr Nourse was particularly keen on the single-sex arrangement since he believed it would take what he was trying to achieve closer to the Durban High School model. I moved, along with certain other Senior High School staff members, to Pinetown Boys' High School and embraced the move with the necessary enthusiasm. No sooner had the move taken place than I became a senior teacher and, at the same time, the master in charge of rugby.

The new school had a sizable proportion of women on the staff, and they may even have constituted a majority. This was counter to the traditional ideal of the British colonial model where schooling was cast in the bourgeois mould, and boys' schools were staffed by male teachers only. I remember when I experienced my practice teaching at Maritzburg College that women had only recently been permitted to teach at the school. The concession had only been made because there were too few men available. The presence of so many more women on the new Pinetown Boys' High School staff was a reflection of how much change had occurred in the intervening period. Men were opting, in growing numbers, for more financially rewarding career options. The women on the staff were well received on the whole although there were some sensitive areas which became apparent from time to time. The women earned less than the men, typically two salary 'notches' for equally qualified and experienced teachers, and when they reminded men of this, as some frequently did, they were invariably reminded, not least by Mr Nourse himself, that unlike men they had far less to do on the extracurricular programmes. Another bone of contention was the absence of women in senior management positions. Mr Nourse would respond, typically, that women wanting promotion could apply to girls' schools. So preoccupied was I with making my own way in the school as a relative new comer, that there was nothing in me that inclined me to want to disagree with Mr Nourse.

As I reflect upon those first years of my teaching career I realise that I was particularly preoccupied with simply getting by. I become increasingly aware however, of the unrest

that was beginning to unravel in the country, especially in African schools. The Soweto uprising made sure of that. I felt a sense of unease about the future of the country and, while I was beginning to see that African education needed some fundamental improvement, I was adamant that this should in no way threaten the parameters of white power as such. The Rhodesians were having a tough time since the Portuguese withdrawal from Mozambique (in 1975) and hearing the reports of the intensifying war situation strengthened my resolve in this regard. So did the shooting down, in 1978 in the Zambezi valley near Kariba (some 200kms downstream from Victoria Falls) (Fig. 1) of the two Air Rhodesia Vickers Viscounts by the Zimbabwe Peoples' Liberation Army (ZIPRA).

Once I was into my second and third years of teaching I began to engage more critically with the material I was teaching. I read more widely as well and could see that my teaching was benefitting. In 1978 I enrolled as a part-time Bachelor of Education student at the University of Natal in Durban and this played a key role in how I was starting to relate to my work. I found it particularly helpful that I was able to apply much of what I was learning to my classroom practice. It was, in this sense, a more useful qualification than the UED had been. My studying exposed me once again to the bourgeois whiteness of the formal culture of the University of Natal and to the liberal worldview espoused by it. This had the effect of bringing to the fore, once again, some of the questions I had started asking as a university student about my racial attitudes.

Late in 1979 I was asked by the Natal Education Department's Geography inspector, Mr Alan Webster, if I would be prepared to be seconded as a Geography lecturer to the Edgewood College of Education which, conveniently, was also located in Pinetown. The college was going through an expansion phase, which was very short-lived as it turned out, and several staff openings had emerged. Seconded teachers, I was assured, were always favourably considered, provided they performed satisfactorily, when substantive posts were advertised, which, in the case of my Geography post, would be towards the end of the following year. My Headmaster, Mr Nourse, was seriously opposed to it. He made it clear that he wanted to keep me on his staff and also explained that there would be more promotion prospects for me if I stayed in the school sector of the Natal Education Department.

### 5.1.2. Edgewood College of Education

There was indeed much for me to think about. A lectureship at Edgewood was the equivalent of a Head of Department post in the schools. It would be mine after only five short years in the teaching profession which was quite unusual at the time. Furthermore, Edgewood lecturers had their own offices and telephones and a timetable flexibility that was unheard of in the schools. There were far fewer expectations in respect of extra-curricula involvement. Furthermore, while senior posts within the college were regarded as being difficult to come by, there was much scope for professional growth. My mind was made up after speaking in detail to the rector Dr Andre le Roux, who convinced me that Edgewood was the future.

Edgewood came into being in the days of high apartheid "...with little planning and in almost unseemly political haste" (Le Roux, 2010, p. 56) in 1966, which was also the year in which Mr B.J. Vorster succeeded Dr H.F. Verwoerd as the Prime Minister of South Africa. It was built by the opposition United Party and controlled by the Natal Provincial Council to show that Natal was not behind the other provinces in respect of educational provision. The other provinces were controlled by the ruling National Party. The intention was also to allow Natal Afrikaners to have their own college, since prior to the establishment of Edgewood the Durban College of Education had catered for both English and Afrikaans-speaking students on a parallel medium basis. Built for between one thousand five hundred and two thousand students, Edgewood was "...born into a world of stability and white primary schools" (Vietzen, 2010, p. 18), a world which needed teachers. It started life in hastily prepared temporary accommodation, first at Glenashley Primary School and then at Danville Park Girls' High School in Durban North, before it moved to its Pinetown campus in 1970. No sooner had the impressive building programme on the Pinetown campus been completed in 1980 than it was declared to have been a mistake by the Natal Provincial Council. Each year from 1983 the size of the student intake was controlled by a quota system and there was a serious concern about the college's future.

I reported for duty at Edgewood in January 1980, little knowing that I would spend the next thirty-one years there. There was much uncertainty about the future of South Africa and this, together with concerns about the college, had a profound influence on the shaping and direction of my personal and professional growth. I started off in the

Geography department where I worked alongside five other members of staff. I was immediately struck by how different the teaching and learning environment was. We worked closely with lecturers from the University of Natal and had considerable freedom in developing our own courses. I found myself having to read as if I was a student all over again, having now to be well versed not only in my content but also in the philosophy behind it and how best to teach it in different contexts.

Dr Andre le Roux was insistent that the partnership which he had built up with the University of Natal should succeed and I remember the Edgewood staff feeling quite pressurized as they engaged with their university counterparts. Now as never before I felt compelled to engage critically with my work.

Fundamental Pedagogics was rejected out of hand, although I had the sense that this was not always appreciated in the broader society. There was a tendency for all colleges to be branded as puppets of the state. At Edgewood we were encouraged to engage critically with societal issues and to teach our students to do the same. I felt this nowhere more strongly than in the second year Geography course we developed in the second year of my tenure at the college. It was a new and different course in every respect and one that was also particularly successful. It was focussed entirely on the physical and human geography of the Qadi and Nyswa Bantustan areas of KwaZulu, bordering Botha's Hill, some 20km from Kloof (Fig. 1). We worked closely with the Valley Trust Authority, a non-governmental organisation focussing on the social upliftment of the local people, and designed the course material in such a way that classroom lectures and tutorials were frequently alternated with work in the field. Our students were, as a result, exposed first hand to the circumstances and conditions under which the African people in the areas lived. As staff members we were also impacted, the more so since we had to engage with the area before taking our students there.

I was greatly affected by what I was now being exposed to, so much so that I felt inclined to want to continue my formal studies using our study area as my focus. I enrolled to do a Master's Degree by full thesis in the newly established Development Studies Unit at the University of Natal in 1982. I wrote my thesis on the debilitating effects of Bantu Education on the development of the Qadi area. I came to know the area well, to the extent that I used to travel to the more inaccessible parts by

motorcycle. I graduated in 1984 and because of my study I took a strong leadership role in the on-going revision and development of our second Geography course.

Such exposure, along with the many community outreach initiatives taken by the college in which I became involved, did much to cause me to re-examine my previous attitudes and prejudices in respect of race, most especially those which had been so supportive of Mr Ian Smith's white Rhodesian nationalism. I was able to see the tricameral<sup>9</sup> political arrangement of 1983, with which the National Party was so preoccupied, for the reformist manoeuvring it was. I started to feel appalled by the tactics of using States of Emergency as a means of quelling resistance. As I reflect on that period now however, I realise that while my journey of 'unlearning and relearning' had taken several steps forward because of what I was being exposed to, it was still very much in its infancy. It is also significant to record that I gave little or no thought, at this time, to such social divides as gender, sexuality and class. The preoccupation with race was such that it was as if nothing else mattered and this seemed also to be the case with the colleagues with whom I worked.

I had no sooner completed my Master's degree than a senior lectureship was advertised in the Department of Education Studies. I was successful in my application. I had been at Edgewood for five years and was very excited at the prospect of new doors once again opening up for me. Education Studies was a much larger Department than Geography since Education courses were compulsory for students in all their years of study. Because of the subject matter of my Master's thesis I was given most of the lecturing on South African education, along with the offerings on the History of Education and Comparative Education. Teaching students how to teach also fell under the auspices of the Education Studies Department and, to this end, all the lecturers in the Department had to take a share of courses which were known collectively as the 'General Methods of Education'. I delighted at the opportunity to once again develop new course material, no more so than that for the Bachelor of Primary Education degree which had recently been transferred from the Durban Campus of the University of Natal. Once again I had the gratifying sense that I was growing both personally and

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<sup>9</sup> A reformist endeavour on the part of the Afrikaner dominated National Party to present Apartheid in more 'benevolent' terms. Three Houses of Parliament were established for whites, coloureds and Indians. Africans continued to exercise political rights within the confines of their respective tribally based Bantustans.

professionally, especially since so much of what I was teaching was so directly related to the political scene in the country.

Simultaneously I felt a growing unease about the future of the country and the college. There were frequent staffroom discussions about where Edgewood was headed, particularly in view of the fact that its student numbers were so rigidly pegged by the Education Department. Rumours and untruths circulated with free abandon and, taken alongside what was unfolding in the country, they did little to cause individuals to be optimistic about the future. Several of our staff members joined the growing number of white South Africans who had elected to leave the country. I remember feeling particularly depressed as I heard of people I knew well deciding to leave, so much so that I endured long periods when I did not apply myself to my work as I should have. I sometimes thought that Glynne and I should also leave. I remember fervently wishing that apartheid would simply go away, for my own selfish reasons, if nothing else. I was delighted when Mr F.W. de Klerk came on to the political stage but have to admit that I was not ready, at the time, for the full impact of the political process he set in motion

I have to attribute much of the professional and personal growth I experienced during this time to the leadership and example of Dr le Roux. He was absolutely dedicated to Edgewood and its survival. He wanted it to become a multi-racial institution so that it could service the needs of all the people of Natal and the KwaZulu Bantustan. He made much of its capacity to do so, both in respect of its physical infrastructure and human resources. He was unapologetically outspoken in his condemnation of apartheid and was convinced that Edgewood could liberate students from their prejudices as well as prepare them for the classrooms of the future. He used every opportunity at his disposal to publicise his view. His fortnightly assemblies were a particular favourite. He brushed aside the criticism that they were too similar to high-school assemblies and seized the opportunity to use them to teach his captive audiences, both staff and students, about what was happening around them and to persuade them of their need to change their mind set. I benefited greatly from these regular briefings and often felt the need to re-examine aspects of my thinking.

In 1991 a 'service agreement' was entered into between the South African government (with the Natal Provincial Administration) and the KwaZulu Bantustan government. In terms of the agreement Edgewood would accept two hundred African students from the

KwaZulu Education Department. They would study for two years at Edgewood and then follow a two year school-based period of part-time study whilst teaching in the schools. They were to be Senior Primary students only. They would gain a two-year diploma after their time at Edgewood and then a three-year diploma after they had completed their studies. It was anything but a satisfactory arrangement. It would bring African students to Edgewood but on a footing which was far from equal since the white students of the Natal Education Department would follow their usual, different programmes of study. The Edgewood leadership nevertheless saw the agreement as a long-awaited opportunity to bring Africans to the campus. It was regarded as a nail in the apartheid coffin and, given the changes in the broader society, a development which at the time made sense.

I had in the meantime become Head of the Department of Education Studies and this brought me fully into the planning that was necessary to facilitate the incorporation of the KwaZulu-students. Dr le Roux wanted them to join with the white students wherever possible but, given the nature of the inter-governmental agreement, different courses also had to be developed. It was a situation which was fraught with difficulty and it did not take long for the KwaZulu-students to realise that they had been accepted on grounds that could not begin to be equal. The stage was set for difficult times ahead.

A new and difficult challenge, more for the Edgewood staff than anyone else, was presented by the requirements of practice teaching. White Natal Education Department schools were in no position to receive the KwaZulu-students since they themselves were at different stages of accepting pupils of all races and none could be considered integrated in the full sense of the word. Most of the KwaZulu-students, furthermore, indicated that they wished to be assigned to schools where they would feel familiar with the teaching and learning environment. As a result, Edgewood lecturers had to travel to African schools in the townships. Given the recent and on-going unrest in townships there was a perception that they were forbidden territory for whites and to a large extent this was indeed the case.

Some of the staff flatly refused to travel into the townships and argued that they could not be forced to do so. Their fears were confirmed when two members of staff, who had made the journeys in their own cars, were hijacked on separate occasions at the gates of the schools they were visiting. Eventually the college hired mini-bus taxis to take

lecturers to township schools which, where possible, were selected on the basis of them being as close to the township peripheries as possible. The official line was that staff members were supposed to be involved in township tutoring but there were always some clever manoeuvrings on the part of some individuals to avoid having to do so.

I was always prepared to make the township journeys and often did so in my own car, even when taxi transport was available. My previous exposure to African areas, when doing the fieldwork for my Master's thesis, helped to ease this passage for me. My resolve was simply that an inevitable and unavoidable requirement had now been added to my responsibilities. I actually found the journeys into the various townships and schools interesting and enlightening and developed lasting relationships with several of the principals and teachers. They became an integral part of my journey of unlearning and relearning.

Dr le Roux left Edgewood in 1993 and soon after his departure I became one of the vice-rectors of the College. It was a time of heightened uncertainty and confusion since the state was by now openly exploring various options pertaining to the future of colleges of education and also because there was no clarity about just what de Klerk's 'new South Africa' meant. Many colleges had already been closed, mainly on economic grounds, and it was feared that others would follow suit. Edgewood seemed safe for a while, primarily because of the KwaZulu agreement. It was not long however, before this agreement caused a good deal of conflict and unrest on the Edgewood campus. The KwaZulu-students, the 'aggrieved' students, as they called themselves, moved to reject the terms and parameters of the agreement and resolved to make the college ungovernable. They clashed openly and angrily with us on management, seeing us, as 'the authorities', as one and the same as the government officials who had brought the agreement into being in the first place. From 1995 there was frequent protest action and disruption of teaching activities. As a member of the management team I was involved for many hours and days in negotiations with the student leaders. Having to deal with the aggrieved students as well as concerned white students, and often their even more concerned parents, was an altogether new experience for me. Many of the white students were women and most were in the residences. Fears for their safety peaked when one of the residence lounges was set on fire in an act of arson and when death threats were received by some of those in a leadership position. To calm fears,

members of the management team periodically slept in the remaining residence lounges.

To the detriment of Edgewood, the Natal Education Department decided to revert the Durban College of Education to its original pre-Edgewood parallel-medium status<sup>10</sup>. This would enable it to compete for white students with Edgewood. This sleight of hand, intended to keep an old white institution afloat, worked for a while for there was, given the unrest at Edgewood, a noticeable flight of white students to the Durban College of Education.

Eventually, a Negotiating Forum was set up to deal with the issues students wanted to be resolved. With the passage of time, it became clear that the Edgewood situation had found its way onto a national student agenda of trying to dictate the terms of transformation in higher education. A frustrating result of this was that no sooner had issues been resolved than new ones would be presented and goal posts would change position. The Edgewood management team received little support from departmental officials who were unwilling and unable to offer solutions. Our difficulties were compounded by the fact that the coloured students and staff from the Bechet Teacher's Training College, which had been incorporated into Edgewood College in 1994, tended to align themselves with the KwaZulu-students on many issues. They argued that Edgewood College had expected them to assimilate into its way of doing things and had made little effort to transform itself into a truly non-racial institution. My view at the time was that whites still needed to be in positions of power and that the standards that had been built up over the years had to be maintained.

The issues presented by the aggrieved students, and the conflict surrounding them, were eventually overtaken by political developments in the broader society. From 1994, which was when a democratic South Africa came into being, the student in-take had by law to be open to all races and this served only to highlight the KwaZulu agreement as a silly ploy by two desperate governments who were losing power to try to buy time. The Negotiating Forum played an important role in helping the college to deal with the many uncertainties and frustrations of the time and everyone involved readily acknowledged that it proved to be a learning forum of considerable significance.

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<sup>10</sup> This meant that separate English and Afrikaans language of instruction 'streams' were taught parallel to each other.

I learnt richly from my own participation and found myself having to integrate a series of contradictory experiences into my journey of unlearning and relearning. On the one hand, I started to see what was frustrating the African students and also what the coloured students were saying about the lack of substantive transformation at Edgewood College. However, I had little idea of the sort of institution Edgewood College should transform into. On the other hand, I resented the behaviour of many of the students when, giving vent to their frustrations, they trashed buildings and shouted abuse and threatened non-participating students. I felt angry at having to give up or compromise on what I had helped to build up, namely a teacher education system which worked and which was widely respected by principals and teachers in Natal and wherever in the world our graduate students had gone to teach. 'We' were willing to share it, I thought, and 'they' were trashing it. The standards we had built up had to be maintained. Whites could share power, I thought, but not yield power and in this regard an important requirement was that staff and student selection should be carefully monitored. At times I thought that it might be preferable to leave the country if this battle was lost.

The passing of time restored a sense of balance and reason. We persisted with the Negotiating Forum, eventually renaming it the 'Transformation Forum'. By the end of the 1990s I had become the deputy rector and dedicated myself to making a success of its activities. With time the students became more reasonable and understanding of what could and could not be achieved and the quality of debate and discussion improved markedly. Calm returned to the campus and a steady growth in white student numbers restored a more balanced demographic mix. I came to respect many of the African student leaders and knew that my own standing among them had become secure. As the 21<sup>st</sup> century dawned I settled myself in the conviction that what lay ahead could not be worse than we had already endured.

Edgewood College had proved that, left to its own devices, it could manage and move with a reasonable sense of assuredness into the future. Glimpses of Dr Andre le Roux's dream for the institution were evident on the horizon. But the dark cloud was the future of the College of Education sector which the government seemed determined to close down since it was regarded as an off-spring of the apartheid education policy and a bastion of Fundamental Pedagogics and Bantu Education. The preference was for the universities to assume responsibility for teacher education. Edgewood's argument, and

that of many others, was that it was wrong to label all of the colleges in the same way. Some, like Edgewood College, may have been born into apartheid structures but had opposed them and taught an opposing curriculum.

As it turned out, the government went ahead and closed all 106 of the remaining colleges of education in the country. While some were closed down altogether others, like Edgewood College, were identified as candidates for incorporation into selected Universities. Because of Edgewood College's long association with the University of Natal, and because of its geographical location between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, it made perfect sense that it should be incorporated into that institution. The stage was now set for further uncertainty and for the unfolding of a set of circumstances I could not possibly have begun to anticipate when the incorporation finally took place in the January of 2002.

As deputy rector I was integrally involved in the negotiations which led to the incorporation and I did what I could to facilitate what was an inevitable process. The rector tried his utmost to hold out for what he considered to be a best possible position for the college to the extent that the university negotiators eventually came to see him as trying to inhibit the process. I found myself having to agree with them and there was, as a result, a major rift between the rector and myself. The university authorities eventually side-lined him and, as the incorporation process neared completion, dealt with me as the principal Edgewood representative.

The uncertainty and feelings of insecurity I felt at this time were compounded and accompanied by a great sense of loss and this too contributed to my journey of unlearning and relearning. Edgewood, the college, had come to mean a great deal to me and I felt its closing to be a great loss. I felt a sense of pride in the role I had played in building it into the widely respected institution it had become. I recall thinking at the time that without anyone having to utter a word the campus geography said it all, for it had become a beautiful, spacious campus of sports fields, well laid out buildings, and lovely trees and gardens. I thought often of the times when, every Friday afternoon for the first three of four years of my tenure, I used to join a group of staff volunteers to become involved in the landscaping and the gardening. 'All this' I used to think, 'and they still have to close us down'. I counted the rift with the rector a considerable loss for we had always worked well together. In my personal life, my wife, Glynne, had been ill

with cancer for two years and died in November 2000, just as the negotiation process was reaching finality. We had endured a trying time in which hope and despair had traded positions with each other. Together with my daughters, Carin and Laura, I had nursed her at home to the end. Another loss was the loss of my position as deputy rector. As with the rest of the Edgewood staff, once the incorporation had been finalised I had to apply for what were called 'absorption posts' within the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture or for one of the posts created by the University of Natal to staff its new and much larger Education Faculty which was to be housed on the Edgewood campus.

### 5.1.3. University of Natal, Faculty of Education: Edgewood Campus

I was delighted with the senior lectureship I succeeded in securing with the University of Natal. I had enjoyed holding management positions at Edgewood but knew that I was now in no emotional state to take on such responsibility. In a sense my loss of 'position' in the new institution was a rather necessary and even welcome adjustment. Coming to terms with it was made uncomfortable, however, when I heard that there were senior university staff who had made assertions to the effect that Edgewood College staff had secured posts they would never have secured under normal selection circumstances and procedures. I felt un-nerved and judged before I had even given my first lecture or moved into my new office. I felt especially vulnerable because, unlike most of my Edgewood colleagues, I had secured a senior lectureship but, like them, I did not have a research profile, which was another bone of contention. During the interview for my post I was questioned about research I might like to pursue in the future but was given the assurance that it was primarily my teaching experience and expertise that was sought by the university. I found this reassuring, the more so since I was appointed as Head of the Education Studies discipline very shortly after the incorporation. It was nevertheless disturbing to have to be reminded from time to time of the views of university staff that obviously held a different opinion. My lack of a research profile haunted me for the rest of my tenure with the university. As management structures changed, and radically so, after the merger between the Universities of Natal and Durban-Westville, the assurances I was given during my initial interview were dismissed. I will refer more to this issue in due course. Suffice it to record at this juncture that the sense of professional confidence I had once enjoyed was considerably undermined. I experienced another sense of loss.

The University of Natal was clearly unprepared for the incorporation of Edgewood. It did not have a faculty of education as such, just a school of education which was split between the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses. The staff were not really concerned with the training of teachers and focused primarily on research. Edgewood College had been the training arm of the Durban division, while the Pietermaritzburg staff had concerned themselves only with Higher Education Diplomas and post-graduate work. There was little or no unity between the two divisions and much opposition to the decision to grow the new faculty of education on the newly acquired Edgewood campus. Certain members of staff located on the Durban Campus of the University of Natal did their utmost to delay their transfer to the Edgewood campus. One senior member of staff questioned with whom he would be able to have tea. Several senior members of staff also showed a decided reluctance to apply for the newly created deanship. When an outside dean was finally appointed he received so little support that he was unable to govern effectively.

The incorporation of Edgewood into the University of Natal was far easier for me to accept than the many changes which accompanied the later merger with the University of Durban-Westville. By and large I felt affirmed when I joined the University of Natal. My appointment as a senior lecturer and head of the Education Studies discipline confirmed this, as did assurances that my teaching experience was something from which students would benefit.

#### 5.1.4. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Faculty of Education: Edgewood Campus

No sooner had Edgewood College been incorporated into the University of Natal than it became apparent that further institutional change was in the offing, this in accordance with the post-apartheid government's policy of rationalising the Higher Education sector by merging certain of the country's universities in an endeavour to overcome racial segregation in the higher education sector. With what seemed like lightning speed the University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville, a former Indian university created during the apartheid period, merged in 2005, with the Edgewood site once again being that which was nominated to house an even larger faculty of education.

Considerable change followed once again, not least in the distribution of academic posts among a much enlarged staff complement. Most of the senior management posts were assigned to former University of Durban-Westville staff members, including the

new dean. An indication of what lay ahead was given by the sudden, unexplained removal of a large, imposing portrait of Dr Andre le Roux in the foyer of the main tutorial building, and then, shortly afterwards, the removal of portraits of previous Edgewood College rectors. The former Edgewood College staff members were shocked by this. When a public explanation was forthcoming, sometime later, it was to the effect that Dr Andre le Roux had been the white rector of a white college and that it was therefore no longer appropriate to have his portrait hanging in such a prominent position. There was no acknowledgement of the place of his attempts, or those of the college, to hasten the demise of apartheid. People in favour of the move said that as a white liberal Dr Andre le Roux had worked within the apartheid structures and could not, therefore qualify as one who had been engaged in the genuine struggle. The liberal ethos he nurtured at Edgewood College was not sufficient to prevent it from being regarded simply as another apartheid institution which could not therefore have escaped coming under the influence, in some way or other, of Fundamental Pedagogics. I was party to many a discussion and debate, both formal and informal, in which Edgewood College staff members were belittled as having been the products of, and having taught Fundamental Pedagogics, and who, therefore, could not really be relied on to engage critically with their work. Their poorly developed research profiles were upheld as being evidence of this. Research agendas were vigorously promoted from all angles. I recall a close friend reporting that he had overheard a conversation in which it was said by senior faculty members that 'they' (the whites from Edgewood College) had only managed to secure their positions because it was a case of whites being given jobs by whites.

I felt the pressure more than most because of my position as head of a discipline. As I sat in academic meetings I was appalled to see academics competing for academic recognition in respect of their research output while those with no research profiles were labelled as being unproductive. I considered myself over-worked considering that I had taken on large teaching loads with huge student numbers as a means of trying to compensate for my lack of research. When I came into the university I had been assured that this was an option staff members could elect to follow. It was a great sense of loss for me to be labelled unproductive. I also knew that I did want to pursue doctoral studies at some point but it would have to be in an area in which I felt genuine interest and commitment.

It is necessary to record, at this juncture, that it became common practice for disproportionately large numbers of contract staff to be employed to teach the rapidly growing student numbers in order to release permanent staff members to conduct their research. My experience was that criteria of suitability were often loosely applied and that many individuals were unsuitable for employment and some were not even interviewed. It was another great sense of loss to me to discover that school principals in the Durban area were beginning to refuse to accept our students for practice teaching purposes because they felt they were ill-prepared. Previously the same principals had requested that Edgewood students be placed at their schools.

It was also my opinion that many of the students who had applied for admission to the faculty of education should not have been accepted. The faculty was being unduly pressurized to accept students in the interests of meeting the demand for teachers in the schools. It was my opinion, furthermore, that weak students needed to be taught by the best possible staff. When I raised my concerns, as I sometimes did in formal meetings, I was invariably told that I should stop referring back to the days when I was in charge, for the admissions tests and interviews previously used were no longer considered appropriate. Nor were the ways in which we used to allocate staff to students and classes.

A positive aspect of the incorporation and merger processes was that many campus improvements were made. Increases in the number of students and staff led to several significant changes to the internal geography of the campus. Staff office accommodation was considerably improved and expanded. Teaching spaces were improved and enlarged and informal student interaction spaces were added. Staff office space was clustered spatially, around the departments and schools in which staff taught and the previous dominance of the central staff room was de-emphasised by the creation of recreation spaces within schools and departments. The gardens were also significantly improved, principally by the addition of large quantities of indigenous plant material. There were also changes in the student residences, the main change being the removal of a central kitchen and dining-hall. The campus was made more secure by the erection of improved perimeter fencing and the introduction of more efficient access control measures. Finally, a designated campus manager was employed to manage the entire site which began to feel more and more like a university campus. The spatial planning was such that a message was conveyed that staff and students were to be

valued as professionals and professionals in training. As I watched these developments unfold it was very apparent that the university was able to finance the incurred costs. During the latter years of Edgewood College, by contrast, there were severe financial constraints on what could and could not be done since the Natal Education Department instituted severe financial cut backs when the future of the college was so uncertain.

Shortly before I retired there were only three of us on the permanent staff in the Education Studies Department within the faculty of education. Education Studies modules were compulsory for all students in all years of the Bachelor of Education degree. In my last year in the department there were two thousand two hundred and twenty-one students in the degree. The three of us coped only because we had the assistance of a large number of contract staff and because we lectured the students in large groups.

I found the weight of student numbers to be very pressing indeed. We had in the region of six to seven contract lecturers in each of the courses. They were employed to lecture and mark only and had no involvement in any course or curriculum development. This was problematic in that the course co-ordinators, the permanent members of staff, had to 'workshop' the content with the contract staff before lectures and tutorials could be delivered. The contract staff also set no tests, assignments or examinations. They only marked and this was also problematic. I came to realize that students who were taught by contract staff, and whose work was marked by them, were distinctly disadvantaged by these arrangements. Not only was the quality of tutors' work sometimes dubious and difficult to control, but so was the consistency and accuracy of assessment.

There was pressure to pass students. I felt this in promotion meetings when lecturers were required to account for mark profiles which did not conform to the graph shapes expected. I struggled with this. As student numbers grew it was my sense that more and more students were academically ill-suited to undergraduate courses within the faculty. Their large numbers also made large group teaching a necessity whereas what many actually needed, given the poor quality of their schooling, was to be taught in small groups. I often made comparisons with the Edgewood College days and wished these students could be taught as we used to teach our students then. As the numbers grew, I increasingly felt that the difference we were able to make in students' lives was counting for much less.

I made it my business to go into the background of as many of the students I was teaching as I could. Most African students came from severely disadvantaged township and rural schools. From their work it was clear that most had not been well-taught and actually needed serious compensatory teaching. I was always encouraged when I could see improvement as a result of my own teaching and towards the end of my stay in the faculty I started to give more weight to assessment items completed towards the end of courses and sometimes discounted earlier grades altogether.

I spent much of my time engaged in curriculum and course development, both within my own Department and within the broader Faculty in order to meet the demands made by new National Department of Education and university criteria in respect of the preparation of teachers. I benefitted enormously from the debates and discussions which accompanied the process. It was clear however, that the old Edgewood College/University of Natal courses and curricula that we were replacing were not held in high regard. I had had some involvement in the development of these courses and felt that the people with whom I was now working took too little account of the circumstances which applied at the time of their development. It was a period of rapid change within the Department of Higher Education and within the institution at the time. The continual conversations about why it was a poor curriculum served only to intensify the degree to which I was beginning to feel belittled.

Practice Teaching provided further insights and difficulties. I was always keen to tutor students in all school contexts since I felt that I learnt much in so doing. It was good to be reminded of just how bad many of the schools were. I worried about sending students who had come from dysfunctional schools themselves to dysfunctional schools for their practice teaching. How would this ever help to address the crisis in South African education? I felt affronted when I was told by a senior staff member, in a formal meeting, to redefine my understanding of 'dysfunctional' and to stop applying the white standards to which I was accustomed to situations where they could not possibly apply.

In respect of Practice Teaching we faced difficulties similar to those we faced during the earlier Edgewood College dispensation. One was that several African students refused to allow themselves to be posted to formerly white suburban schools on the grounds that they believed it would be unfair for them to be assessed in what they said were foreign contexts. Another was that several white lecturers refused to go to what they

said were dangerous areas to tutor African students. Yet another was that several white principals refused to accept our African students in their schools on the grounds that their teaching standards were too low.

All the while the process by which I was reflecting on my past was continuing. Given all the changes that I was experiencing at Edgewood in respect of institutional power, staffing and curriculum in particular, I found myself recalling my own experiences as a student and student teacher into sharper focus. I remember struggling to add more recent experiences to my earlier experiences of school as I tried to piece together a more holistic picture of my life. I recall that I started to question the liberalism I had embraced earlier during the Edgewood College days, largely in response to the way liberalism was so sharply criticised within the faculty. Part of what was now beginning to fall into place was an understanding of what African students meant during the protest action several years previously when they had criticised Edgewood College for accepting African students on an assimilatory basis. I began to question my own whiteness and to ask some fundamental questions about how I had become the white person that I was. There was, however, much of which I still had to make sense.

Part of what I still had to try to make sense of was to be found in the area of how sexuality was presented on the campus, for it was now for the first time that I was exposed to people whose sexual orientation ran counter to what I had come to believe were established norms. What I found intriguing was the degree to which people were willing and proud to declare their sexual orientation as a celebration of their human rights. My socialisation had been such, that difference in these social areas were perversions and if they existed they should remain undeclared so 'normal' people would not be offended.

In a similar way, I was exposed to different religions since students from different faiths began to openly celebrate their beliefs. I had only been accustomed to Christian groups operating on school or university campuses so this exposure was a further disruption to the norms with which I had grown up. This was further cause for me to reflect upon my past.

I frequently thought, since my earlier conversations with Professor Claudia Mitchell, of actually making a start with my autoethnography as a means of trying to make some sense of it all, quite apart from my on-going need to find a place for myself as a white

man in South Africa. 'You should think of doing an autoethnography of your own'. I had never forgotten that injunction of hers. My delay in getting underway was caused, at least in part, by my allowing myself to become thoroughly embroiled in the day to day requirements of my job in the Education Studies department. I also needed to take the time to convince myself that I possessed the required stamina for a PhD study. As events continued to unfold within the faculty of education I felt an urgency to make a start. I finally registered in the July of 2009. I began fairly vigorously but I stumbled as I began to prepare myself emotionally for my retirement at the end of 2010. I was not in a positive emotional state and this was exacerbated by the nature of my departure from the Faculty. I had been on the Edgewood site for thirty-one years by the time I retired and yet my farewell was a hastily organised affair put together by a few people in my immediate department with Janet, my wife, who had been a colleague since she arrived at Edgewood in 1994, being prevailed upon at the last minute to make the farewell speech. As I left the function to walk to my car with Janet I felt inclined to reflect upon my many years at Edgewood. My stay had spanned much that had happened in my life. The best of times, I thought, but also the worst of times. I knew that I would have to get back into my autoethnography again at some later stage.

#### 5.1.5. Highway College

In 2011, feeling too young to retire, I embarked on a new position as the Academic Head of Highway College in Pinetown and this is the position I currently hold. It is a small low-fee paying private school situated in a light industrial area just a few hundred metres from where I had begun my teaching career in 1975. It is a Christian school which accommodates two hundred and twenty pupils of all races, from Grades 0 to 12. Most of the white children come from a working-class background and their parents have chosen the school for a variety of reasons. Some see it as a means of avoiding the large nearby state schools which are almost exclusively attended by African children. Some of the parents have been attracted by the school's small size because their children have learning and/or social skill difficulties. Some of the children are slightly physically challenged and would be ridiculed in a large school. Some parents are attracted to the Christian ethos. Many of the African parents are from the emerging middle class and use the school as an escape from the township schools.

Children follow the national curriculum of the Department of Basic Education and it is my experience that this curriculum essentially espouses a white worldview. This coupled with the fact that no African language is offered and the fact that an essentially assimilatory approach is followed by an almost entirely white female staff means that Highway College is effectively a white school.

In respect of my personal life my position at Highway College has provided me with an opportunity to heal emotionally, given my experiences in the final months of my career in the Faculty of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I feel that I am beginning to make a difference at the school and feel affirmed by the staff with whom I work.

Janet and I live currently live in the secluded space which is our townhouse in Kloof, a white enclave amidst spaces around us which have undergone much demographic change. I spend as much of my spare time as I can in my indigenous garden and take delight in the fact that our children and our grandchildren are about their own lives in close proximity to us. It will be from these professional, personal and geographical spaces that my personal journey will continue to unfold. It will do so informally, without the structures and promptings of this formal study, but it will continue and I know I will still want to narrativise myself as time unfolds.

I did no work on my autoethnography for the duration of my first year at Highway College since I made settling into my new working environment my priority. I re-engaged with my studies at the beginning of 2012 under the patient and guiding hand of my supervisor, Professor Johan Wassermann.

## 5.2. CONCLUSION

In this chapter my personal narrative has focused on my years as a professional educator. It was during this time that I was an agent of whiteness, primarily, although I also continued to learn whiteness, particularly at the Edgewood College of Education where I was strongly impacted by the formal culture of the College. It becomes clear that in my later years I assumed agency to a greater extent than ever before while it is equally clear that it is during this stage that my whiteness is severely challenged for the first time. In the following chapter I think 'about' my story as I move into the analysis thereof.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THINKING 'ABOUT' MY STORY

In my narrative chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) I think 'with' my data, when I write about my experience and emotions (Ellis, 2004; Frank, 1995; Trellis, 1997). The narrative which I produced has helped me to understand my socialisation into whiteness and to this extent a degree of analysis has taken place within my narrative. My story is in itself theoretical in that I have used it to interpret my lived experiences (Ellis, 2004).

In this chapter the theoretical content is augmented as I move to another level of analysis. I now think 'about' my story (Ellis, 2004; Frank, 1995; Trellis, 1997). While in the case of thinking 'with' my story I do not go beyond the story itself, in thinking 'about' my story I reduce the story to its content and analyse it in such a way as to find themes which enable a deeper level of analysis to emerge. In so doing, I analyse my story through the lens of my theoretical framework which is explained in Chapter 2.

The focus of my analysis is to understand the process by which I have been socialised into whiteness by my experience of school and university in the southern African spaces in which I have lived. I proceed in the first instance by presenting the 'spatial turn' in my narrative, paying attention to the overarching theme and sub-themes which emerge. In the second instance, I analyse the 'spatial turn' using the theoretical lens of Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer, 1953, 1962; Charon, 2010; Eames, 1977).

It emerges that an overarching theme of 'otherness' is present throughout my narrative. My use and understanding of this concept here is informed by my discussion of the concept in Chapter 2, namely that my white identity has been constructed around the degree to which I have seen myself as being different from those who exist beyond the norms of my existence. Hall's (1996, pp.4-5) notion of a "constitutive outside" is helpful in this regard. Power is integrally involved in this, and along with it, notions of inferiority and superiority (Hall, 1996, pp.4). My narrative shows that those I deem to be inferior, and over whom I am able to exert power, are the targets of my 'othering'. They are primarily people who are cast outside of my own whiteness while significant

intersections between my whiteness and gender, sexuality and religion also determine those who are 'othered'.

In thinking further about my narrative it emerges that this overarching theme of 'otherness' is in turn informed by a number of sub-themes each of which contributes to an understanding of my socialisation. I have identified these as the following:

- The notion of white superiority and the influence of the presence of different variations of whiteness in the southern African spaces of my lived experience
- The role of geopolitical space as a socialising agency;
- The role of education as a socialising agency;
- The role of the ideology of liberalism; and
- The role of intersectionality between my whiteness and the social markers of gender, sexuality and religion.

I use the lens of the 'spatial turn' of my study to organise the analysis of the above sub-themes according to the southern African geopolitical and educational spaces of my lived experience. I contend that "...making space for space" in this way adds substantially to an understanding of my social experience (Gulson & Symes, 2007, p. 13). By doing so, the substantial presence of space and the impact of my moving through specific spaces can be appreciated. I argue that without this 'spatial turn', which conceptualises both geopolitical and educational spaces as informing my socialisation into whiteness, my study would be either very narrowly focused or very flawed.

Once the themes have been analysed as explained, I move to another level of analysis by drawing each theme across all the geopolitical and educational spaces identified in my narrative by considering the overall role these themes have played in the construction of my whiteness. As I do this I use the theoretical framework of Symbolic Interactionism to analyse the impact of the 'spatial turn' on my socialisation into whiteness.

I conclude this chapter with a statement of where I understand myself to be currently situated in my journey of socialisation. I comment on the role of public pedagogy in my socialisation and I consider the degree to which the notion of complicity can be applied

to my socialisation experience. Finally, I include a few references to political developments in the world arena beyond the southern African spaces of my experience so as to provide a contextual anchor to my study.

## 6.1. ANALYSING THE SUB-THEMES IN EACH OF THE GEOPOLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL SPACES: THE 'SPATIAL TURN'

### 6.1.1. Luanshya Primary School and Luanshya High School: Luanshya, Northern Rhodesia (1955-1964)

My lived experience of the nine year period I spent in Luanshya coincided with a crucial time in the history of the British Empire in that it was essentially an empire in decline. The creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 was a final attempt by the British at strengthening their empire in Africa (Shillington, 1995; Smith & Nothling, 1985; Welensky, 1964). Subsequently the federal arrangement was abruptly terminated by the British in 1963 after they had decided to dismantle their empire by granting independence to their former colonies. White settlement in Northern Rhodesia was so tenuous, in respect of both the recentness of white settlement and the smallness of the white population, that whites were unable to resist demands for African majority rule once the Federation had ended.

Since my stay in Luanshya spanned the life of the Federation, with the exception of the first two years, I was caught up both in the euphoria of the early years and the various emotions of loss and anger which were felt by whites as the Federation came to an end. Northern Rhodesian was therefore an African colonial space in a state of transition and the shaping of my whiteness needs to be considered against this background.

The notion that all whites are privileged simply because they are white, as discussed in Chapter 2, applied to the whites of Luanshya during the period of my stay there. The point made by Wise (2008, p. x) that American working class whites, "...relative to poor and working class persons of colour...typically have a leg up" because they are white, could easily have been written with Luanshya's whites in mind. It was my experience however, that the degree to which they benefitted was further enhanced by the colonial setting in which they lived. This was typical of whiteness in such settings, as has been explained in Chapter 2. They benefitted from the need for whiteness to be presented to African 'others' as a united, homogenous construct, because of the minority status of

whites. For a time, despite their constituting such a small minority the whites of Northern Rhodesia were able to use their political power to protect their privilege and consolidate their position (Bate, 1953).

Despite the united, homogenous front of whiteness which was presented to Africans, class differences among whites did exist, although I was too young to realise it at the time. I was aware that some whites lived in different parts of the mine's residential estate and that some white children were sent to boarding-schools in either Britain or South Africa even from a young age (Bate, 1953), but I was too young to be able to link this to social class. Nor did I feel inclined to want to acknowledge that there might have been differences among whites for, given their small numbers, it seemed to me to be crucial there should be unity and homogeneity. For this reason I did not feel alienated by any whites. I had no idea, for example, that elite bourgeois whites were manipulating my working-class background, by using their control of schooling, to allocate me to a particular whiteness, namely a working-class variation, and that there were both economic (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) and cultural (Bourdieu, 1986, 1988) considerations at work in this. Had I remained in the town I would have followed a generalist high school curriculum at Luanshya High School and not had the opportunity to study 'A' levels. I would have secured a non-professional/non-managerial job on the mine. I was also too young to realise that it was class differences that determined where people lived on the residential estate. Ours was a modest house in a modest area set aside from where several other whites lived (Kay, 1967) but I had no idea why this might have been the case and never reflected upon it.

White superiority was integral to my experience of living in Luanshya. Several factors spoke to this and to the privileges associated with white status. Bate (1953) makes the point that whites' jobs on the mine were protected simply because they were white, while their wages and salaries were elevated for the same reason. Housing standards were also reflective of the superior way of life whites maintained. The mining companies argued that generous working and living conditions were necessary in order to attract whites to such a remote part of Africa. My thinking at the time was informed by this but also by the fact that I thought that whites were simply deserving of what they had. They were, after all, superior beings and it was they who had brought civilisation and technological advancement in the first place. If they were not integrally involved mining operations would not have begun and if whites were withdrawn they would simply

collapse. It is relevant to add that Whites were able to elect to support the notion of a federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as a means of strengthening their white power and privilege in central Africa and they were similarly able to elect to leave Northern Rhodesia if conditions became untenable for them (Shillington, 1995; Welensky, 1964). Related to this is Kay's (1967) observation that whites always referred to Europe and its standards, as distinct from anything which emanated from Africa, when endeavouring to anchor who they felt themselves to be.

The focus away from Africa and towards Europe was also evident in the manipulation by the white elite of local geographical spaces as a means of maintaining and demonstrating their superior way of living. Luanshya was a separate spatial enclave, a 'little England', where Africans were allowed entry only in terms of the operation of pass laws which were put in place by the white elite (Kay, 1967).

Fuller (2002, p. 270) captures the essence of this 'little England', and what I try to convey about it in my narrative, when, on a visit to Zambia some years after independence, she describes her impression of Kabwe, a small by then largely abandoned mining town, not far off from Luanshya, and cast very much in its mould. She writes as follows:

There are here, some reminders of our European predecessors, who long ago returned to the ordinariness of England where they now remember (with a fondness born of distance and the tangy reminder of a gin-and-tonic evening) the imagined glory of sunburnt gymkhanas and white clothed servants. These long-gone Europeans had tried to turn Kabwe into something more powerful than its smell...There are some surviving trees from the dream of the Kabwe Gardening Club-dusty, droughted, diseased, root-worn. These expat trees (brittle frangipani, purple-flowered jacaranda and pod-exploding flamboyant) line the streets like soldiers who continue to stand, even after comrades fall. The mine houses...contain some reminders of the mazungu madams who once designed a water-sucking lawn and rose gardens around a gauzed veranda...

Godwin (1996, pp. 185-186) also captures something of the essence of what I try to convey about Luanshya when he describes Mangula, a small copper mining town close to the Zambezi valley. It was a town in which he had spent part of his childhood and a town I visited on a number of occasions. I remember being struck by how similar to Luanshya it was. The following description by Godwin struck a particular chord with me:

It was a company owned town, self-contained and completely isolated. Altitude was the crucial factor...you could determine people's status by altitude alone. At the very bottom of the town was the Africa compound: lowest were the black hostels, the single quarters for migrant workers; up a bit were the small concrete houses for the families of ordinary workers; a little higher still, the slightly larger houses of clerks and boss boys...Across the road, the European houses began. There were about four basic designs of European house. Miners and artisans lived in the smaller houses along the avenues at the bottom of the slope, and as you ascended, so the houses and gardens grew in size. The miners called the top of the broad incline 'Snobs' Hill'.

Living in such a 'little England', as Luanshya was, I was protected from having to engage with Africans as my equals. Since this is something I experienced from such a young, vulnerable age, I was fully persuaded by the lifestyle guaranteed by living in a separate spatial enclave that in relation to Africans and African colonial space I was indeed the superior being.

Also important in conveying to me the notion of white superiority was the fact that I attended a separate school for whites. I had no idea of where Africans went to school or if indeed they went to school at all. In fact, such was the nature of the separate white world in which I lived and went to school that I do not recall my interacting with African children in any way. Fuller (2002) records that her experience of school in a very similar geographical context and time period was with adult Africans who entered her world as a servant class, as cleaners and messengers who were supervised by whites, and the same applied to my experience.

There was a strong focus on conformity at Luanshya Primary School and I was interested to read St John (2007) commenting on the same in respect of her own Rhodesian experience of primary school. She writes of a rule and ritual bound existence with a strong focus on being required to learn and recall content and the same is true of what I experienced. There was, simultaneously, a distinct focus, on the part of the formal school culture, on my individuality, this being reflective of the degree to which schooling was influenced by liberalism. I was taught, for example, that I would pass or fail in life because of my own effort and initiative, such a notion being a hallmark of liberal ideology (Ashley, 1989; Gillborn, 2005; Leonardo, 2004; Scheurich, 1993). There was nothing about my experience of school that taught me to see myself as being raced in any way, and nothing therefore, that inclined me to see myself as being privileged because of my whiteness, this being a defining feature of whiteness, as was explained

in Chapter 2. Africans by contrast, were portrayed in strong group and racial terms. We were always taught to be polite to ‘the Africans’, for example, and it was always ‘the Africans’ who had to be given time to catch up with ‘us’. The imprint left upon me of such a liberally inclined view was such that my conviction that whites were a superior race was strongly reinforced. The more overtly expressed racism of the white mining class, to which I was subjected through my informal interaction with my peers and certain friends of my parents, served to further strengthen the same.

As to the nature of the content I learnt, St John’s (2007, p. 57) description, of what she learnt during the same period could apply equally well to much of the content I was required to learn at Luanshya Primary School. She writes as follows:

We heard about Cecil John Rhodes, who during the Matebele rebellion of 1896, rode unarmed into the Matopo Hills to negotiate with the rebel chiefs and bring about a lasting peace, about David Livingstone’s discovery in 1855 of Victoria Falls, which the Africans called *Mosi-oa-Tunya*, ‘the Smoke that Thunders’; and about the famous greeting of H M Stanley, who was sent to search for him: ‘Dr Livingstone, I presume’. We learned that Mzilikazi, the first king of the Ndebele nation, was forced from his Transvaal kingdom by the Boers and Zulus, and that his son, Lobengula, who succeeded him, was generous in granting hunting and mining concessions and allowed the Pioneer Column, the first white settlers, into the land that would become Rhodesia. We learned too about our country itself, which had an abundance of natural marvels like Victoria Falls, one of the seven wonders of the world, and buffalo-lined Kariba, the second biggest man-made lake in the world, and Zimbabwe Ruins, believed to have been King Solomon’s palace.

In Summer, Mr Truman, the groundskeeper, seemed perpetually to be mowing the sports fields and the scent of cut grass would float around the classroom as we drew pictures of circles of wagons spewing flames and Zulu warriors with shields and rivers running with blood. That was when Miss North was talking about the Boer pioneers, the Voortrekkers, who, in 1838 undertook the Great Trek, a mass migration to escape the rule of the British-controlled Cape colony. They negotiated a settlement with Dingaan, King of the Zulus, who later double-crossed them, sending 10000 impis to attack 400 of them in the Battle of Blood River, a battle in which the Voortrekkers emerged victorious.

As I have reflected upon my Luanshya narrative I have recognized that there are key silences within it. There is nothing on gender, for example, other than that I learnt at school that girls and boys should be treated differently. This was sufficient to cause me to begin to think of girls as my ‘others’ and laid the foundations for later gendered thinking on my part. My narrative is silent on the position of African women, but for brief mention of Lebitina, the wife of one of the African men who worked for my parents, and

this serves as an indication of the degree to which they were 'othered' by me at this stage. There are also silences in respect of sexuality. The same applies to religion, in spite of the fact that I attended the Anglican Church in Luanshya from a young age. Clearly I was not exposed to anything that countered the well-established norms to which I was accustomed. It is apparent that this laid the foundations for later thinking which positioned whiteness, maleness, heterosexuality and Christianity as standing in close alliance as the normative position against which all else was measured.

Such was the nature of my socialisation in Luanshya that I was able to 'other' the Africans of my experience, not least those who worked for my parents. Such 'othering' of Africans is apparent, in my naming of Africans, for example, and in this regard I was interested to find Fuller (2002, p. 150) writing of her own experience which was so similar to my naming of the Africans employed by my parents, White, George and Lebitina. She writes:

I have not known the full name of a single African until now...I only knew Africans by their Christian names: Cephas, Douglas, Loveness, Violet, Cloud, July, Flywell. I am learning that Africans, too, have full names. And not only do Africans have full names, but their names can be fuller than ours.

Godwin (1996) is supportive of this and develops it when he writes:

Older Africans, whose parents couldn't speak English, tended to have an arbitrary English word as a name. They believed that having a name in a white man's language would attract the white man's power. So they were called by any English word their parents chanced across; words like Ticky, or Sixpence, Cigarette or Matches were commonly used as names. The next generation of Africans, who were the target of Christian missionaries, tended to have Old Testament names: Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and Zephaniah. Baby girls were often called after the emotion felt by the mother at birth - Joy, Happiness, Delight. But, as far as I know, there were no girls called Disappointment, Pain or Exhaustion. Finally Africans began taking ordinary names popular with European settlers. Usually they would retain an African name as well, which only they knew...Names were often corrupted by semi-literate District Assistants at the Department of Native Affairs where births were supposed to be registered. My mother had a medical orderly called Cloud who should have been Claude but for the slip of a clerk's pen. And on Violet's documents she was called 'Vylit'.

Godwin (1996, p. 94) adds further weight to the notion of whites 'othering' Africans when he reports that few whites were able, or felt inclined, to speak to Africans in their own language. A few priests could and also a few District Commissioners but, "...the rest of the Europeans spoke to Africans in English, talking very loudly and slowly,

usually in an African accent. Or they used a bastard language called 'kitchen Kaffir'...which wasn't really anyone's own language." I was as guilty as the next white person in this regard. I had no desire to learn an African language because I could see no value in doing so and I used to speak to Africans in simple English, taking on the typical African accent in doing so. And like other whites, I used to be quite dismissive of Africans who were unable to understand me. It was always their fault and never mine. Even as a young child it was my sense that I was able to control and dominate. I had clearly bought into the colonial notion that Africans needed to be like 'us' if they had any hope of advancing.

My recording in my narrative that Africans were called 'boys' and 'girls' regardless of their age is another example of how Africans were 'othered' by whites. In support of my narrative Godwin (1996, p. 14) records that "...we had cook boys and garden boys, however old they might be, and African nannies were called 'girls'". Lessing (1992, p. 51) comments in the same vein when she recalls a visit she made to a home in Zimbabwe after independence: "We walked around the garden. Again a garden 'boy', the old word still used, quite unselfconsciously, watered a variety of lawns and shrubs".

My narrative is silent in respect of how Africans might have felt about the conditions under which they lived. As I have reflected upon this I believe it can be attributed to the degree to which I 'othered' Africans and had become accustomed to the notion of them not having a voice. It is appropriate therefore, to allow non-white voices to come to the fore at this juncture, for they have much to say about my world in Luanshya.

It is interesting to observe, to begin with, that on the matter of whether or not Africans might have been in favour of a federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mr P. Fletcher, who was minister of Native Affairs in Southern Rhodesia, argued that African opinion in any of the three territories did not count, while Mr G. Huggins, a strong campaigner for federation, believed that to ask Africans their opinion would confuse them (Hall, 1965). In fact, many Africans in Northern Rhodesia were seriously concerned that their interests would not be well served if there was an alliance with Southern Rhodesia. Speaking in 1951 at a meeting of the African National Congress its leader, Mr Mbikusita, had the following to say about the prospect of a federation:

I believe that the future of the African people of Northern Rhodesia is safer in the hands of the Colonial Office than it would be under any form of

responsible government or federal rule. I do not believe that the Colonial Office would exert such a strong influence if Northern Rhodesia was amalgamated to Southern Rhodesia which has almost full responsible government (cited in Kaunda, 1962, p.43).

Mr Mbikusita added that he believed in a completely different kind of federation, one between Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika would be far better suited to the needs of Africans in central Africa.

Later, in 1953, the African National Congress wrote a letter to the British Queen seeking her last minute intervention before the federation became a reality. It was signed by the African National Congress leadership and all one hundred and twenty senior chiefs in the colony. It read as follows:

We need your protection until there is a government in this country under which we can feel safe. We can see that the Europeans are trying to bring us under the same domination as our brother Africans in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and to hold us there for ever as cheap labourers without hope of progress. We cannot accept this for our children (cited in Kaunda, 1962, p. 55).

Soon after the federation had come into being an African representative in the Federal Assembly from Northern Rhodesia, Mr D. Yamba, moved that "...equal treatment be accorded immediately to all races in public places and that such action be enforced by legislation to be passed by the Federal Assembly (Hall, 1965, p. 168). The speech was rejected outright by white members. Mr V.N. Joyce, a white backbencher representing Mufulira, "...spoke for the majority of the Assembly when he discussed the motion as futile and insincere (Hall, 1965, p. 168). Lord Malvern spoke in support when he "...declared that white women could not be expected to stand in queues with African mothers with dirty babies" (Hall, 1965, p. 168). Speaking for rural Africans Chief Tangwena said:

I simply want my rights...If Europeans were less cruel and oppressive...we could determine our lives in consultation with one another. The Europeans should not ill treat us, kick us...We fear. We fear because they threaten to shoot us with guns. Where can we go? They arrest us and toast us on fires. They hit us with the butts of their guns (cited in Meredith, 2002, p. 117).

hooks' (1992, p. 231) reference to her childhood years in the American south makes a similar chilling point. She writes of being terrified of 'official white men' who came "...across the tracks...to sell products" and being terrified of them because "...they

looked too much like the unofficial white men who came to enact rituals of terror and torture. As a child I did not know how to tell them apart”.

When I lived in Luanshya I was never fully aware of whites differing with each other about their white superiority, their relations with Africans and their right to exercise control over them. I remember being vaguely aware of a rich white man who lived on his own on a large estate in the bush and who was ‘all in favour of the Africans’ and therefore considered to be a traitor to the white cause. I was interested to find Lamb (2004, p. 231) referring to him as an ‘English eccentric’ and telling of his fight to end the oppression and discrimination Africans endured during the colonial period. He was Sir Stewart Gore-Brown to whom reference has been made in Chapter 2. Lamb (2004) writes of him as an English aristocratic bachelor who built a huge 10 000 acre country estate in the bush in the north east of Northern Rhodesia after the First World War and who eventually came to be a powerful white voice in support of Zambian independence. She refers to a letter Gore-Brown wrote to his aunt Ethel in the UK in 1946. He informs her that he could see

...no reason for discrimination against Africans in shops and post offices, many of which did not allow them in, making them stand at holes in the wall, even in the cold or rain; in buses and trains they were packed like cattle; railway stations where they always had to wait until the last white had been served, often missing the train as a result; and the general manner in which they were treated as potential criminals and called ‘boy’ whatever their age. He hated going to the bank in Lusaka and seeing a piteous crowd of twenty of thirty Africans waiting, waiting, often a whole day, until any European who dropped in had been attended to, served tea and families discussed, etc. He did not think it right that a man should be prohibited from doing skilled work because he had a black skin. Worst of all he could see no excuse for not extending common courtesies.

He adds that he had made his feelings known to his fellow councillors in the colonial legislature and he tells his aunt of how he had been shocked by the degree to which they had disagreed with what he was expressing. Significantly, there was a time during my stay in Luanshya when I would not have given the conditions described by Gore-Brown a second thought. Had I have been one of the councillors I would probably have sided with them and this again speaks to the degree to which I ‘othered’ Africans at the time.

I was interested to note in this regard that my mother, in her response to my narrative, did seem to be aware of the poor conditions under which Africans lived at the time, and

that she also hints at how wrong she thought them to be (Appendix B). She mentions the low wages paid to the Africans who worked for us and also the little rooms they had to live in. She informed me of something I was unaware of when she mentions certain social controls which were at work as a means of keeping wages down. In remembering details of this nature her added comment that "...we should have known what we had could not last", is particularly pertinent. I should add that my mother said nothing to me at the time. When I questioned her about this she made the point that her comment had been strongly influenced by how she had come to retrospectively regard the conditions endured by Africans, as she engaged with the time of her life in question.

As I conclude my analysis of my lived experience in Luanshya it is appropriate to reflect on how my socialisation into my whiteness had progressed by the time I left Luanshya in 1964. It is important to be reminded that this is where my journey of travelling through variations of whiteness in different geopolitical and educational spaces begins. It is also where my personal journey of transformation begins. The seeds of the attitudes and prejudices I took through into later life were sown and embedded in the geopolitical and educational spaces of Luanshya, and beyond in Northern Rhodesia and the Federation.

I left Luanshya at the age of thirteen, having been socialised into a construct of whiteness which was built around white superiority and African inferiority. Although I was schooled for a working-class variation of whiteness, marked, although I was unaware of it at the time, by such specifics as the nature of the school leaving examinations I would complete, the kind of employment I might expect to follow, and how I spoke English, I had benefitted from my being white and the more so because of the colonial setting in which I grew up. It was my white world which was the normal world and those who did not fit, namely Africans at this stage of my life, were 'othered' by me.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland held out the promise that white political power would be secure in central Africa and for the most part of my stay in Luanshya everything I received about whiteness entrenched my perception that my normal white world would not end. I responded readily to what I received so that when white political power did come to an abrupt end I experienced a sense of confusion and disbelief, the more so because I accepted the popular explanation given by local whites that it was all the fault of the British government that had betrayed whites in the Federation. My world

shook at its very foundations. My response was to identify strongly with the resolve of whites in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa not to allow the similar betrayal to befall them.

Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) 'identity trauma' are helpful here for I have realised upon reflection that I did indeed experience a 'moment of bafflement' and a measure of 'identity trauma' at this time. The experience did not follow a realisation that I had been racialised but I did nevertheless experience a sense that the foundation on which my white identity had been built, had been shaken. While I did not move into a process of building a new sustainable identity around a decentered whiteness (these notions have been explained in Chapter 2), I did undergo a type of 'identity adjustment' by identifying ever more strongly with white resolve in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

I contend that this experience, together with other 'moments of bafflement' and experiences of 'identity trauma', to which I refer in due course, played a part in helping to lay bare the ground on which I did eventually come to the realisation that I had been racialised and, based on this, begin the process of building a new sustainable white identity.

#### 6.1.2. Parkview Primary School: Durban, South Africa (1964)

South Africa during the 1960s stood in sharp contrast to what I had left behind in Northern Rhodesia. The whiteness of the Afrikaner dominated nationalist government was firmly entrenched at the national level. The economy was booming and terms such as recession, retrenchment and inflation were all but unheard of (Vietzen, 2010). Whites were confident in themselves and convinced that they would be able to hold onto power indefinitely despite their minority status (Sparks, 1990). Given what I had experienced in Luanshya, and the sense of loss I felt as the Federation came to an end, I arrived in Durban identifying strongly with the government's determination to ensure that whites retained a firm hold over political and economic power.

Durban was a prominent seat of English-speaking South African whiteness (Malherbe, 1977) and it was this variation of whiteness which impacted me while I was in Durban, not least at Parkview Primary School. Although the United Party (liberally inclined in comparison with the Afrikaner dominated National Party and mainly supported by

English-speaking people) was in power in the province of Natal, it stood in opposition to the National Party which was where real white power in South Africa was invested at the time (Malherbe, 1977). Both were white supremacist parties.

Commenting on the time during which I arrived in Durban, Vietzen (2010, p. 11) refers to "...the halcyon sixties, when recession and retrenchment were historical concepts". In the extract below Paton (1987, p. 136) writes of the 1960s as a time when whites were confident in who they were and thoroughly convinced of their superiority, a time when they moved in growing numbers behind the prime minister, Dr H.F. Verwoerd in his resolve to keep South Africa firmly in white hands:

Since 1960 white South Africa, also influenced by events in Africa, has moved massively to the right: that is to say, to the side of white supremacy, apartheid and authoritarian state powers. White immigrants from Kenya, Zambia, Rhodesia and Tanganyika have strengthened the swing. Although most of them are English speaking, they have no difficulty in supporting the Afrikaner nationalists, largely because they themselves seem to have developed an intense dislike of Britain and all things British.

This is also true, though to a lesser extent, of immigrants from Britain itself, who soon adapt themselves to the racial situation, and who soon realise that it is the colour bar that protects their privileged position.

It is the boast of white South Africans that in a restless continent, their own country is a haven of prosperity, peace and order...In every city great new buildings are being erected. The road system of a country of this size and population is quite remarkable, the air services are splendid. South Africa is a modern, vigorous, highly industrialised society.

Whatever other motives there may be for the swing to the right, one is undoubtedly the fear that this prosperity and efficiency might be destroyed if the policies of apartheid with their underlying assumption of white supremacy were relaxed in any way. Dr Verwoerd has said that white South Africa in resisting such change, would be like granite.

It is appropriate to record that for Dr H.F. Verwoerd, the key to keeping South Africa white and prosperous lay in his Bantustan policy and in educating African people to fit their inferior status in life and to orientate them to living within their tribal Bantustans. In defending Bantu Education he declared:

There is no place for the African in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption into the European community where he cannot be absorbed (as cited by Rose & Tunmer, 1975, pp. 265-266).

As in the case of my experience of Luanshya, the Durban I came to in 1964 was racially segregated. This meant that I was able to live and go to school, at the discretion of the white elite, in separate, protected white geographical spaces so typical of South African cities ((Ballard, 2004; Davies, 2009; Lemon, 1990). The proclamation of new white suburban areas in terms of the Group Areas Act (1950), one of a plethora of apartheid laws in place at the time, confirmed such spatial privileging of whites, set, as it was, against a backdrop of a vigorous balkanisation of South Africa at the national level in terms of the Bantustan policy (Lemon, 1990). The result was that the Durban of my experience was white, clean and prosperous. Adding to what I had experienced in Luanshya I viewed this white geographical space as 'normal' space.

My viewing of whites as superior was further reinforced by my experience of Parkview Primary School as a superior whites-only school space. It was similarly reinforced by the preparatory nature of the school for it was clearly the intention of those in charge that I would be socialised into a bourgeois expression of whiteness, a process which would be continued at Glenwood High School which was modelled along British grammar school lines. It would be my own individual effort that would determine my success however, and there was no sense that my attending such a school had anything to do with my being advantaged as a white boy. This liberally informed view reinforced my inclination to once again regard whites as superior beings. Although I did not receive it as such at the time, there was a sense in which I was 'othered' by bourgeois whiteness when the school principal, as the representative of this expression of whiteness, wanted to be completely sure that a grammar school future was really what my parents wanted for me. It was almost as if I was being admitted with a pervading fear that I might not actually make it.

As in the case of my experience of school in Luanshya, the formal curriculum to which I was exposed taught me nothing about Africa and African people, other than that which had been constructed by whites according to their bourgeois worldview. Once again my exposure to Africans at school was that they were only messengers, cleaners and gardeners. I had a sense that Afrikaners were not highly regarded either. My brief exposure to Afrikaans as a school subject was sufficient to drive the point home for I was able to gather that the subject was not taken particularly seriously and that it was a curriculum requirement only because the government had made it so.

Since I was in a class of boys only I was once again in a position in which I was predisposed to seeing girls as different while, as in the case of my Luanshya narrative, silences in my narrative in the areas of sexuality and religion suggest that established norms in these areas had become so deeply naturalised that they required no comment. It is significant, considering the particularly large and highly visible Indian population in Durban, that Indians are also absent from my narrative. This is suggestive of the fact that Indians too were cast well beyond the boundaries of my normal white world at the time. The fact that there were hardly any Indians who lived in Luanshya might have had an impact on my overlooking the Indian presence whilst I was in Durban.

As I have reflected upon my narrative I have recognized that, as in the case of my Luanshya narrative, there are no African voices in my Durban narrative. I was caught up in the enthusiasm whites felt about South Africa during the 1960s and my attitudes were so deeply naturalised that inclusion of African voices seemed to be unnecessary. Unbeknown to me at the time there was strong and growing opposition to apartheid among Africans. Negative attitudes towards the Bantustans, which were strongly promoted by the government during the 1960s, were particularly deeply felt. How Africans felt was well articulated by the Black Consciousness leader, Mr Steven Biko. Reflecting upon the period Biko (1978, p. 86) expressed himself in the following terms:

These tribal cocoons called 'Homelands' are nothing else but sophisticated concentration camps where black people are allowed to suffer peacefully...We black people should all the time keep in mind that South Africa belongs to us. The arrogance that makes white people travel all the way from Holland to come and balkanise our country and shift us around has to be destroyed. Our kindness has been misused and our hospitality turned against us. Whereas whites were mere guests to us on their arrival in this country they have now pushed us to a 13 % corner of the land and are acting as bad hosts in the rest of the country. This we must put right. Down with Bantustans.

In the extract below the Black Community Programme (1976, pp. 42 - 43) is strongly supportive of Biko's position:

In the Bantustan plan Blacks must be pushed off and made so-called citizens of dummy states all round South Africa, to reduce their claim in broader metropolitan South Africa. One notices immediately that this is a sophisticated version of the same 'native reserves' created during the Smuts era. The dummy states now envisaged will have no elaborate industrial infrastructure calculated to give jobs to millions of blacks who are supposedly their citizens. Neither are they seriously meant to have...because the white

man has decided that although he certainly does not want the black man's vote in the broader metropolitan South Africa, he certainly wants the black man's labour to man the white man's factories, to build for him, to sweep his streets, to make his garden and to care for his babies.

I left Durban after a few short months but during my lived experience there another layer of socialisation was added to that which had been laid down in Luanshya. This was a layer characterised by seemingly invincible white control and a strong belief in white superiority, a layer made up of English-speaking white South African power at a provincial level and Afrikaner dominated National Party control at the more important national level. I left Durban convinced that white was right and that the British had been wrong in surrendering their power in Africa. The sense of loss I experienced in Luanshya was such that I identified particularly strongly with South African whites and what they were trying to achieve in order to secure their futures. As a result, I strongly 'othered' people who existed outside of the norms defined by my white world. Africans were the primary recipients, but, as is apparent from the silences in my narrative, so were Indians and those who fell outside the gender, sexuality and religious norms of my experience.

#### 6.1.3. Milner High School: Klerksdorp, South Africa (1965)

When I attended Milner High School I went to one of the heartlands of Afrikaner nationalism (Malherbe, 1977) and thus to the very core of the politics of white Afrikaner control and domination in South Africa. Afrikaner nationalism was at the height of its power and the focus on group identity and the power of the Afrikaner *volk* (nation) existed in sharp contrast to the more liberally inclined worldview of the English-speaking variation of whiteness to which I had been exposed in Durban. I identified strongly with white superiority and control and although I may not have agreed with some of the harsh methods of controlling Africans I was broadly accepting of them.

My whiteness was once again protected by the white spatial enclave within the mining town of Stilfontein in which I lived with my parents. I was fully supportive of the demarcation of separate residential areas and of the pass laws aimed at keeping Africans in their own designated areas. It is relevant to add that while I was initially taken aback at the beating of the African man on the street opposite our house, because of his pass law infringement, after the event I was able to settle relatively easily into the routine of life. Had he been a white man I am sure that my response would have

been different. While I still had much to learn about apartheid and its ramifications I had by now bought sufficiently into the notion that separation was the route to follow if whites were to be able to maintain the superior standards of their different way of life. Separation was also a means of providing security for whites given their numerical minority status.

As in the case of my previous schooling experience, Milner High School was a school for whites only set within a white residential area in nearby Klerksdorp. It was also a school attended by English-speaking whites only and it was here that I experienced my first taste of CNE which was explained in Chapter 2. The notion of treating English and Afrikaans-speaking whites differently, and of preparing white pupils for different white worlds, was promoted by CNE. This was in accordance with the view that Afrikaner group/national identity, Afrikaners being the primary targets of this educational ideology, was dependent on Afrikaners being schooled separately within the boundaries of their own language and culture (Behr, 1988; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Jansen, 2009; Pretorius, 2007). Such an experience of school heightened English and Afrikaans-speaking whites' awareness of their superiority as white persons but at the same time it taught them to distinguish between themselves on the basis of language and culture.

A leading Afrikaner nationalist voice at the time I was at Milner High School was that of Dr Connie Mulder who was a local Member of Parliament. His speech in a parliamentary debate in February 1967, in support of the formalisation of CNE as state policy, offers a useful insight into what was intended by CNE with its distinctive group/national focus as distinct from the liberal focus on the individual I had experienced previously. Dr Mulder spoke as follows:

Everything loses its meaning when the spirit of the nation is killed. Our schools must be able to make children proud of this their only fatherland which the Creator gave them. Therefore our education must be national, national in the broad sense of the word...fostering love for those things which are one's own; that love for their flag, their freedom and their national anthem must be impressed upon them daily. To the child these things must be beautiful and precious. The coming of the republic brought us constitutional maturity. We have one allegiance, one loyalty and one single fatherland. Our education should breathe this spirit. Our children cannot be international rootless citizens. We want to raise citizens in all our schools and with singleness of purpose our education must be suited to that special task (cited by Rose & Tunmer, 1975, pp. 129-130).

What I learnt at school, not least from my brief exposure to CNE, confirmed notions of white superiority and the conviction that being a good South African and being white and Christian were closely aligned (Behr, 1988; Christie & Collins, 1982; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Jansen, 2009; Pretorius, 2007; Sparks, 1990). It was an easy follow-on to believe that whiteness was legitimate in claiming to be pure and civilised and in fact a necessary presence if Africans were to be led by whites in a custodian role, into their own national identities contained within their own Bantustans of the apartheid policy.

Article 15 of the Founding document of the Institute for CNE adds additional insight in this regard.

We believe that the calling and task of white South Africa and with regard to the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally, and that his calling and task has already found its nearer focussing in the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation. We believe that any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on this same principle (cited by Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 127).

The military feel of the school and the sense that young whites had to be prepared to defend this whiteness served not only to once again consign Africans to a servant class in my mind but also to position them as posing a potential threat to the position and survival of whites. I was able to readily identify with this given my experience of the loss of white power in Zambia and my memory of witnessing white Belgians pouring into Northern Rhodesia following the Congo crisis. The fact that the South African police were determined to enforce the laws to maintain white geographical spaces, as was evidenced by the beating of the African man opposite our house, provided me with a strange sense of security.

South Africa at the time was a powerfully patriarchal and conservative society and this applied particularly to white Afrikaner society (Sparks, 1990). It is hardly surprising therefore, that I learnt nothing at Milner High School or in the broader Stilfontein/Klerksdorp geographical space which in any way challenged what I had already internalised about gender, sexuality and Christianity.

Once again there are key silences in my narrative and that in respect of African voices is especially apparent. As I have reflected on this it has been the beating of the African man outside our house that has brought this home to me in a particularly powerful way. I have been intrigued at how I managed to get over the incident relatively easily, hardly

feeling a need to think about what the African man's responding voice might have been. hooks' (1992) assertion that non-whites fear whites, which I have referred to earlier, comes to mind again. In speaking as she does she expresses her fear of whites who come into her neighbourhood. Being outside his own neighbourhood and in a white area, guilty of a pass law offence, the fear of the African man in question must surely have been especially heightened.

In reflecting upon why I was able to dismiss this incident with relative ease I have concluded that I regarded it as more of an unfortunate isolated incident than being typical of what was going on. Apartheid politicians were claiming that apartheid was good for both whites and non-whites in that it prevented them from dominating each other. At this stage of my life I believed them. It was either what they were claiming or a repeat of the federal experience. I have to admit also that there was a sense in which part of me felt that the man had himself to blame. He had, after all, broken the law and should have known better.

I left Milner High School after just one term since my parents elected to return to what was by now Zambia. As I left I took with me a third layer of socialisation into whiteness which had been added to the layers which had been set in place by my Luanshya and Durban experiences. This was a layer which incorporated my brief experience of Afrikaner Nationalist whiteness at the height of its political power. Again there was a firm belief in white superiority and in addition, the importance for Afrikaners to maintain their group identity so as to remain in power in South Africa.

Of all my experiences of whiteness thus far, my experience at Milner High School/Klerksdorp was that of whiteness in Africa expressed most strongly and most confidently. As a result my inclination to 'other' those who lived beyond the confines of my normal white world, not least Africans, was strongly reinforced by what I experienced in this space.

#### 6.1.4. Jameson High School: Gatooma, Southern Rhodesia (1965)

In moving from Stilfontein to Gatooma (Kadoma in the post-colonial period) I moved from a confident, assertive Afrikaner nationalist variation of whiteness to a variation in Southern Rhodesia which had become alarmed at the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and which was angry with Britain for turning its back on the

empire and insisting on granting independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of African majority rule only (Caute, 1983; Welensky, 1964). Most white Rhodesians were grouping around Prime Minister Ian Smith who had begun the process of building a white Rhodesian nationalism, drawing in the process, on a mix of history and memory intertwined with a pioneer mythology based on narrative accounts of early white settlement. Smith was beginning to indicate that a unilateral declaration of independence might be the only way for white Rhodesians to secure white standards of civilisation and technology. It will be recalled that in Chapter 2 it was explained that a major motivation for European colonisation in Africa was the conviction by Europeans that inferior and uncivilised peoples ought to be occupied and controlled. It was for their own good (Apter, 2007; Ferguson, 2006; Rutherford, 2001; Said, 1978). Britain was now accused of having forsaken its civilising mission in Africa and it seemed to white Rhodesians that they would need to assume the role that Britain had once played in respect of Rhodesia. There was growing support, with the passing of time during 1965, that the Prime Minister should go ahead and declare independence (Caute, 1983; Joyce, 1974; Smith, 1997). As he consolidated his support Smith played successfully on a key ingredient of whiteness, namely the civilising mission which has been referred to.

Smith boasted that Rhodesia had the happiest Africans in Africa. For their sakes and for the sake of "...the preservation of justice, civilisation and Christianity" (Joyce, 1974, p. 235) Smith believed that Rhodesia had to be kept in "...responsible European hands" (Joyce, 1974, p. 29) and this, in the face of British intransigence, made UDI inevitable. Significantly, it was only a few months after my experience at Jameson High School that UDI was in fact declared

Joyce (1974, p. 240) speculates upon what it was that drove this kind of thinking among the majority of white Rhodesians. He writes:

Deep in their collective unconsciousness they fear the violent unpredictability of the African en masse; their nightmare is that, one day, they will be swamped by the sheer numbers of the enemy. There is also pride: in the courage with which the first Rhodesians had faced and overcome odds, in their military exploits and in the inherent superiority over the black man.

A small minority of white Rhodesians, largely those representative of a liberally inclined bourgeois variation of whiteness, were not enthusiastic about UDI. They held the British determination to grant majority rule independence in low regard however, and were

adamant that Africans were not at a stage of development where they could rule a country such as Rhodesia. Mr John Hammond, a renowned principal of Plumtree School, one of the most prestigious schools in the country, typified the thinking of such Rhodesians when he addressed fellow headmasters in the early 1960s. He declared that:

It would be irresponsible of us to spread the message of revolution. The African has had only just 60 years of exposure to the European way of doing things...in the meantime, the country has been fine-tuned to run as a sophisticated western economy...It would be grossly unfair to expect them to be able to cope yet or to even create an expectation that they might be able to (cited by Baker, 2000, p. 311).

Hammond acknowledged that African nationalism had become a reality to be reckoned with. He believed that white Rhodesians needed to take heed of what had happened elsewhere in Africa, and build a reservoir of the good will he believed to exist in Rhodesia. He declared that whites had to encourage 'the African' and teach him so that when he did take over "...he will be capable enough to do it well...or there will be a real backlash" (cited by Baker, p. 311).

The nature of my socialisation to this point in time was such that I was able to readily identify with the notions of whiteness, Christianity, civilisation and heterosexual maleness which white Rhodesians claimed they were so anxious to defend. I had not become especially aware of gradations of whiteness and this made the white pupils to whom I was exposed at Jameson High School particularly difficult for me to deal with, for here were whites who were coarse and vulgar and racist in the extreme and anything, it seemed to me, but Christian and civilised. I had never encountered such whites before. My instinct was to distance myself from them and I did so by making my reference point the higher social class to which I considered myself belonging. As I distanced myself from them I adopted what I have subsequently learnt is behaviour typical of white liberals in that I deflected my own racist and classist attitudes on to what I considered to be a lower stratum of whites. I have recognized that by doing so I was not only maintaining social distance between me and them but I was also effectively increasing the social distance between me and Africans. In typical liberal stance, my attitude was to reserve the moral high ground for myself by contending that it was this lower class of whites that accommodated the real racists.

A difficulty for me was that these same boys were as enthusiastic about Rhodesian nationalism as I was and I was also anxious to be accepted by them so that I could survive dormitory life. As it turned out, I was decidedly rejected by the boys at Jameson High School whose gate keepers held me at an even greater distance once they learnt that my parents were going to live in Zambia, a country whose residents and citizens were powerfully 'othered' at the time by white Rhodesians. In such a political climate open expression in support of white liberalism would have had little chance of surviving (Todd, 1982).

Upon deeper reflection I have recognized, significantly, that to distinguish between whites, not least between whites and a class of whites that could be regarded as approximating 'white trash', as has been discussed in Chapter 2, is in itself a reflection of a privileged white position. Since I nowhere speak of an African 'residue culture', or even acknowledge the existence of a class structure among Africans, it could be argued that at this stage of my life my attitude was simply that all Africans belonged to a kind of 'residue culture' anyway. This was a perspective which was pointed out to me, in the first instance, by Dr Thabo Msibi in his response to my narrative.

In respect of geographical space, as was typical among white colonists, Africa had been constructed by white Rhodesians in such way as to serve "...as a metaphor of absence, a dark continent against which the lightness and whiteness of western civilisation could be pictured" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 2). Africa north of the Zambezi was, for them, made up of a clustering of failed, dysfunctional states and they were determined not to allow the British to hand over their country to African majority rule. Britain was in fact turning its back on all that the empire had stood for and white Rhodesians were beginning to portray themselves as the true heirs of the British Empire (Greenfield, 1978; Parker, 1978). They counted the ending of the Federation as a major loss for it had, for them, constituted a last attempt by reasonable and moderate people to keep the darkness of Africa at bay and to confine it to its own geographic space. They were more determined than ever that their Southern Rhodesian component of the former federation should remain in white hands. This would ensure both their control over the country as a whole and the white designated spaces, such as Gatooma, within it.

The generalist structure of the formal curriculum at Jameson High School, and the fact that 'A' levels were not offered, would have prepared me, had I remained at this type of

school, for a white working-class position in society. Gendered attitudes, supportive of male dominance in the society at large, would have reinforced my earlier experiences of boys and girls being treated differently (Winch, 1982). According to my narrative, furthermore, heterosexuality was an uncontested norm among the boys I encountered, and the fact that I say nothing more is suggestive of my having taken on the position of regarding homosexuality as abnormal. My narrative is silent once again in the area of religion and this speaks of Christianity having become established as an uncontested norm in my thinking. This was all reinforced by what I experienced in both the formal and informal cultures at the school.

My narrative is also silent in respect of how Africans might have regarded the unfolding developments which have been described here. I believed Prime Minister Smith when he said that Rhodesia had the happiest Africans in Africa and clearly thought no more of it. This being the case, I was interested to read, while thinking about my narrative at his point, of Mr Robert Mugabe's viewpoint. I had long regarded him as nothing more than a cold-blooded terrorist. When I was at Jameson High School pictures of people like him, and statements by them, were strictly censored, and this reinforced the notion of them being either voiceless or not having a voice worth listening to. Mugabe reflected, in conversation with a priest friend in 1979, upon what it had been like to live under white colonial rule. He said:

We were brought up in a society which actually worshipped the white man as a kind of God. He was infallible. He was the ruler to be obeyed. Whoever was white therefore not only had power but also the privilege of demanding respect from every black. And so we feared the white man.

After the defeat of the blacks in 1897, our parents and grandparents accepted rule by the white man as something unavoidable. There was no way we could get rid of the white man. He was power. He had guns. He had subdued everybody through the security forces and we feared him. And therefore all we could do was to seek from him the removal of our grievances. If we could get some form of justice within the system that was all that people sought to be achieved (Cited by Meredith, 2002, p. 22).

Later, as president of Zimbabwe, in conversation with Heidi Holland, a South African journalist, Mugabe made it clear that Africans eventually came to a point in time when "...we could not accept that our country was in the hands of a colonial power...We had to really commit and say this is it, and it's a question of life or death" (Holland, 2008, p.

226). The liberation war against the white Rhodesian nationalists was born of this commitment.

When I left Jameson High School after less than a school term, a fourth layer had been added to my socialisation into my whiteness. I did not allow my experience at this school to undermine my conviction that whites were indeed superior and Christian and civilised and I identified strongly with Rhodesian nationalism. As a result I felt as inclined as ever to 'other' those beyond the world defined as normal and universal by white Rhodesians. Yet, I was decidedly aware of a distance between me and the boys in my dormitory. I comment further on this below.

Comments by my daughter Laura and my wife, Janet that they knew nothing of my experience at this school sent me back to my narrative and persuaded me to reflect afresh upon my stay there. I was reminded that I had never spoken of it at all outside of the context of my narrative. As I have reflected on this I see a degree of both hurt and pride at work. I had not wanted to raise the experience because of its hurtfulness and the degree to which it undermined my pride as a white male. It is perhaps relevant to mention that my early socialization was particularly strong on the fact that white Rhodesian boys always defended their honour and never backed away from a physical challenge. I felt this to be especially the case in the pioneering mythology that permeated so much of life in colonial Rhodesia. As I have reflected further I have come to realize that this was an extremely unsettling and traumatic experience for me. It shook my settled white-centered understanding of who I was. I had never experienced whites behaving in the way the boys at Jameson did and made the excuse that it could only be a minority of whites who could behave in this way. Apart from the emotional trauma I have realized that I also experienced trauma at another level in that my confidence in white people and who they claimed to be was indeed undermined. Among the people who were holding out so bravely against British decolonisation, and who were shortly to strongly support UDI (as indeed I would), were those I could not relate to, those who let the white side down and who also clearly rejected me. I contend in this regard that Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997) 'identity trauma' are once again helpful in providing a theoretical backdrop to the confusion and trauma I experienced.

### 6.1.5. Mufulira High School: Zambia (1965)

When I arrived in Mufulira, Zambia had been an African ruled country for just on a year, having gained independence from Britain in October 1964. While the two Rhodesias had only recently been in a federal alliance with each other, Zambia and white-ruled Southern Rhodesia were now on opposing trajectories with the Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, being a strong ally of African Nationalists opposing white rule in Southern Rhodesia and also South Africa (Caute, 1983; Smith, 1997).

While whites had lost political power and most had now assumed non-permanent expatriate status (Hall, 1965) they continued to be in power in many ways and were still able to lead privileged life-styles. This was certainly the case for me and my parents. We benefitted from a persistent lingering whiteness, a persistence which, as has been explained in Chapter 2, is so typical of whiteness in former colonial spaces. We benefitted in the sense that there were key ways in which local African people wanted to be like us, in how we looked and spoke, for example. We benefitted, furthermore, from the cheap labour Africans, with their history of oppression and deprivation, provided. We were advantaged indirectly as the economy benefitted and we benefitted directly by being able to draw privilege and status from our employment of Africans as servants. We benefitted further from the fact that one of the privileges of my father's white expatriate status on the mine included the remuneration of my school fees at St. Stephen's College in Rhodesia where I, with my working class background, would be socialised into bourgeois whiteness. Thus it was that from an independent Zambia, at loggerheads with white Rhodesia, and with money sourced in Zambia, I was sent to a Rhodesian school which was about the business of reproducing the very same white supremacist empire norms and standards from which Zambians had sought to be freed by gaining their independence. There was much irony in this.

Furthermore, I was able to benefit from whiteness by once again being able to live in a comfortable house in a secluded 'little England' in respect of the geographic space I occupied. Baker (2000, p. 192) describes the Mufulira she visited shortly before independence as being "...beautifully laid out, with high quality homes and gardens, leafy streets and wonderful clubs and facilities". The Mufulira I moved to in 1965 fitted perfectly well with Baker's description of a town which was very much like Luanshya in many ways.

A persistent lingering whiteness at Mufulira High School was another area where I continued to experience a sense of whites still being in power and being able to lead a privileged lifestyle. While most pupils were no longer white the teaching staff was still largely white and English continued to be the language of instruction, while the Eurocentric colonial curriculum was, to all intents and purposes, still in place. Demographic change had caused whites to leave the school and move to boarding schools outside the country. This being the case, I was interested to learn, when thinking about this part of my narrative, of Godwin's (1996, p. 148) experience, as a white Rhodesian, of 'white Zambians' at the boarding school he attended in Rhodesia. He writes:

I was homesick at Carmel. It was a small school and it was only for boys, most of whom were day scholars. The borders were mostly white Zambians-Zamboons, we called them. They were a rough lot whose fathers were on contract on the mines of the Copper Belt.

The use of the term 'Zamboons' is interesting here, for there is an association with baboons and a suggestion of whites who lived in an African ruled country being likened to Africans in a derogatory way. I was not called a 'Zamboon' at Jameson High School but the hostility I experienced from white Rhodesian boys because my parents lived in Zambia has been noted earlier. I pick this thread up again in due course.

In the highly charged political environment of the day, and given the nature of how I had been socialised, I felt decidedly disinclined to think of a liberal alternative to the prevailing political currents and I have nothing to say about it in my narrative, not that I knew much about it at this stage of my life anyway. I mention this silence here however, as a reference point for how my thinking changed later in my life. There are also silences in my narrative in respect of sexuality and religion and this points to the fact that I learnt nothing in Mufulira that in any way countered what I had by now come to accept as established social norms.

It was from this position of strength that I continued to 'other' people who were not white, not least the African male teacher and Indian female teacher at Mufulira High School who are mentioned in my narrative. This is the first time there is mention of Indians in my narrative and this points to the degree to which they had been 'othered' by me up until now. The fact that the Indian teacher in question was a woman adds to the degree to which she was 'othered' by me. As she tried to teach me I was unable to

credit that she had 'real' knowledge to offer. This was the first time that someone of colour had direct authority over me, especially in education.

#### 6.1.6. St. Stephen's College: Balla Balla, Southern Rhodesia and Rhodesia (1965 - 1969)

When I arrived at St. Stephen's College in the September of 1965 it was a school in Southern Rhodesia. Just some weeks later, after UDI, it became a school in Rhodesia. These were two contrasting political dispensations. Southern Rhodesia was the remnant of the Federation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Rhodesia was born as a result of white Rhodesians declaring UDI. Significantly, those who supported UDI, Ian Smith's 'Rhodies', were mainly working-class white Rhodesians (Caute, 1983). As has already been noted, a small number of liberal bourgeois white Rhodesians, such as the masters at St. Stephen's College, opposed the move and remained loyal to earlier notions of Federation and Empire (Todd, 1982). Since these were very formative years for me I was strongly affected by the geopolitical changes which took place. So was the school itself for, as my narrative shows, the course of its history was changed irreversibly.

It was informative to read in the Fuller Papers (Fuller, 1963) that the aim of St. Stephen's College, as conceived by its founding father, Rev Maurice Lancaster, was

"...to provide an education appropriate to the needs of the middle and upper classes with boys being taught, in accordance with their class position, to become Christian and gentleman leaders in colonial society".

Upon my arrival at the school I felt an initial sense of alienation for I was confronted by the liberal bourgeois variation of whiteness of the formal school culture, which was what I was to be socialised into and which was unlike anything I had previously experienced. Such socialisation would provide me with the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1988) I needed to become a bourgeois gentleman (Epstein & Johnston, 1998; Fuller, 1982; Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012; Randall, 1982).

I was interested to read, while thinking about this, of Lessing's (1992, pp. 24-25) description of her sense of feeling alienated upon arriving at her elitist boarding school in Rhodesia in the 1960s. I share what she has to say here since she captures much of how I felt when I arrived at St. Stephen's. She sees her school, set on a large country

estate in the English fashion, as being 'snobbish' and positively unwelcoming. She writes:

I felt alien in this place...because I was alien to the English middle class playing out its rituals here as if on a stage. I knew even then that they were anachronistic, absurd and, of course, admirable in their tenacity. Here were the nice people my mother yearned for...Here we were invited to lunch, tea, supper, with the headmaster and other masters and mistresses, the rituals might go on for days, according to strict rules.

So it was that while 'ordinary' white Rhodesians were educated for a whiteness of relative privilege and superiority (Atkinson, 1982; Cauter, 1983) I, with my working-class background, was to be prepared by St. Stephen's College for a 'hyper-whiteness' (Bonnett, 2000) and for my life as a gentleman cast in the same mould (Bonnett, 2000). As such, there was the expectation that I would be equipped to play a definitive white leadership role in building nation and Empire (Dyer, 1997; Randall, 1982). Until I was appropriately socialised I would remain a working-class boy from the Zambian Copperbelt and be powerfully 'othered' by the school's formal culture.

The formal school culture was representative of liberally inclined bourgeois white Rhodesians. As such, it adhered to an essentially white supremacist position characterised by a politely expressed racism built around the notion that 'the African' was not yet ready to rule in Rhodesia. Set against this position was a variation of whiteness represented by the informal boy culture which produced a knowledge and worldview of its own, this being a typical feature of such cultures (Apple, 1995). It was my experience that this culture was very similar to the popular 'Rhodie' culture which existed among white adult Rhodesians. This was a variation of whiteness which promulgated a white supremacist position which was overtly racist. In many ways it was similar to the working class whiteness of the mining community in Zambia from which I was supposed to emerge as a result of the socialisation I would experience.

My experience of these variations of whiteness, as well as my limited experience of Afrikaner whiteness about which I comment in due course, was set against a geopolitical backdrop which exerted a strong emotional influence upon me. It is apparent, in this regard, that I make much of Rhodesia as a geopolitical entity and of the role of UDI in protecting it as white space. This being the case, I was especially interested to find, while reflecting upon my narrative at this point, that Godwin's (1996, pp. 70-71)

experience of listening to the declaration of UDI by the prime minister over the radio was very similar to mine. He writes:

One morning at school assembly Mr Simpson told us there was going to be an important announcement on the radio. It was 11 November 1965. All normal lessons were cancelled and there was an air of great excitement. The whole school gathered together...in the main block after lunch...Two Standard five boys carried Mr Simpson's big brown Bakelite wireless from his house and put it on a desk in the middle of the room...

Mr Simpson switched on the radio. It took a few minutes to warm up and then crackled into life. There was music for a bit and then the announcer came on.

'This is the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation', he said. 'Please stand by for an important message from the prime-minister, the Honourable Mr Ian Douglas Smith.

After a pause, Mr Smith began. His voice was easy to recognize because he seemed to speak through his nose and he had a very thick Rhodesian accent. He started by recalling how we Rhodesians had been so loyal to the Queen.

*'The people of Rhodesia have demonstrated their loyalty to the Crown and to their kith and kin in the United Kingdom through two world wars, and have been prepared to shed their blood and give of their substance in what they believe to be the interests of freedom-loving people'.*

But now, according to Smith all that white Rhodesians had cherished was about to be shattered on some rocks called expediency. He sounded quite cross about it.

I was so thoroughly bound up with UDI and all that the white Rhodesian nationalism around it stood for that I did not stop to reflect on what African opinion at the time might have been. Similarly, I did not concern myself with the conditions under which Africans lived and I felt no inclination to want to find out, being perfectly content to believe the Prime Minister when he said that Rhodesia had the happiest Africans in Africa (Joyce, 1974; Smith, 1997). I was always ready to align opposing African voices, if they could be heard at all, with those regarded by whites as trouble makers and agitators.

It was as I reflected upon this part of my narrative that I realised that there are key silences in respect of African voices. In seeking to make up for this I came across Lamb's (2006) account of what Nigel Hough learnt of the conditions under which his family maid, Acqui, lived, and of what she felt about conditions in Rhodesia. It provides an indication of what I either did not know about at the time or did not want to know about. On the question of UDI, Lamb (2006, p. 40) quotes Acqui as a young girl saying:

I didn't know what UDI was but from the way adults talked about it I knew it was something very bad that meant our people would never have their own country like our brothers had got in Zambia next door.

On the conditions under which Acqui lived at the time of UDI in her tribal trust land Lamb (2006, p. 2) offers the following description:

Acqui lived among the prickly cactus trees in the so-called remote areas of Mashonaland. Her village was named Zhakata's Kraal, after a former headman, and it lay on the Highveld in the stony shadow of the Daramombe Mountains behind which the birds chased the disappearing sun every evening. It was not on any map or road and was a long day's walk from the nearest town of Chivu, a small cattle-ranching settlement that the whites called Enkeldoorn after the Dutch for 'single thorn', about 90 miles south of their capital Salisbury. Zhakata's Kraal was in one of the Native Reserves, communal lands into which blacks had been shunted when the whites came, and it was a desolate place. The surrounding trees all having been shorn off limbs for firewood. The village consisted of a line of round mud-and-pole huts with thatched roofs all facing east and dotted amid large rocks and thorn trees. Chickens scratched in the dust and a stray dog with a withered leg scooted about its bottom. The headman's place stood on the other side, and a little way was the house of the witch doctor or nganga near the sacred muchakata tree under which the elders would hold their meetings and lay offerings to appease the ancestral spirits.

Commenting on whites coming into the tribal trust land where Acqui lived, Lamb (2006, p. 17) quotes Acqui as saying:

Whites didn't often venture into Native Reserves. The only white people I had ever seen were Father Walter, the Irish missionary at the church, and the white policemen. It was very important in those days for a white person to talk to you, you would be so happy, but most of them didn't. When they did they spoke loudly as if we were many miles away.

All I knew was that our skins were different and that being white somehow gave you a special power and my grandfather didn't like them. He was very cheeky and refused to pay tax on his cattle and when the black policemen came on a motorbike to collect it he told them off for doing the dirty work of whites and took out his shambok to chase them away.

As Acqui struggled with her own attitudes towards whites, Lamb (2006, p. 17) writes of her struggling to understand why having a white skin made whites so different. And she would often think "...about Priscilla's husband toasting on the fire and how his skin would have crackled and burnt like the mealie cobs, and she began to hate them".

Integral to my support for white Rhodesian nationalism was my strong identification with, and emotional attachment to, the Matopos landscape in which the school was

located. Liebenberg (2008, p. 128) makes special mention of the Matopos which, Fuller (2002, p. 27) indicates, is a corruption of 'Amatobos' meaning 'bald headed ones', and describes the landscape as, "...a strange moonscape made of humpback granite domes, adorned with uncanny, balancing rock formations, and strewn with giants' marbles where a stack has toppled". I drew this charismatic landscape into my construction of Rhodesia and linked what I felt about it to the pioneering mythology of control and conquest, this not being atypical of the relationship white Rhodesians established with the landscape (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; Hughes, 2010).

I was interested in this regard to learn that the strong emotional hold that was exerted by the landscapes of Rhodesia is widely reported upon in the biographical material I consulted (Baker, 2000; Godwin, 1996; Lessing, 1992; Liebenberg, 2008; Megahey, 2005; Taylor, 2000). Lessing (1992, p. 315) captures the essence of how people were impacted when she writes of how she felt when visiting Zimbabwe after independence. She was captivated by the landscape of the area where she had grown up:

I stood there, needless to say limp with threatening tears, unable to believe in all that magnificence, the space, the marvel of it. I had been brought up in this place. I lived here from the age of five. No wonder this myth country tugged and pulled...what a privilege, what a blessing.

It is significant to point out that the sense of belonging and control I drew from my attachment to the land was accomplished without the presence of the African people themselves. I was interested to learn that, as has been explained in Chapter 2, the same held for most white Rhodesians (Hughes, 2010; Pilosoff, 2012). My ability to write Africans out of my sense of belonging was further strengthened by the fact that St. Stephens' College was set within a rural geographic area designated for white occupation only. Africans entered this space only as a subordinate, servant class, this being consistent with my previous experiences and typical of the entry of Africans into white geographical spaces in Rhodesia at the time (Caute, 1983; Godwin & Hancock, 1993; St. John, 2007).

Anchored as it was in the geopolitical spaces which were Rhodesia, the Matopos landscape and the local space occupied by St. Stephen's, the socialisation process which I experienced was such that my character development was considered to be of crucial importance. In schools which cast themselves in the English public school mould this typically meant that pupils had to become fully absorbed into the life of schools,

even to the extent that schools often competed with pupils' families for their first loyalty (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012; Randall, 1982). I certainly felt this to be the case at St. Stephen's where there was a distinct sense that school spirit, another defining emphasis of schools emulating British public boarding schools, (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012; Randall, 1982) was dependent upon boys being fully involved in the life of the school. School spirit, in turn, was closely connected to a school's ability to build character (Megahey, 2005).

It is interesting to record here that during one of my memory sharing conversations with my mother I asked her whether she felt that I was ever expected to give my primary loyalty to the school. She referred to the meeting between the headmaster, Mr H. Cole, and herself and my father, when he was on his recruitment drive to the Copperbelt just prior to my starting at the school. She recalled that he had said something to the effect of the school taking me on loan for a time and then handing me back as a gentleman. "Your dad was always very proud", she said, "but he did feel a distance opening up at times". I was interested to read in my daughter Carin's response to my narrative that she sensed that the masters at St. Stephen's College filled a role, certainly in respect of the development of my political consciousness, that was not adequately filled by my father. In this they were assisted by the lengthy periods I was away from home. I think that this is a correct assessment, for I recall that my father would often indicate, especially towards the end of my stay at St Stephen's that I was "thinking differently". It was also interesting for me to note that Mr Peter Morris, in his written response to my narrative, makes particular mention of the school being demanding of him in respect of the commitment expected during his tenure there as a pupil.

I have been interested to reflect upon how I responded to this requirement of the school at the time. It is apparent from my narrative that I participated fully in a range of extra-curricular activities, especially those of a cultural nature. I recall that I did so willingly, as I was particularly keen that I should fit in and succeed at the school. My Jameson High School experience was always in my mind and I was anxious to avoid a similar experience at St. Stephen's. I was, furthermore, a conforming, eager to please young person and this no doubt explains my willingness to get involved to some degree as well. It was also the case that I realised that a full commitment to school life helped the lengthy terms to pass by more quickly. As committed and loyal as I was, I did not really see the school as competing with my family for my loyalty and I had no real sense that

my father had felt a distance opening up. Perhaps this is an indication of the degree to which I was actually absorbed into the life of the school.

As I have reflected upon the requirements and expectations of the school I find that I have a different response to that which I had while I was at the school. It is that to become so thoroughly absorbed into the culture of a single institution might be limiting and harmful to the attitudes and values one eventually takes as one's own. It is worth being reminded of Randall's (1982) point, which I raise in Chapter 2, that it is possible to read the same against endeavours to realign loyalties, first to school and thence to country. I was interested to learn of Lessing (1992, p. 26) coming to her own conclusion that during the five long years she spent at her school she felt "drowned in helplessness" and that subsequently she spent many years as an adult coming to realise how much harm the experience had caused her. In my case, engaging with this autoethnographical project has caused me to reflect critically upon my own years at St. Stephen's College and any harm that may have been caused. My identification with liberal ideology, and the degree to which I allowed myself to be misled, and in this sense harmed by it, had its roots in my St. Stephen's experience.

Austere, military-like environments, also typical of schools cast in the English public boarding school mould, certainly boys' schools, were linked to the building of character, (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012; Randall, 1982). It is apparent from my narrative that I felt the same to be true of my experience at St. Stephen's. Sport was seen as a further character building block in such schools and whilst boys were not all expected to be top sportsmen, they were at least expected to 'play the game' and 'have a go', since these attributes were considered to be of central importance in the making of gentlemen (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012; Randall, 1982). Sport was indeed a major ingredient of school life at St. Stephen's and while I 'had a go' as best I could on the sports field it was the cultural side of school life that received more of my interest and attention. In this regard the wide variety of activities which was available bore testimony to the school's commitment to the notion that gentlemen had to have a well-developed 'cultural side' to them as well. A related requirement was that I should become a faithful Anglican since the same was typically regarded as being integral to a socialisation into bourgeois whiteness (Godwin & Hancock, 1993; Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012). A degree of environmental literacy was a further requirement and to this end, I experienced frequent and regular contact with the bush-country surrounding the school,

this being helpful in explaining the degree to which I took the landscape into my sense of who I was at the time.

It is apparent from my narrative that firm discipline and a strict following of rules and routines, via strong house systems and powerful 'boy government', were further characteristics of schools cast in the English public boarding school mould (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012; Randall, 1982), and distinguishing features of my St. Stephen's socialisation. These were intended to help me to become a fair, honest, decent and steady white 'chap' with the appropriate manners and tastes (Paxman, 2012). An important starting point was the requirement that I should speak free of my Rhodesian/South African accent which was considered to be a sign of poor cultural upbringing associated with working-class white Rhodesians (Megahey, 2005). I should also not be too closely aligned to South Africa which was held at some social distance, especially its Afrikaners (Megahey, 2005). My superiority and the cultural capital I acquired as a bourgeois white boy had to be evident for all to see.

Since the school was so totally committed to the promotion of a white bourgeois worldview, seen from an imperial and colonial perspective, I learnt, as in my previous school experiences, nothing of Africa and the African people other than how these had been constructed culturally and geographically by bourgeois whites. This is confirming of what has been explained in this regard in Chapter 2. Africans and Africa were caste in negative and wanting terms and held in stark contrast to whites with their 'normal' and 'universal' superior view of themselves and all that they had brought to the continent and were still able to offer. The comment by Said (1978, p. 45) that the "Occident invents itself by inventing its 'other'" is particularly pertinent here. Africans were regarded as being backward and primitive and anything about them before whites arrived amounted to little of any consequence.

In her biography of Nigel Hough and his family, and their African maid Acqui, to which reference has already been made, Lamb (2006, p. 56) describes the nature of Nigel's learning at high school at around the time of UDI. I make reference to her description here because of the degree to which Lamb captures something of the essence of my own learning. She writes:

At school they studied 'Builders of Rhodesia'-Rhodes, Rudd, Jameson and Alfred Beit...and were left under the impression that before the pioneers

arrived the country was a no man's land...They were taught the story of the last stand of Allan Wilson's patrol who died so bravely on the banks of the Shangani river as they were outnumbered by Lobengula's hordes. When they ran out of bullets they started singing 'God save the Queen' until one day they all fell.

Lamb (2006, p. 57) quotes Nigel Hough himself as saying:

For us the history of Rhodesia started with the arrival of whites to civilize warring kaffir tribes. At school I learned all about the two world wars and the threat of Communist advancement but I never knew anything about the Shona or Ndebele or any local language or culture. We didn't think they had a culture. I knew how to say 'mangwanani' in Shona, which means 'good morning', and nothing else.

The focus on Europe and away from Africa was evident in the fact that the presence of an African language in my curriculum was not even remotely contemplated. Instead there was great concern that I had not been exposed to Latin as a subject, this still being a distinctive requirement in public schools at the time (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012). Official attitudes towards Afrikaans were explained in Chapter 2 and it was my experience that at St. Stephen's French, taken in addition to Latin, was very much the preferred option. This decided focus on Europe and on white people was a key feature of my socialisation.

In seeking to elaborate upon the nature of my school learning and in searching for evidence of what I had experienced I came across a piece of writing I had submitted to the 1969 edition of the college magazine (Appendix J). As I read it I realised that it served as a barometer of the nature and content of much of my school learning, especially in respect of history and geography. Apart from several inaccuracies I felt embarrassed by the degree to which I had obviously been taken in by the racial bias and naivety of pioneer mythology. In the piece Africans are portrayed as ignorant and backward, devious and war-like. The boers, by contrast, are presented as strong and capable, people who could use their technological advantage and fighting skills to protect themselves in the face of disease and untold hardship. As pioneers they are shown as bravely opening up tough, virgin land and Rhodes is portrayed as a good man.

In thinking about what lay behind such a piece I was fortunate enough to come across two history text books which provided much of the content I had learnt when I was in Forms 2 and 3, in 1965 and 1966 respectively. In paging through them it soon became

apparent that I had been strongly impacted by them. I refer below to three chapters in support of this.

Chapter 28 of the Std. 7 book (my text in Form 2) is entitled 'How South Africa is governed'. Whites are portrayed as the citizens of South Africa. The country is portrayed as a democratic state and how the democratic system of government operates is described in some detail. Africans are spoken of as non-citizens and are mentioned only by way of an appendage at the end of the chapter. Citizens are spoken of as possessing rights and responsibilities. By implication Africans have none.

The partition of Africa among European colonizing countries constitutes the substance of Chapter 4 of the same book. Africans are openly declared to backward and it is explained that a major reason is their isolation in the past from the civilising influence of Europe. Colonialism is portrayed as being good for Africans.

In Chapter 33 of the Std. 8 book (my text in Form 3) the treks into the South African interior of the notable boer leaders Louis Trighardt, Andries Potgieter, Gert Maritz, Piet Retief and Pieter Uys are described in detail. Each leader is portrayed as leading strong, brave pioneers and they have God, technology and civilisation on their side. As they open up the formidable interior they kill tens of thousands of African warriors but measure their own losses only in the hundreds.

As I paged through the Std. 7 book I came upon a class exercise which had been set at the end of one of the chapters (Appendix K). I was immediately struck by the blatantly technicist nature of the questions. Only descriptive answers are sought and there is no need for any form of critical engagement. It is interesting to be reminded, given the focus on the bantustans, that I taught them in much the same way when I first started teaching at Pinetown High School.

As I thought further about what lay behind the piece I had written I was reminded of a brief excursion I once made into a tribal trust land not far from Balla Balla. It was precisely the kind of place where Acqui, to whom I referred earlier, lived. I was with two other boys, also in 1969, accompanying our school chaplain on a Sunday afternoon exeat to the Umzingwane dam. To reach the dam and the small recreation site alongside we had to travel through the said tribal trust land for about 10 km. I remember feeling quite detached and unmoved by the impoverished, crowded conditions we saw.

My sense was that it was precisely because of such conditions that Africans needed whites Rhodesians and what they had brought to the country. There was no suggestion that the conditions might have had something to do with what white Rhodesians may have done to Africans. It is interesting to view what I say about my later excursions into Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg and the Bantustan areas not far from where I live in Kloof (Fig 1) against this backdrop.

It is worth noting also that during the geography fieldwork I was required to undertake for my A level geography course I had to study land-use patterns in the area surrounding Balla Blla, including the farms, New Brighton and Irisvale. At no stage was I required to engage critically with why things were the way they were. The tribal trust land mentioned above may as well not have existed.

In thinking about further evidence of the kind of learning I had experienced I remembered that I had kept the anthology of poetry from which my English teacher had selected the poems I had studied in my final year at school. Entitled 'This Day and Age' the table of contents (Appendix L) shows that the poems are nearly all by British poets who focus almost exclusively on Europe, most especially the period between the two world wars. Roy Campbell is a notable exception, being South African by birth, but his three poems do not disrupt the European focus. Lewis Snowden spent much of his life in South Africa but his poems have no African connection. Raymond Tong's 'African beggar' is the only poem to focus on Africa. The subject, however, is "...sprawled in the dust" and a "...target for dogs and flies...a heap of venomous rags and matted hair" (Tong, 101). Such imagery, it could be argued, hardly casts Africa and Africans in a favourable light and might well help to sustain stereotypical thinking. I did not study it but, given my attitudes and prejudices at the time, I suspect it would have had precisely that effect on me.

Another key feature of my socialisation was the strong focus on the individual, a feature typical of an education informed by liberalism (Ashley, 1989; Gillborn, 2005; Leonardo, 2004; Scheurich, 1993). The focus meant that any success I achieved was always attributed to my own effort and hard work. There was never any suggestion that I had been advantaged in any way by societal structures and relationships and I was never taught that it was associated with my whiteness. As has been explained in Chapter 2, such a view of privilege is a defining characteristic of the nature of whiteness. Related to

this there was never a focus on me being defined in group terms or having been raced in any manner. As has also been explained in Chapter 2, Africans were differently regarded, always seen as a group and as a people who had been powerfully raced. It was as a result of this that whites could speak of 'the Africans' or 'the African' with no notion of individuality. I invariably succumbed to the same practice.

As a group, according to the liberal view, Africans were considered to be far behind the standard of civilisation which had been achieved by whites (Caute, 1983; Smith, 1997; St. John, 2007; Todd, 1982). While they were catching up they should be treated with respect and coarse extremist racist attitudes should be avoided (Cole as cited in the Sanderson Papers, 1974). In this regard it was my experience that the formal culture of the school did not see itself as racist in any way. It was the 'Rhodies' who, in their enthusiastic support of Rhodesian nationalism, were seen as the proponents of unseemly, racist attitudes.

The 'Rhodies' were thought to be too close to the Afrikaners in South Africa. My narrative shows that I struggled with the way in which the masters regarded Afrikaners. I remember my elocution teacher referring to Afrikaans as "...a coarse and vulgar tongue" and learning that such an attitude was tied up with the negative way in which many of the masters and their wives regarded South Africa in general. South Africans, most especially the Afrikaners, were portrayed as 'real racists' and Afrikaans was only tolerated as a curriculum offering because it was known that many of the boys would end up studying and living in South Africa.

While thinking about this I was interested to learn that in her autobiography Lamb (2006, p. 212) is supportive of how South Africans were regarded by bourgeois white Rhodesians when she writes:

Over the years I'd looked across the border at the South Africans and thought of 'them' as racists because 'they' had discrimination enshrined in their constitution; they had separate and foul smelling toilets for black people; their police had sjamboks made from rhinoceros hide which they used to lash rioters in hellhole townships like Soweto; they had a way of talking of Africans as 'blacks' as if they were a disease. But I thought of us, the Rhodesians as being different. I thought of our police as polite, nice men who lived by the law and only beat people if they really deserved it, and then only with a wooden truncheon.

I became aware that many Rhodesian schoolchildren also held Afrikaners in a somewhat negative light and I picked up the same among some of the boys at St. Stephen's. This being the case, it was informative for me to learn of Liebenberg (2008, p. 138) describing how Afrikaners were regarded by the Rhodesian school children among whom she grew up:

Dutchmen, also called bone-heads, are slow witted. They roll their Rs around on their tongues when they speak and they have bonehead names like Koos and Kristoffel which is how Koos and Kristoffel get jeered at behind the bicycle sheds at school and get stuck in the 'thick ous' class, and they have seascape paintings in their 'voorkamers' and waves crested by galloping white horse heads, and 'doilies' on their dining room tables.

Hayes & Juarez (2009) observe that white liberals typically have a need to portray themselves as good whites who are compassionate and benevolent in their dealings with other races. It would seem that this was indeed the case with the liberals at St. Stephens in respect of their projecting of racism onto others. It would seem also that the school's close links with Anglicanism enabled its formal culture to present itself in this way, links between liberal whites and Anglicanism having often been forged in such a way as to project bourgeois whites as good (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012). In respect of my socialisation the intention was to ensure that it would be as a Christian gentleman, given to fair play and even-handedness that I would play out my white leadership role in society, most especially in my dealings with Africans. There was never a hint that such a role should be critiqued in any way. Significantly, in keeping with these typically liberal considerations, the Anglican Church in Rhodesia was often more concerned about injustices done to individuals than it was about white domination and the societal structures and relationships that kept it in place (Godwin & Hancock, 1993).

As I have reflected on this I contend that, in respect of the racism of both the liberal bourgeois culture and the 'Rhodies', the following extracts from the Fuller Papers (Fuller, 1963) lend credence and further insight to what has been said above. They are from the time when Mr John Fuller was headmaster of the school and they recount two experiences which he claims to have weighed particularly heavily upon him:

At lunch one day a group of boys called one of the waiters a 'bloody savage'. When the servant objected they laughed at him. After some thought I decided not to blunder into a colour problem but to try to reason with them along the lines of master-servant relations.

What is significant here is that while the coarse and overt racism of the boys is clearly frowned upon they are nevertheless to be taught how to maintain healthy master-servant relations, with them as the masters and the Africans as servants. Such a relationship, from the liberal perspective, is taken as a given.

In similar vein, in the extract below it is significant to note that Crispen is referred to as 'the African', almost as if he was some sort of different species, who sits on his own and receives communion after all the whites present. Overt racism is clearly rejected but racism per se remains firmly in place. Mr Fuller (Fuller, 1963) writes the following:

I received a complaint from a father of a boy who objected to his son having to attend chapel services at which an African was present. Crispen, the African, was a quiet, unassuming individual who worked at the college and attended Sunday morning services. I could not see how he could hurt anyone by quietly kneeling at the back of the chapel and receiving communion after everyone had been up. To my everlasting shame I yielded in the end to this prejudiced and pompous little man of dubious class credentials.

It is not insignificant to note that the individual in question was nevertheless able to have his way. Such was the power of even the least among whites.

It is apparent from my narrative that conformity was a strong requirement of my schooling experience at St. Stephen's College, this being yet another defining characteristic of the British public boarding school model (Randall, 1982; Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 2012). While this requirement seemed to conflict with the liberal focus on individuals engaging critically with the world, I have realised subsequently that to engage critically at that time meant to do so within the confines of liberalism itself (Gillborn, 2005; Jansen, 2009). I learnt nothing, for example, about apartheid and colonialism, and knew nothing of Feminism or Marxism, even as a student taking 'A' level examinations. I was certainly not taught to question my whiteness as such and thus did not engage with "unthinking whiteness" (McLaren, 1997, p. 25).

Apart from teaching me about race my formal socialisation exposed me to powerfully communicated norms in respect of gender. I was expected to become a gentleman who would protect pure and genteel white bourgeois women, it being a primary responsibility of bourgeois gentlemen to protect the bearers of whiteness (Bonnett, 2000; Dyer, 1997; Moon, 1999). It was from this position that I was able to cast myself as superior to white women. I was not aware of it at the time but this meant that not only did I not see myself

as having been raced but nor did I see myself as having been gendered. This is confirming of what had been laid down by earlier layers of socialisation. Given my narrative's silence on African women I have realised, as I have indicated previously, the degree to which they were placed at an even greater social distance from me.

It was as the bearers of whiteness that white bourgeois women in colonial settings had to be protected from the raging sexual appetites of African males (Dyer, 1997; Jansen, 2009). This clearly informed what I learnt at St. Stephen's. I learnt that white bourgeois men were supposed to be fully able to control their own sexual appetites, while at the same time I was taught that white bourgeois women were not supposed to have sexual appetites at all, this being a well-established principle of whiteness (Dyer, 1997).

What I learnt about gender was reinforced by what I was taught by the informal school culture. Here the patriarchal nature of the broader Rhodesian society was especially apparent in that maleness was always a key point of reference. Rhodesian men always had to be on hand to protect their women. Yet among white school boys girls were often reduced to sex objects to be 'scored', while beyond the school the 'Rhodie' view was much the same. This said, the sexual behaviour of young white men had to at least have the appearance of being devoid of the excesses which were seen as typical of the behaviour of African men. This was yet another example of whites' construction of themselves being integrally bound up with their construction of Africans. Boundaries had to be clearly delineated at all times. 'Rhodie' women, meanwhile, seemed not to object, regarding the men that paid them attention as husky, tough, tanned and sexy, as individuals to be readily submitted to (Caute, 1983). With attitudes such as these prevailing it was easy for boys and men to objectify girls and women and to 'other' them.

My socialisation also taught me norms in respect of sexuality. The formal school culture was so convinced of the security of the heterosexual norm among bourgeois whites that sexuality was never raised as an issue that needed to be considered. It was simply taken for granted that the prefects of bourgeois whiteness would be heterosexual and adhere to heterosexual practice. So convinced were they of this that they believed that homosexuality simply did not exist among Rhodesians, let alone their prefects (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). There was strong agreement from the informal culture which often taught the heterosexual norm in particularly overt and often crude ways.

In moving to bring my discussion of my St. Stephen's experience to a close it is appropriate to comment further on how I felt when I first arrived, for I believe that I do not make sufficient within my narrative of the alienation I felt at the time. I did not understand the language of social class at the time. I knew there were whites 'below' me, as at Jameson High School, and now, it seemed, there were whites who would not accept me into their fold until I had acquired sufficient of their 'cultural capital'. I know now that the degree to which I felt unsettled in myself was brought on by the working class whiteness into which I had been socialised up until then being challenged head on. I contend that Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) 'identity trauma', as I have conceptualised and used them earlier, provide a helpful theoretical backdrop to what I experienced.

By the time I left St. Stephen's I was identifying more with the formal school culture than I was with the 'Rhodies', despite my being so strongly at one with the latter on the issue of UDI and Rhodesian nationalism. As I moved between the two variations of whiteness, each with strong conformity requirements, I sometimes found myself in situations where I was not being true to myself having to pretend to be someone I really was not. I think that my biggest struggle was with the informal culture, for given my experience at Jameson High School I was anxious not to be bullied again.

I was interested to read that Mr Peter Morris picked up the question of bullying in his response to my narrative. I noted that as far as he was concerned "...there was surprisingly little bullying going on", and that when it did present itself "...it was never rife and always curbed by our more caring seniors and prefects". This comment sent me back to my narrative, for I felt uneasy about what he had said. I noted that I had indeed indicated that bullying had occurred, although not to the degree that it did at Jameson High School. As I reflected further I remembered that the bullying was often at the instigation of prefects and senior boys, let alone curbed by them. In thinking about why Peter Morris and I differed on this matter I have concluded that my Jameson experience made me more sensitive to bullying and those who are harmed and isolated by it than Peter who, being popular with both junior and senior boys at all times, may have been less inclined to see what I did.

### 6.1.7. University of Natal: Pietermaritzburg, South Africa (1970 - 1974)

When I arrived in Pietermaritzburg to attend the University of Natal I re-entered apartheid South Africa, a South African context in which whiteness continued to be confident and assertive. As in the case of my earlier experience at Park View Primary School in Durban, the Afrikaner dominated National Party was firmly entrenched at the national level while the opposition United Party was in control of Natal. It has been mentioned previously that both were white supremacist parties. In addition to their political power whites enjoyed total economic power. The Dutch Reformed Church provided a theological justification for apartheid. Many newly independent African states to the north of the Limpopo River had become dysfunctional. The South African economy, which benefitted from the country's vast supplies of cheap and dependent African labour, had performed well, at least in 'growth' terms, during the decade of the 1960s. Opposition to apartheid was not yet well coordinated both internally and externally and it looked very much as if nothing was likely to be able to unseat white perceptions of their superiority and firm positioning in the country.

The formal university culture to which I was introduced, was representative of a liberal bourgeois variation of whiteness (Malherbe, 1981). In some ways it was similar to the formal culture of St. Stephen's College, but it was far less infused with notions of empire and more openly committed to a liberal worldview. I encountered many Rhodesians at university, both bourgeois Rhodesians and 'Rhodies', my dominant experience being of the latter. I continued to want to distance myself from the 'Rhodies', my struggle with them being aggravated by my finding little match between them and the master race they constructed themselves to be (Caute, 1983; Godwin, 1996; Godwin & Hancock, 1993; St. John, 2007). It seemed that the people I had had experience of at Jameson High School, or at least people not too dissimilar from them, were part of a much bigger social group than I had imagined. So it was that I began to rethink my stance on Rhodesia. In the meantime, I found myself feeling progressively more at ease with the formal university culture.

Having said this, I continued to have difficulty with the criticisms which it levelled against Rhodesia. The war in Rhodesia was intensifying and it was my perception that white Rhodesians needed all the support they could get. I had had little exposure to the notion of whites criticizing and seeking to undermine whites and there was a sense in which I

felt that key certainties of my past were being disrupted, even while I was beginning to listen to what the critics were saying. Once again, I contend that Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) notion of 'identity trauma' are helpful in explaining what I experienced at this time.

The role of geographic space in the production of my whiteness was at work once again in Pietermaritzburg in that it is apparent from my narrative that I formed an emotional attachment to the quaint red-brick, Victorian white spaces that came together to constitute the Pietermaritzburg of the 1970s (Benyon, 1988; Hillebrand, 1988). In a strange way they provided a kind of territorial anchor to my whiteness. The university itself was a white space within the city. Africans were yet again present only as a servant-class and they lived 'somewhere else' in 'other' spaces. It was now for the first time however, that I gained an insight, during a Geography excursion into the African township of Edendale, into where it was that Africans lived. As I have reflected upon this I have realised that this limited exposure did little to challenge the way in which I had come to regard Africans. In fact, my response to the filth and squalor I saw in Edendale had the effect of persuading me to maintain my own geographical space more carefully. It seems, this being the case, that my negative thinking about Africans was reinforced rather than challenged (Kumashiro, 2000). There was a sense in which I found myself almost expecting that they should live as I saw them living in Edendale. My understanding that there were structural causes for the situation in Edendale was only partially developed and I was broadly accepting of them anyway.

I did not pause to think through any of the consequences of the maintenance of such rigid racial boundaries between residential areas. For example, while I was aware of the distance we, on our excursion, had to travel to get to Edendale I did not pause to consider in any depth why this was the case. I was still to come to a full appreciation of the nature of the great paradox of the apartheid city, namely "...that those who can least afford it live furthest from their place of work (Wills, 1988, p. 41). This was why Pietermaritzburg's African population was a population of commuters, often long distance commuters. I did not realise either that the seemingly untenable urban structure was maintained by enormous subsidies paid by the state. Wills (1988, p. 41) observes in this regard, that "...billions of rands were spent paying for this paradox". Such early thinking on my part has relevance for my later experience when, as a

Geography lecturer at the Edgewood College of Education, I exposed my own students to the conditions under which Africans lived in a Bantustan area near Botha's Hill.

My narrative makes brief mention of Indians and coloureds living in their own designated areas. There is no further mention of them and this, along with my response to what I saw in Edendale, suggests, as I have indicated above, that I was accepting of the notion of people living in separate racially designated areas. My experience of Indians and coloureds up until this point in time had been very limited, as it was in Pietermaritzburg itself at this stage of my life, and this may also explain why such brief mention, without any comment is made.

My narrative is silent on what I actually learnt during my exposure to the formal University curriculum. It is apparent however, that my experience of lectures and tutorials did help to facilitate the process of my questioning my former school experiences. It was now for the first time that I found myself thinking seriously about the content of what I had learnt during my formal lessons at St Stephen's College. It was as if some of the layers of socialisation that had been successively deposited were being peeled back and replaced by a layer which could not yet be clearly identified, although it did assume the appearance of the broad liberal worldview to which I was being exposed. Apart from helping me to fit in at the University, this also meant that I went to Maritzburg College as a student teacher with a greater awareness of the type of school it was and the bourgeois whiteness it represented.

A feature of my exposure to liberalism that was confirming of my St. Stephen's College experience was the focus on the individual. Once again I learnt about the importance of individual effort and that my whiteness had nothing to do with my success. I felt proud about having made it to university and considered myself to be part of a university in-group as a result of this. I tended to 'other' those who had not made it, not least Africans who I did not associate with university at all. I gave no thought to the fact that structural barriers would have prevented many from being in the same fortunate position as me. Africans had their own universities in their own geographical spaces, and 'their' degrees could not possibly be of the same standard as 'ours'. The nature of my socialisation in the political, educational and geographical spaces of my lived experience made quite certain of such thinking on my part. My seeing Africans as an inferior servant class who lived in their own geographical spaces had clearly become firmly entrenched by now. I

have subsequently recognized that such a stance, along with a failure to recognize white privilege, has the effect of further entrenching the hegemonic position of whiteness.

As has been noted in Chapter 2, it is typically the case that when white liberals criticise white society there is never any suggestion that whiteness should be dethroned as such (Gillborn, 2005; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; Leonardo, 2004; Scheurich, 1993; Sparks, 1990). In keeping with this, the liberals I encountered at university, like those in Rhodesia, criticised both Rhodesian and Afrikaner nationalism and projected racism on to them, but invariably their concerns went no further than the fact that the treatment of Africans should be more benevolent and humane. I have also realised, together with Sparks (1990) that for all the criticism that was levelled against the Afrikaner nationalists, many of the white liberals were actually quite relieved that they were in power.

It is apparent that in respect of both the formal and informal institutional cultures I was exposed to a thoroughly gendered worldview in that women were regarded in a decidedly negative light. I noted that at Maritzburg College, for example, their presence had only recently been tolerated, and then only because of a shortage of male teachers. Female teachers were not permitted in the main staffroom. The silence in my narrative with respect to this indicates my acceptance of this school norm. In respect of the informal university residence culture my experience was of men, mainly 'Rhodies', regarding women as having to be available for the purposes of their sexual gratification. This attitude linked with the informal boy culture to which I was exposed at St. Stephen's College. My narrative is silent on sexual orientation and this suggests that I had embraced the social norms of the time.

It appears that my Christianity was by now equally well-established in an alliance with my whiteness, for my narrative is silent in this area as well. It would seem that my strong socialisation into Anglicanism at St. Stephen's College, along with my regular church attendance at university had so established Christianity as the norm in my life that I do not mention it specifically in my narrative.

#### 6.1.8. Pinetown High School: Pinetown, South Africa (1975-1979)

I arrived at Pinetown High School in 1975 having decided not to return to Rhodesia. My decision to stay in South Africa was informed by my having become romantically involved while I was at university and also by my parents' decision to return to South Africa. This decision to stay south of the Limpopo River was a major geopolitical break for me and represented a significant change in how I would both experience and enact my whiteness from then on.

My having been to university and qualified as a teacher gave me a certain confidence in myself and since I did not see myself as raced I did not recognize any sense of my having been privileged in any way because I was white. My success at school and university had been due only to my own individual effort and this persuaded me to distance myself from those who had not achieved to the same extent. While I had begun to question some of my overtly racist attitudes, most especially in respect of Rhodesian nationalism, I was thoroughly convinced about notions of white superiority and the necessity that whites should continue to rule in South Africa.

I felt confident in starting out at Pinetown High School. While the school catered for working class white pupils the principal was intent upon establishing a bourgeois expression of whiteness as the formal culture of the school. Given my St. Stephen's College background, I was easily able to identify with his intentions and I felt that my position would be strengthened by my now being a professional teacher.

It was during this period of my life that I married into a particularly virulent expression of the same bourgeois whiteness. I was decidedly 'othered' by the family in question because of my family background and also because of my chosen profession. It was my first experience of being 'othered' because I was a teacher and it was also a time when I was openly 'othered' by white people who were family members. Counting against me was the assertion that the 'prefects' of bourgeois whiteness became 'real professionals' and business people and they made 'real money'. This experience shook my confidence and was yet another time of 'bafflement' for me. It was also a time when I experienced a measure of 'identity trauma' in that as a newly qualified teacher my sense of self had become integrally bound up with being both white and a teacher. Once again Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) 'identity

trauma' are useful in providing an explanation of the sense of insecurity and alienation I felt at the time.

A notable feature of my experience of whiteness at Pinetown High School was that I felt that my position as a white teacher was strengthened by the firm hold the National Party continued to hold over geopolitical space in South Africa, this in spite of growing threats posed by political changes in key neighbouring countries and by the beginnings of unrest in South Africa's townships. I felt equally confident about the separate geographical space I lived in at the local level since although it was close to the nearby African township of Clermont it was protected from it by a wide open space or 'buffer zone'. It was with further 'bafflement' however, that I tried to deal with the attitude of my parents-in-law who considered the place where I lived to fall short of the social aspirations of their bourgeois whiteness.

Despite the official requirement that CNE should be taught in all schools the principal of Pinetown High School gave teachers sufficient space to be their own persons in their classrooms. My narrative reveals, in this regard, that although I did not teach the CNE philosophy I nevertheless taught my pupils in a technicist, non-critical mode. My limited exposure to critical pedagogy became apparent, as did my having been taught to be the conforming person that I had become. The example of my teaching of the Bantustans, which is mentioned in my narrative, makes the point, as does my being unaware of, and ignoring, other major political developments of the time. In this sense I became instrumental in teaching my white pupils to accept what they were told and to not critically engage with the society in which they lived.

What is important here is that while critical engagement was not permitted by CNE, as has been explained in Chapter 2, it also fell beyond the ambit of the liberal approach to education which I followed along with the other teachers in the school. Here was education at work reproducing white privilege and I was fully complicit both because of my own position as a teacher and because I identified so enthusiastically with the notion of white supremacy. It is worth mentioning that my enrolling to study a Bachelor of Education degree at this time exposed me afresh to the liberal worldview and its teachings. It also worth mentioning that such growing exposure added to the degree to which I was 'othered' by my wife's conservatively inclined bourgeois family. Little did I

know at the time that my exposure to liberalism would soon be picked up again and developed profoundly when I was at the Edgewood College of Education.

It was against this background that I had to try to make some sense of the Soweto uprising by African youth against apartheid, and Bantu education in particular. This was a hugely significant event in South African history (L'Ange, 2005; Sparks, 1990; Suzman, 1993) and according to everything I had learnt, it was never supposed to have happened. My immediate response was to draw alongside the tightened white control of the Afrikaner nationalists, which was the response of most whites (Suzman, 1993), and this inclined me to feel very much like a white insider.

I had no meaningful appreciation of the degree to which Africans were rejecting apartheid and thus the real significance of the Soweto uprising, and all that had lead up to it, escaped me. Soweto is a major silence in my narrative. In reflecting upon this, and in attempting to correct it, I revisited the published material I had consulted. I came across the voice of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. He was a popular and widely respected African voice against apartheid from the mid-1970s: He writes:

In 1976, out of a growing concern and deepening apprehension about the mood in Soweto, one of increasing anger and bitterness and frustration, I wrote an open letter to the then Prime Minister, Mr B.J. Vorster. In it, I was warning him that unless something was done urgently to remove the causes of black anger then I was fearful of what was likely to erupt because black people were growing increasingly restive under the oppressive yoke of apartheid and for young people it was represented in the insensitive determination to enforce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on them in their inferior schools in a system of education that had been designed by its author, Dr Verwoerd, for inferiority. My letter was dismissed contemptuously by Mr Vorster as a propaganda ploy somehow engineered by the Progressive Federal Party. He did not even think I could as a black person have the intelligence to know the grievances of my own people nor the ability if I did to compose a letter to express those grievances (Sparks & Tutu, 2011, p. 113).

There is a similar silence in my narrative on the death, whilst in police custody, of the black consciousness leader Mr Steven Biko. On hearing of his death the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said that he was left cold by it. Archbishop Tutu conducted the funeral service. Fully aware of the degree to which Africans were both hurt and angered he pleaded with the apartheid government: "Please, please, for God's sake, listen to us while there is still a possibility of reasonably peaceful change" (Cited by Sparks & Tutu, 2011, p. 112).

The Pan Africanist leader Mr Robert Sobukwe died four months after Mr Biko and here again my narrative is silent. I have no recollection of mentioning the deaths of these key players of the liberation struggle in any of my classes, or of even of knowing who they were, and this bears testimony once again of the degree to which I was failing to engage critically with the society in which I lived and with any form of critical pedagogy. Such a lack of engagement was the result of what I had learnt, and indeed not learnt, during my socialisation at school, in particular.

My narrative makes specific mention of gender during this period, it being apparent that I easily went along with the obviously gendered position of the school principal in respect of women on the staff. It has occurred to me upon reflection that some of the women did indeed feel very offended by how they were treated, especially the few who were breadwinners. It is significant that they had no recourse to the Provincial Education Department which was extremely patriarchal in nature. How much worse must it have been for African women in society? Once again my narrative is silent in a key area such as this. It is silent also in respect of sexuality and religion and this is again evidence of the extent to which I was bound by prevailing social norms.

My Christian response to what was beginning to unfold in the society around me provides the content of another silence, one which bears testimony to the degree to which the St. Stephen's College norm had established itself in my sense of who I was. Bourgeois gentlemen, in their politely clothed benevolence, were not supposed to undermine the very political systems which held their privileged whiteness in place. They complained politely from a safe distance only. I left the Anglican Church during this period because I had become convinced that the Pinetown parish had become too political and I began attending what I considered to be a less political church.

To the layers of whiteness which I took with me to Pinetown High School was now added another layer, one which was characterised by my being an agent of bourgeois whiteness. It was from this position that I 'othered' people who fell beyond the social norms it established. This is evident in the degree to which I was either openly obedient to the dictates of such norms or maintained a silence in my narrative. Significantly, this was also a layer made up of the experience of me, as an agent of bourgeois whiteness, being 'othered' by bourgeois whites who saw themselves, essentially, as being more white than me.

6.1.9. Edgewood College of Education (1980-2001); Faculty of Education, Edgewood Campus, University of Natal (2002-2005) and University of KwaZulu-Natal (2006-2010): Pinetown, South Africa

My moving to the Edgewood College of Education in 1980 coincided with significant shifts in the geopolitical landscape of whiteness in southern Africa. The Portuguese had abandoned their colonial hold over Angola and Mozambique and whites in South Africa were struggling to hold on to their occupation of Namibia whilst at the same time having to contend with mounting resistance to their political power from within South Africa. Of particular significance to me were the collapse of white Rhodesian nationalism and the birth of Zimbabwe. Given the degree to which I had identified with UDI and all it stood for, and although I had by now begun to question my Rhodesian stance, I nevertheless experienced a real sense of confusion and loss. What was for many years a certainty of my past had been disrupted. Spivak's (1990) notion of 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) 'identity trauma' resound once again.

The Edgewood College of Education had been conceived of and planned during the political confidence of the 1960s, as a white space in which to prepare white English-speaking students for a white English-speaking world, a world in which there would always be a need for white teachers and in which change and uncertainty were not even remotely contemplated (Vietzen, 2010). The decision to build Edgewood was taken "...to prove to the National Party government that Natal was not lagging behind. Just like that!" (Vietzen, 2010, p. 12). I found it disturbing, therefore, that I had hardly arrived in 1980 when questions were asked about the future of the institution in much the same way as there were questions about the future of whiteness in South Africa.

My narrative is clear that during my time at the Edgewood College of Education I witnessed much change in the position of whiteness, both in South Africa and at the Edgewood College of Education itself. In South Africa white rule came to an end in 1994 after a tumultuous period leading up to the first democratic elections in April of that year. As I have reflected on this time I have noted the silence in my narrative regarding the death of the South African Communist Party leader, Mr Chris Hani, in 1993. He was a hugely popular figure and his death brought South Africa perilously close to a full blown civil war but for the influence of Mr Nelson Mandela who went onto national television to appeal for calm:

A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation teeters on the brink of disaster. A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this assassin.

This is a watershed moment for all of us. Our decisions and actions will determine whether we use our pain, our grief, our outrage to move forward to what is the only lasting solution for our country, an elected government of the people...I appeal, with all the authority at my command, to all our people to remain calm and honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace (Cited by Carlin, 2008, p. 120).

I remember clearly watching the televised address but the silence in my narrative speaks to the degree to which I had not fully linked what had happened to the broader sweep of political change and also the degree to which I had not fully appreciated the great influence at the time of Mr Nelson Mandela. I have recognized also that there was at least some sense in which I was more interested in the political transition being allowed to unfold as smoothly as possible for the well-being of myself and my immediate family than I was concerned about how Africans were really feeling about unfolding events. I was interested to read that my daughter, Carin, recognized this tendency on my part in her response to my narrative (Appendix E).

A process of healing and reconciliation, effected by the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), followed the 1994 elections and here too my narrative is silent. I followed many of the hearings but there came a time when I remember growing tired of them. I realise now that the silence in my narrative suggests that once again I was not fully appreciative of the full impact of what was unfolding. I was not at the time able to share Krog's grasp (cited by Sparks & Tutu, 2011, p. 196) of events when she spoke of the hearings in the following terms: "Week after week, voice after voice, account after account, it's like travelling on a rainy night behind a huge truck - images of devastation breaking in sheets on the windscreen".

Changes at the Edgewood College, meanwhile, lagged behind those which occurred within the country as a whole. Institutional power remained firmly in white hands until the college was incorporated into the University of Natal in 2001. This was in spite of the growth in the numbers of African, Indian and coloured students, and growing opposition from them to the way in which the college was governed. What was not properly understood was that such tardiness in the pace of change was due largely to uncertainty about the place of the college of education sector within higher education

provision, uncertainty which finally ended with the incorporation of colleges throughout the country into universities.

During the life-span of the Edgewood College of Education the geographic space which provided the territorial anchor to my socialisation was firmly controlled by whites. Africans, as had been my previous experiences, except in Zambia, entered this space as a servant-class only. It is apparent that the second year Valley of a Thousand Hills Geography course I refer to in my narrative played a significant role in exposing me to geographical areas occupied by Africans. I have commented earlier, in respect of my visit to Edendale as a university student, that my stereotyping of Africans was probably reinforced by my seeing the conditions under which Africans lived (Kumashiro, 2000). It would appear that I was not affected in the same way at this point in time since it does seem that such exposure caused me to substantially question my attitudes and assumptions in respect of African people and the conditions under which they had to live. What is significant however, is that I incorporated this increased exposure, and the questioning that went with it, into the liberal view of the world that was taking a firmer hold within my consciousness at the time. In my opinion it was a more benevolent political arrangement which was needed in South Africa, and not one which challenged white power as such.

I have realised, upon reflection, that my support for a more benevolent political arrangement demonstrates either my ignorance of the deeper structural issues at work, or an inclination not to be concerned about them, or both. A key issue, for example, during the decade of the 1980s, was the question of the South African citizenship of Africans which the government was terminating as the Bantustans became 'independent'. Archbishop Desmond Tutu led the campaign against this. I remember being dismissive of the campaign, primarily because of the Tutu link. Although I have come to have an enormous respect for Tutu subsequently, I held him in low regard at the time because, as my daughter, Carin mentions in her response to my narrative (Appendix E) he also led the sanctions drive against South Africa which I so strongly disagreed with at the time.

It is only subsequently that I have come to recognize how central Tutu's citizenship campaign was to the struggle against Apartheid. To have argued merely for a more benevolent political dispensation, as I was doing, was to have missed the point

altogether. Tutu's personal frustration is reflected in a letter he wrote to Mr F.W. de Klerk, who was the Minister of National Education and Home Affairs at the time. Writing in April 1985 Tutu appealed as follows:

As you are no doubt aware, I travel on a South African document for travel purposes whose validity is extended on an ad hoc application on my part.

I think the situation in which I am placed is in fact a ridiculous one. The State President announced that the matter of our citizenship was being reconsidered.

In the meantime I travel with facilities which quite preposterously describe my nationality as "undeterminable at present". When I announce this fact at meetings overseas I do not need to comment any further. It is such a blatantly ridiculous and utterly unjust situation that my overseas audiences are left aghast at the enormity of what the policy of denationalising blacks actually entails.

It is a gratuitous embarrassment to our country. I have travelled on a South African passport before and request that you issue me with one valid for all countries and for the normal period.

I retain my own opinions about the policy of apartheid as utterly evil, unchristian and immoral which I have expressed and will continue to express here and abroad. I will continue to call for pressure to be exerted on your government...

I therefore urge you as a matter of expediency and good sense and equity to issue me with a South African passport now. I have applied to go the United States of America in May to speak at our daughter's graduation. I hope to hear from you positively...(cited in Sparks & Tutu, 2011, p. 11).

After the abolition of apartheid geographic spaces at all levels were opened up to occupation and settlement by all races. In keeping with this various changes to the geography of the Edgewood campus are mentioned in my narrative and while I was drawn into the planning processes involved in respect of some of the changes (Samuel, 2010), there was also a sense in which they confirmed a sense of my feeling somewhat alienated. Increasingly the campus started to look less as if it was a space with which I felt I could identify, not only because it was transformed from a predominantly white space but also because of the significant increases in student numbers which had to be accommodated as it became a space occupied by a university faculty. I should mention that I continue to visit the space quite regularly and still feel somewhat set apart. For one thing, I do not think it is the neatly manicured space it once was. I know that I am passing judgement on the basis of my white norms and worldview and a white

aesthetic. I also know that I have to build this realisation into the new identity I am endeavouring to construct for myself.

It is relevant to mention also that shortly after the incorporation of Edgewood into the University of Natal I moved into the home I currently occupy, namely in a gated estate in Kloof. I did so primarily in response to the death of my wife and also to provide myself with a secure home in a deteriorating security environment. Many whites in South Africa have done the same and as it has turned out I now find myself undertaking this autoethnographic project from within a white residential space in a predominantly white village. In effect, in respect of the local space I occupy I could be living in colonial Rhodesia or apartheid South Africa. I need to be true to myself in acknowledging that this is bound to impact the way in which I am endeavouring to engage with present day realities in South Africa. My privilege as a white person is clearly on-going. Should it be that I might decide to abandon my endeavours to engage I would be able to withdraw into my white geographic space without anyone even noticing. Such is the nature and power of whiteness.

In respect of my experience of education as an educator at Edgewood, and its role in my on-going socialisation, my narrative makes it clear that I became thoroughly caught up in the fabric of Edgewood as a college of education and identified with what it stood for strongly. I was there for twenty one years, having started as a lecturer and ending up as deputy rector. It is not insignificant that I played a leading role in facilitating the process of the incorporation of the College into the University of Natal.

The incorporation was such that the focus of what was expected of me as an educator changed radically in that I had to make the transition from being a teacher, college lecturer and education manager to one who was primarily engaged in educational research. It is apparent that I struggled with this. I experienced the closure of the College as a personal loss, one which was compounded by the personal loss of my first wife. I had a sense of the rationale behind the government's thinking, namely that teacher education should be drawn into the new Higher Education sector (Steele, 2003), but I could not accept the argument that to have kept Edgewood College open would have been politically tantamount to retaining of a bastion of white power in relation to teacher education. Edgewood College was different from the other colleges, most of which had indeed been apartheid mouthpieces. I failed to appreciate that while

Edgewood College might have been critical of apartheid it had, nevertheless, as a liberal institution, been wedded to white control and domination and it was still, effectively, a white institution. That was why it was treated as if it had been an apartheid institution.

It is apparent from my narrative that despite the sense of loss I felt I was nevertheless affirmed by the white liberal formal culture of the university and was able to slip into an easy working relationship with university colleagues whom I had known for many years. I had hardly settled in however, when the Universities of Natal and Durban-Westville were merged in accordance with further post-apartheid restructuring of the Higher Education sector. This resulted in the creation of the new University of KwaZulu-Natal (Jarvis, 2010). It was this development which led to the powerful dislodging of two variations of whiteness on the Edgewood site. The one, of which I was a part, was a remnant of the former Edgewood College, and the other was that which was brought into the new institution by the white staff of the University of Natal.

As for the impact upon me of the ideology of liberalism it is clear from my narrative that the seeds which had been sown earlier during my socialisation established themselves more securely now and that by the time I was serving in senior management positions I was teaching and dispensing a variation of whiteness which was distinctly informed by the ideology, with relative ease and confidence. In my ignorance however, I believed that in doing so I was opposing apartheid, and more specifically the policy on education, in a substantial way, for I knew that the Afrikaner nationalists despised white liberals in the strongest of terms (Ashley, 1989). I had little sense though of the degree to which the liberal ideology was also rejected by Africanists and others committed to substantial, transformative change in society (Ashley, 1989; Sparks, 1990).

Only after dealing with the African student protesters on campus did I begin to learn about the nature of the rejection. My narrative makes it clear that a central concern of the protesting students was the degree to which Edgewood College authorities required Africans to become assimilated into its white liberal culture (Jarvis, 2010). It is apparent that I knew little of their argument that management's attempts to get 'them' to a position of sharing what 'it' had built up was an assimilatory approach to integration which was tantamount to a form of colour blind racism. I acknowledged, for example, that a degree of institutional and curricula change was indeed necessary but argued

that it could not be permitted at the expense of all that 'we' had built up. My insistence on the screening of all students who applied for admission was a case in point, as was the need to guard standards when staff members were appointed. Such an approach to education, and its effect on the maintenance of white supremacy in society, has been discussed in some detail in Chapter 2. Subsequent critical reflection has prompted me to inquire as to who established the criteria against which standards were measured and I have realised that they were white constructions designed to maintain the College as a white institution, even as the racial composition of the student intake began to change.

It was only after the incorporation of Edgewood into the new University of KwaZulu-Natal Faculty of Education that I learnt, and was able to finally acknowledge, that the liberalism, and the multi-cultural assimilatory, colour-blind institutional policies associated with it, was seen as little more than a polite and paternalistic way of paying homage to the apartheid status quo. It was now that I was confronted with assertions that those of us who had managed Edgewood College had failed to realise what African students were really trying to say to us when they protested against a lack of transformation. It was now that I came to understand why Edgewood College had been regarded as a white college, and that its stand against apartheid had hardly been regarded as a stand at all.

My sense of feeling alienated culminated in the removal of the portrait of Dr Andre le Roux. It was now for the first time in my life that I was made to feel like an outsider because of a dethroning of white power. Given how Edgewood College had become part of me and the degree to which I had identified with the institution and with Dr Andre le Roux as a person, the removal of the portrait took on a very personal note symbolically, in terms of whiteness. It is apparent that, subsequent to this, my lack of a research profile and my inability to accept, and adapt to, many of the new teaching and staffing arrangements and requirements in the new Faculty added to the sense in which I felt alienated.

The presiding faculty dean was an Indian woman and I have realised upon reflection that this greatly added to the degree to which I felt alienated. Silences in my narrative speak to my 'othering' of Indians, as has been noted elsewhere. My 'othering' of women has also been noted. It is apparent that such 'othering' was enmeshed in the layers of

my socialisation which had been laid down over the years. In coming to terms with this, I have realised that at the time I felt not the slightest inclination to entertain how the new dean, about whom I had been so critical, and other non-white people from the former University of Durban Westville for that matter, might have felt about the whiteness of Edgewood when they first arrived. In an endeavour to compensate for this state of affairs I once again revisited some of the published material I had consulted. In doing so I was interested to learn that the dean herself has subsequently given voice to how she felt and has written as follows:

As I drove around the campus looking for parking on my first day at work in January 2005 I could not find any space marked for the Dean. As I inquired about this I was told I would have to join the queue and wait until a parking became available! Then followed an equally simple matter (I thought) of requesting keys to the building to access my office after hours...only to be told that a key could not be provided as this would pose a security risk! I could not help but wonder if I would have got the same response if I were a greying white male professor. It may have been coincidence that these directives came from administrative staff which were all white supposedly following whatever they deemed to be policy and procedures. And perhaps it did not have anything to do with the fact that a black woman dean from the former black University of Durban Westville now on the campus of a former white institution was making these demands. Except that each of these mundane matters (and there were others) which would be taken for granted provisions for any dean in any university, were a constant uphill battle sapping energy and time...

On my first day at work as I stood in the foyer of the large tutorial building and took in the surroundings, the plush carpets, neatly painted walls, good lighting, and soft lounge chairs for those waiting to be served I found the words ring in my head of the first matter that was brought to my attention when I had visited the campus the previous year. An incident had arisen during Teaching Practice between African and white student teachers at the white school in which they were placed for Teaching Practice. The words alleged to have been spoken by some white students that sparked the matter were ringing in my head as I looked at the portraits of white men adorning the walls, "...Why don't you go to your own schools in the townships, this isn't your campus!" Whiteness, that is apartheid whiteness, and its attendant racialization and racism was infused into the very fabric of the institution and caught you in every corner and turn. It was in your face, you could turn away and deal with by choosing to ignore it, or you could confront it head on so that it could be challenged, managed and perhaps laid to rest.

The first day as I sat in my empty office I asked the campus manager to take down the portrait of the last white rector of the Edgewood College of Education and to store it safely. I could see his hesitation as a former staff member of the former Edgewood College of Education. "We will find an appropriate place to put it", I assured him (Vithal, 2010, pp. 181-182).

It has been informative to learn that a senior member of the academic staff, an African woman, writes of similar experiences which came her way when she first visited the campus. One is described below (Buthelezi, 2010, p. 146):

One Sunday morning I was coming from the shop and at the Edgewood gate a white male who was driving into Edgewood offered to give me a lift. I did not really want a lift as I had planned to walk, but somehow I felt it was impolite to refuse, so I jumped into the car. I learnt from a small conversation we had that he had worked at Edgewood for more than 20 years, so he knew every corner of the campus. When I asked him to drop me next to my flat he asked if I was working for a staff member or working in the kitchen.

Sexuality and religion were further areas in which I had to deal with substantial change at Edgewood. The freedom of individuals to openly express who they were sharply disrupted the neat white worlds of the apartheid period. In the area of sexuality my socialisation had clearly linked my whiteness and my maleness to heterosexuality as an undisputed norm. This was forcefully dislodged within the new Faculty with my exposure to how gays and lesbians openly celebrated who they were and, also by my forming friendships with both gays and lesbians. In a similar vein my exposure to religions other than Christianity was a new experience. My regarding Christianity as the 'norm' was dislodged with the representation of a diversity of religions on the campus, some of which were very free and visible in the practice of what they believed.

That I experienced difficulties with the new University of KwaZulu-Natal dispensation is clear from my narrative and from what has been said above. On reading my narrative, and commenting in the text, Dr Thabo Msibi indicated that he thought there were areas in my Edgewood narrative in which there were either silences or where my experience had been rather too superficially dealt with. His comment was that I perhaps came across as being too upset in the latter part of Chapter 5 and that this might have limited my 'thinking with' my narrative. In 'thinking about' my narrative, in this chapter, I have tried to address his concerns, which centred on the degree to which I was so integrally involved in Edgewood's whiteness. It is significant that Thabo was both a student and colleague of mine and that his tenure straddled both the College and Faculty periods.

Comments by my daughter Laura and my wife Janet (Appendices F and G), that in my narrative I make too little of the difficulties I experienced at Edgewood once it had become part of a university faculty, also set me to thinking afresh about what I had written. I realised that my sense of who I was as a white person had been fundamentally

shaken, particularly when the experience was seen against the broader changes which had taken place in South Africa. I also found it emotionally stressful since it followed a thirty one year period of tenure at the institution and was so close to my retirement. Spivak's (1970) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) 'notion of 'identity trauma' come to mind yet again. As I have indicated previously, my embarking upon this autoethnographic study has been an attempt to try to understand the experience against the backdrop of my socialisation and in such a way as to enable me to work constructively through it as I construct a new South African identity for myself.

Despite my difficulties at Edgewood I have realised that as I prepared to leave I still had a good deal of agency simply because I was white. Several examples can be cited to support this. The formal language of instruction, English, was my mother-tongue. Many of my students were severely disadvantaged by their poor mastery of English. I enjoyed the freedom, furthermore, to develop my own course material and, because of who I was, much of what I taught continued to be from the perspective of a white/western worldview. Even if I had tried to substantially change this, the books and resource materials available to my students were produced and published very largely by whites wedded to the same.

#### 6.1.10. Highway College: Pinetown (2011 - the present) and PhD (2009 – the present)

Highway College sees me back in the school system after a long period of absence. I find myself placed as an insider who experiences regular interaction with a wide range of people who are involved in the formal schooling system, both at Highway College and beyond. These include teachers, parents, pupils and departmental officials. This being the case, I am readily able to observe and reflect, and I often do so according to an interest and inclination which has been given much substance by my undertaking of this autoethnographic study. I elaborate upon the more noteworthy of my observations and reflections below.

I have been struck by the degree to which, with one or two noteworthy exceptions, what I am now experiencing is so similar to what I experienced when I started teaching at the neighbouring Pinetown High School almost 40 years ago. A major difference is, as I note in my narrative, that Highway College is one of many small low fee private schools which have sprung up to accommodate pupils from upwardly mobile African families moving out of the townships and working class white families anxious to escape an

influx of Africans into formerly white state schools (Hofmeyer & Lee, 2004). Another difference is that the pupil body I now have jurisdiction over is multi-racial. Other than that it is largely a case of 'as you were'. The staff compliment is strongly white and female and the management entirely white. Patterns of school organisation, including rules, routines and disciplinary codes are as they used to be, but for the removal of corporal punishment. The curriculum and the wealth of textbooks and resources that have been developed around it are still strongly reflective of a white worldview. English is the medium of instruction and pupils all take Afrikaans as their compulsory second language. Pupils are only accepted into the school if they pass stringent entrance tests.

This being the case, it is apparent that it is a multi-cultural model that applies and that it is only those pupils who are appropriately assimilated who pass through the system successfully. Any valuing of non-white pupils' own cultures and world views hardly extends beyond what might be experienced on so-called 'multi-cultural days' and in a celebration of the 'rainbow nation' around Heritage Day every year. The degree to which structural racism is left in place by this is reinforced by the technician nature of the curriculum and the nature of the assessment that supports it. There is, in association with this, a strong focus on teachers teaching to their text-book content and rushing to finish 'on time'. It is hardly surprising that there is little in the way of critical pedagogy. Anxious for their children to pass, parents are strong supporters of this system, not least African parents. 'Why else do you think we took our children out of the townships?' a group of parents asked me at a recent parent-teacher meeting.

My interaction with teachers from other schools, and with parents and departmental officials, has been such that I have become aware that such a lingering whiteness exists far beyond Highway College. This is so not least in the overcrowded, mono-racial township schools where, with few exceptions, pupils do not perform as well as they do in formerly white suburban schools and private schools. As has been noted, there is invariably a clamouring to escape the township schools and it is my observation that those who succeed in securing alternative school places invariably join the expanding African middle-class.

The situation I have described here, not least the class divide among Africans, is reinforced by geographical realities in post-apartheid South Africa. The vast majority of Africans still live in townships. In fact new housing provision, of which the government is

so proud, typically attaches itself to, and grows outwards from, existing townships, and so in many ways, the divisions of old are compounded by current 'democratic' practice. As far as whites are concerned many still live in largely white suburbs and, as noted in Chapter 2, a growing number have moved into gated estates.

I believe that the 'learning communities' I discuss in the next chapter have the potential to play a part in helping South Africans to reach out to each other across the boundaries that are still in place. In the next chapter I acknowledge that how such communities can be brought about is a matter requiring further research. This notwithstanding it is my contention that, given their nature, the development of learning communities is likely to be easier in school environments in which teachers and pupils are both willing and able to care for one another and engage meaningfully with the society in which they live.

I have embarked upon a programme to develop these attributes at Highway College and various initiatives give substance to this. Much of the focus is on the teachers who now attend staff development and leadership programmes on a regular basis, with the emphasis being on them being encouraged to engage in reflective and critical practice. For their part, pupils have started to become involved in various community outreach initiatives, the most recent being one which seeks to 'care for the police officers who care for us'. The school has also recently become a fully-fledged recycling centre while a significant increase in the number of excursions and field trips undertaken is increasing pupils' exposure to the realities of their society.

It is significant that it has been largely during my period of tenure at Highway College that I have been engaged with this autoethnographic project. It is relevant to ask therefore, whether my professional practice has been impacted in any way. I am convinced that it has, and that this speaks to a most significant difference between the person and educator I now am as compared with the individual who started out at Pinetown High School so long ago.

When I first took the position at Highway College it was essentially because it was a job that I thought I would fit comfortably into since I felt too young to retire following the ending of my tenure at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Now, four years later, it has become far more than a job to fill the space of a few more working years. I believe, knowing that my dis-identification with whiteness is a process which is underway, that I am well placed to undermine whiteness as an insider. I know that I need to see this as

an unfolding process and, this being the case, it is significant that the school does not have a fixed retirement age as such. I could be there for some time yet.

When I set out on my autoethnographic journey I was primarily interested in the nature of my socialisation into whiteness and I regarded any sense that others would gain from the study as an additional benefit. I believe that my being positioned at Highway College at this point in time carries much potential in respect of the securing of such benefit.

## 6.2. DRAWING THE SUB-THEMES OF MY NARRATIVE ACROSS THE GEOPOLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL SPACES: SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

In the foregoing analysis I brought my data (my personal narrative) and knowledge, as revealed in the literature, together. Keeping to the geopolitical and educational spaces of my lived experience, I used the 'spatial turn' of my study to analyse key themes pertaining to my socialisation into whiteness. It emerges that I was impacted as I experienced different variations of whiteness in different geopolitical and educational spaces experiencing socio-political change as I moved through them. Of particular importance, is that I acted back on what I received and thus became complicit in my socialisation into whiteness. It is apparent, furthermore, that while there were times when I was a learner of whiteness there were also times when I was a teacher and enforcer of the same.

I move now to another level of analysis by drawing each theme across all the geopolitical and educational spaces of my lived experience so as to gain an overview of the role each played in my socialisation process. As I proceed, I apply a Symbolic Interactionist position and argue that while the geopolitical and educational spaces may have acted alone, not that they could be quarantined as such, at different macro, meso and micro levels, the essence of their shaping power has far more likely been born out of the interaction between them and between them and me. As the spaces changed over time, so did I and so did the nature of the interaction. Soja's (1996) 'Thirdspace', coupled with the 'spatial turn' in this study, is sensitive to the dynamic nature of the interaction involved as is the insistence of Symbolic Interactionists that individuals are not merely passive and only acted upon, but active agents who act back on the spaces which act upon them. In respect of educational spaces in particular, Giroux's (1983) contention, as has been noted in Chapter 2, that human agency in schools cannot be underestimated is supportive of this. It follows that pupils should not be seen simply as

passive receivers of the central messages of schools but as individuals who can and often do resist (Apple, 1995; Giroux, 1983; Willis, 1997).

With these considerations in mind, as my discussion proceeds I add to what has already been noted in respect of my acting back on the forces which shaped my whiteness. As a follow on, I note the degree to which I have been complicit in my own socialisation.

Present as a theme throughout my socialisation in each of the geopolitical and educational spaces of my experience, is the notion of white superiority. Although there were differences in how it was conveyed and reproduced the common denominator was that whites perceived themselves to be superior. During the colonial and apartheid periods they were able to give themselves rights of control and occupation, despite their minority status, and during this time white privilege was accepted as a given. It was the same in the post-independence and post-apartheid periods because, given the degree to which racial inequality is embedded in the structures of society it is the nature of whiteness to persist, even in the face of the much reduced physical presence of white people.

In reflecting upon the nature of my response to the notion of white superiority it is clear that however it was packaged, whether openly and aggressively, as by the Rhodesian and Afrikaner nationalists, or more politely and covertly, as by the white liberals at the University of Natal and the Edgewood College of Education, I indeed identified strongly with it. It is apparent that such identification determined the nature of my interaction with, and my attitudes towards, non-whites, most especially Africans. It is also apparent that such identification was only challenged in a substantial way once I became engaged with this autoethnographical project.

White liberals opposed apartheid from within constitutional structures. The few whites who opposed from beyond the same aligned themselves, to varying degrees, with the liberation movements, most notably the African National Congress. Key to the challenge which they brought was that white power and privilege was morally reprehensible and needed to be dislodged as far as it was possible to do so. I knew little of the space in which such whites operated, and believing it to be radical and dangerous, I did not venture into trying to find out more. Little did I know what the consequences were to be.

My socialisation is also marked by the presence of different variations of whiteness, distinguished by the social markers of social class, language and political ideology, this as distinct from a single, united, homogenous whiteness. Complex patterns of interaction existed between the variations. Whites in all of the variations perceived themselves to be superior to other races and in all cases whites were privileged because they were white.

In respect of the marker of social class, a defining feature of my socialisation is that I grew up in colonial spaces where whites, because of their minority numerical status, and the need to present a homogenous front to non-whites, effectively whitened as they entered them. I benefitted to the extent that it was possible for me as a working-class boy to be socialised into a bourgeois expression of whiteness and even to become a prefect of the same. Armed with the necessary 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986) and 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986), I was able to 'other' not only people who were not white, most especially Africans, but also working-class whites, not least, eventually, the 'Rhodies' with whom I had identified so strongly as an adolescent.

My coming to reject the 'Rhodies' had roots in a difficult set of interactions which went back to my stay at Jameson High School and later, the William O'Brien Residence at the University of Natal. Apart from the rejection being precipitated by my socialisation into bourgeois whiteness, the simultaneous process by which I eventually came to embrace the political ideology of Liberalism was also important. This process began when I was at university and came to fruition once I had become a professional educator at the Edgewood College of Education and the University of Natal. What is significant about the 'Rhodies' is my likening some of them to 'white trash', in accordance with how such a cultural category has been explained in Chapter 2, and also that they were privileged by their whiteness, even to the extent that some had made it to university. The privileged education they had received in Rhodesia, along with the myriad of other privileges conferred by Rhodesian society, had clearly paid dividends.

Apart from these experiences my other experience of whiteness was that of the Afrikaner variation of whiteness. Although my personal interaction with Afrikaners was very limited my indirect experience through the political power the Afrikaner nationalists wielded in South Africa, not least through their policy of CNE, was a distinct feature of

my socialisation. A persistent struggle for me was the degree to which both bourgeois white Rhodesians and the 'Rhodies' marginalised Afrikaners, regarding them as inferior and even projecting their own racism onto them.

My interaction with these variations of whiteness and the degree to which I built how I was impacted by them into a sense of who I was as a person presented several key difficulties along the way. These often related to the degree to which the geopolitical and educational spaces of my socialisation experienced socio-political change and how I was impacted as I moved through them. Reference has been made to the emotional upheaval I endured and of the degree to which I felt my sense of identity being challenged.

Also present as a theme throughout my socialisation is the role played by geopolitical spaces in the construction of my whiteness, both in respect of them acting upon me and my acting back on them. Whites used their control over geopolitical space, and their sense of belonging to it, to exercise control over Africans. I identified strongly with this and often claimed the spaces of my experience as mine. The most obvious manifestation of such control was the fact that Africans were kept out of white spaces except as a servant-class. Another manifestation was the inclination of whites to hold up their spaces, in their neatly manicured state, as a demonstration of white standards of civilisation and once again I identified strongly with this. The result was that despite my white minority status I was able to live in Africa, with a sense of power and control, without living in Africa effectively and engaging with Africans.

Since I identified so strongly with the geopolitical spaces of my experience during the colonial and apartheid periods, I felt a sense of personal loss in seeing these spaces pass out of the hands of the white elites in the post-independence period. This degree of personal loss became very real for me, for example, when the invasions of white owned farms took place in Zimbabwe from the year 2000. Although I did not own any of the farms I felt the loss together with the white farmers because of the way in which I had identified with geographical space in Rhodesia as an adolescent.

In the post-apartheid period in South Africa many formerly white geographical spaces have become mixed spaces. Many, furthermore, are no longer the neat, manicured spaces they used to be and this too I count as a loss. Having said this, I acknowledge that I am viewing loss in this regard from the perspective of whiteness. I am

nevertheless encouraged by the fact that while the residential and neighbourhood spaces I currently occupy are largely white spaces I believe that I am at a stage in my journey where I am able to say, given my love of indigenous gardening, that my neighbours' appreciation of indigenous flora is more important than their racial identity. In saying so, I am mindful, bearing in the mind the work of Hughes (2010) and Pilosoff (2012) in Zimbabwe, that I could be accused of claiming a sense of control and belonging without having to engage authentically with African people. I believe, however, that while such an accusation may have held in the past I have now reached a stage of self-reflective awareness which facilitates authentic engagement on my part.

In turning my attention to the next theme that runs through my socialisation, namely the role of education, it is appropriate to start by being reminded that the field of critical pedagogy is predicated upon the fact of the political nature of schooling and education. This was indeed my overwhelming experience of the educational spaces which impacted me. With the exception of my brief stay at Mufulira High School and my experience of Edgewood as the Faculty of Education in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, it was white elites who were always in charge and who used their power to manipulate people's experience of education, in various ways, so as to secure their own interests. There were times when my experience of school was intended to prepare me for an adult life with my working-class background intact, while at other times the intention was that my schooling should contribute to my socialisation into bourgeois whiteness. Similarly, there were times when I was openly taught to be accepting of apartheid and also when I was exposed to stances which at least claimed to oppose the same. My first experience of what might be achieved by critical pedagogy was within the faculty at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

However my experience of education was manipulated there was always an outward focus on white homogeneity and a declaration of white superiority. This position was reinforced by the location of the educational spaces of my experience in separate, manicured, protected white geographical spaces and by the fact that it was most often the case that I shared them with white children only. Africans were servants only and for the duration of my schooling career I had no idea where they went to school or if indeed they did so at all. White superiority was further reinforced by the formal curricula to which I was exposed since these taught only a Eurocentric worldview and nothing about

Africa or Africans except for that which might have been constructed by whites to suit their particular goals.

A further defining feature of my learning of whiteness was that I was never taught to see myself as having been raced or privileged in any way. My success in life was always attributed to my own individual efforts. As an extension of this, I was taught to see white society as constituting a collection of individuals. By contrast, I was taught to race Africans and to assign a group identity to them. If they were underprivileged it was either because they had yet to catch up with white standards of civilisation, a view propounded by the white bourgeois liberals of my experience, or because they were inferior and incapable of reaching white superior standards, a view propounded by many working class whites, such as the 'Rhodies' of my experience. Racial stereotyping was an easy sequel to this.

Such a focus on the individual was informed by the ideology of liberalism which I embraced after many years of holding it in low regard because of the degree to which I was influenced by supremacist white forces. It has only been comparatively recently that I have come to recognize that liberalism is a white supremacist position and that its influence on education has been to teach people how not to engage in any substantial way in critical analysis. This means that for the greater part of my professional life, I was a teacher and enforcer of the ideology of white domination. When I was a manager at Edgewood College and my students tried to tell me so, I refused to credit their arguments, clinging harder to liberally informed notions of assimilation and colour-blindness as a means to transform Edgewood College. Coming to terms with the reality that these were actually reinforcing the white dominated status quo was difficult for me, particularly because of the influence of liberalism on me on the one hand, and that of Dr Andre Le Roux, a man for whom I came to have much respect, on the other.

Before leaving this theme it is appropriate to reflect more fully upon how I responded to the central messaging I received from the schools I attended, especially in light of what has been noted about the importance of human agency in schools. It would seem that, by and large, I accepted what I received in an uncritical manner. This was so especially at St. Stephen's College where I was successfully socialised into bourgeois whiteness and was able to identify with the school to the extent of electing, initially at least, to return as a teacher once I had qualified. This was in spite of my difficulties with the

school's attitudes towards the Rhodes, UDI, South Africa and Afrikaners. This was also in spite of the pressures I felt to comply with the norms and expectations of the informal culture of the school which was, in any case, never intent upon dislodging the formal culture as such, certainly in respect of whiteness. The agency I exercised was thus to identify with rather than to resist or engage in any form of oppositional behaviour. It is apparent that as an adult professional educator, both at Pinetown High School and the Edgewood College of Education, I was equally compliant.

In respect of the intersectionality between my whiteness and the social marker of gender, silences in my narrative, as well as instances where gender is mentioned as such, point to the degree to which I accepted the patriarchal nature of the white social spaces of my experience as an uncontested norm. It is apparent that my socialisation was such that my whiteness and my maleness came into firm alliance in pointing decidedly in my favour as a white male who had power over white females, let alone African females. The strongest messaging to this effect came through what I learnt via the formal bourgeois whiteness, and informal 'Rhodie' whiteness at St. Stephen's College where my white male superiority was firmly laid down although in quite different ways. It is equally evident that my position in respect of women was challenged most strongly by what I learnt in the Faculty of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

My difficulty in coming to terms with new Faculty of Education culture at the University of KwaZulu-Natal is well documented in my narrative but what is not recorded is that the removal of the portrait of Dr Andre Le Roux by which I was so affronted, took place at the instigation of a Faculty Dean who was both female and Indian and, as such, a person bearing social constructs I had been taught to powerfully 'other'. Her actions placed her in a position in which it was she who could now exercise power. I had great difficulty with this at the time as has already been mentioned.

In pursuing the matter of gender further, I was interested to read comments made by my daughter, Carin, in her response to my narrative (Appendix E). In respect of her experience of me at home I fitted easily into my role of the traditional father, this being "...a legacy of my upbringing and the times when women assumed a domestic role". Male dominance is clearly implied. At the time I did not see my position as a father or a husband in this way. Having reflected however, I have realized that my daughter makes a valid point. When seen in relation to the comment of my wife, Janet, in her response

to my narrative (Appendix G) that as a member of the Edgewood College management team I was complicit in the neglect of gender related issues, and also when seen against the backdrop of the several silences in my narrative, it would indeed seem to be the case that I had a gendered view of the world.

There are several silences in my narrative in respect of sexuality and these, along with instances where it is mentioned, suggest that I am convinced of my whiteness and my heterosexual maleness as being aligned with well-established norms relating to sexuality. In elaborating upon this, it seems that my experience of socialisation into bourgeois whiteness was confirming of Dyer's (1997) contention that bourgeois white men typically learn to project sexuality on to the dark races, where deviance could easily be anticipated, and to be always fully in control of the sexual side of their own being. My contrasting experience of many of the 'Rhodies' was that while they were able to claim the same for themselves they seemed to be anything but in control of their sexual appetites.

It was also the case that my socialisation taught me, both formally and informally, that my whiteness and maleness combined to powerfully enshrine heterosexuality as a compulsory norm, this experience also being in keeping with well-established norms in respect of the social construction of whiteness. It was only later in my socialisation experience that I was exposed to people who felt that they were able to break from the rules required by these norms.

It is observed by Steyn (2001) that in colonial settings Christianity played a significant role in reinforcing notions of 'otherness' in the narration of whiteness. Most significant has been the association between whiteness and moral superiority. My own socialisation experience is supportive of this stance. As the layers of my socialisation were deposited I came to see my whiteness, my maleness, my heterosexuality and my Christianity as being in a supportive alliance with each other. I have come to realise that there was much about the Christianity I was socialised into which was also a social construct in that there was often a decided moving away from Biblical truths. The association of Christianity with bourgeois whiteness and the use of Anglicanism as the moral authority for Empire (Megahey, 2005; Paxman, 1998, 2012) are two examples that come to mind. Furthermore, I saw Christianity as the moral norm throughout my life until I experienced the regular presence, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, of other

religions. As campus demographics changed Christianity became, like whiteness itself, increasingly less the norm as it assumed minority status.

A key silence in my narrative relates to the association between Christianity and the benevolence and paternalism of liberalism. As a committed Christian I was often involved in various community outreach initiatives. While in the past I regarded this as me making a contribution to effect change in society, a typical liberal view, I now see such initiatives purely for what they were, an individual reaching out according to the Biblical principles of giving to those in need. Racial and structural causes of inequality are hardly likely to have been impacted by such initiatives and because the act of giving declares a difference between those who give and those who receive, there is always an 'othering' that is present. The silence in my narrative is indicative of the degree to which I had become convinced of my outreach initiatives as being the normal and right thing for any concerned person to do. The church link is also significant, given the role of Anglicanism in my socialisation, not least at St. Stephen's College, in teaching me to be fair and even handed in my dealings with Africans and to do what I could to help 'them' to catch up with 'us'.

### 6.3. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It is appropriate to mention that in addition to my socialisation being influenced by my experience of geopolitical and educational spaces, as they have been discussed here, I also was influenced by what I learnt from informal education sources in a broader sense, beyond school and university, and the few comments I make here should be seen as having been informed by what is said about public pedagogy in Chapter 2, about the central place of 'conversation' within public pedagogy and about public pedagogy sites. In making my comments I focus first on what I experienced in the colonial settings of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia before moving on to my South African experience. My intention is to cite a few examples of the kind of influences involved rather than to launch into an exhaustive analysis.

All of what I learnt during my time in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia was strongly supportive of white supremacy. The single channel television offerings catered exclusively for whites while separate radio services were available to whites and Africans. Such separation made a significant statement in itself, although I obviously did not recognize it at the time. In respect of both local radio and

television my exposure was to programme and commercial content which was about whites, produced by whites and directed to whites. Any exposure I had to international radio programmes was restricted to the world service of the British Broadcasting Corporation and the South African Broadcasting Corporation both of which were supportive of a white world view, although in different ways. The local newspapers with which I became familiar, namely the *Northern News* in Northern Rhodesia and the *Rhodesia Herald* and *Bulawayo Chronicle* in Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia also catered exclusively for whites. Popular magazines I read were invariably sourced from South Africa or Britain and those which were available to us presented the same white world we experienced in other media. The books I read were written by whites about whites and the same applied to my experience of the cinema. Only whites were allowed into the cinemas I attended and I only ever saw white films. The focus on whites was also true of the world of music to which I was exposed, and the world of fashion and, as a much younger child, my initial exposure to fairy-tales and nursery rhymes. All of this reinforced the degree to which I was isolated from the African people and the world in which they lived. My world was a white world and it was propped up by messaging which was strongly supportive of racial difference and notions of white superiority and black inferiority.

What I learnt during the apartheid period in South Africa was cast in much the same mould. A far greater diversity of public pedagogy sites was available but it was very much a case of notions of racial difference and white superiority being supported. Material was strictly censored as well, as it was in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia, as the authorities endeavoured to ensure that what people were exposed to was aligned with official propaganda.

I knew little of what non-whites were exposed to in all of the spaces of my experience but I knew that it had to meet the approval of the white authorities. It is relevant to add that the media were all owned by white business and governmental interests which meant that whites were in complete control of the information received by non-whites. Kaunda's (1962) description below of an experience of his African National Congress Party in Northern Rhodesia in 1955, nine years before he became the first president of Zambia, makes the point:

All the power of the press and radio was turned to discredit us. A small incident illustrates this. In Government Communique 118 of the African News Service which was distributed to the press and to all African reading rooms, it was reported that a well-known member of the African National Congress had been sent to jail in the Northern Province for four years for setting fire to a store in Chinsali. In fact this man, Kosam Mwamba, had never been a member of Congress. In one of my circulars I exposed this deliberate attempt to discredit us and declared that we hated violence and that it did not pay (cited in Kaunda, 1962, pp.66-67).

Despite changes in the political landscape it has been my experience that during the post-apartheid period there continue to be public pedagogy sites which are supportive of white supremacy although the messaging is far more subtle. In the post-apartheid period ties with neoliberal capitalism have been strengthened, corporate influence has grown, privatisation has occurred and a strong, consumerist culture, based on individual self-interest, has taken root among the fast growing African middle class (Gumede, 2005; Sparks, 2003). It is my contention that many public pedagogy sites are supportive of this neoliberal hold that has settled over the country, a hold that allows whiteness to continue to persist. The social media must be included here as there is much about the content that is generated and made available that is supportive of neoliberalism and its hold.

The cumulative effect of such public pedagogy needs to be seen alongside that of the formal education system in helping to explain the powerful persistence of whiteness in the geopolitical spaces of my experience, especially South Africa. Such persistence can be seen, as has been noted, in such critical areas as the on-going hold of the English language, the schooling system, white domination in the economic sphere, as has just been explained, and in the on-going hold of whiteness as a cultural trope.

As I bring this chapter to a conclusion I find that I am compelled to recognize that it is quite possible to read the notion of betrayal into much of my socialisation experience. The actions of the British, for example, were such that at one stage I saw them as colonisers who came and conquered and took, at their discretion, and then exited when it became politically expedient to do so, leaving a trail of destruction behind. It extends beyond the British however, since I was always taught in each of the geopolitical and educational spaces of my childhood and adolescence that the political power Africans now hold, would never come into being. This was most powerfully communicated through what I learnt in and through Rhodesian and Afrikaner nationalism.

Careful reflection, not least that which has been instigated by the undertaking of this autoethnography, has also caused me to see beyond betrayal however, for I have come to acknowledge my own complicity in my socialisation into whiteness. I say this because of the degree to which I became so loyal to whiteness and such an ardent campaigner for it and identified with it as strongly as I did. Equally important, is the degree to which I betrayed others in my capacity as a teacher and enforcer of whiteness. My complicity in the whiteness of Edgewood College is a particular case in point.

Simultaneously, I have come to see betrayal as not existing simply at the level of broken promises and 'false' delivery, but at a far deeper and more disturbing level. Jansen (2009) makes the point that hegemonic whiteness, because of the draconian measures it often resorts to in the name of whiteness, dehumanises whites as much as it does its victims. I have, in this sense, been dehumanised by all that the variations of whiteness of my experience resorted to that was inhumane and unjust as they tried to secure the position of whiteness. In coming to terms with this I have realised that I am complicit in my own dehumanisation because of my strong identification with, and support for, whiteness over many years. I am, furthermore, complicit in the dehumanisation of others because of the role I played as a professional educator in teaching and enforcing whiteness. Regardless of what was or what was not committed in my name, I am scarred and dehumanised by the bigotry that often accompanied my own racism and by the fact that I knew for many years I valued African lives less than I did white lives, for example, when I was digesting crime and vehicle accident statistics.

I was interested to read McIntosh (1995) in this regard. She contends that white privilege damages white people. She maintains that "...skewed white psyches are an inseparable part of the picture" (McIntosh, 1995, p. 92) because the privilege to exploit and manipulate and own and even hurt and injure eventually takes its toll. Power may well be conferred but certainly not moral strength.

This contention is aptly demonstrated by the following descriptions of the behaviour of young white Rhodesian servicemen after they had become aware that their defending of white Rhodesian nationalism had come to naught and that majority rule elections had finally been agreed to:

By mid-1979 hoteliers and bar owners in Salisbury had hot lines to the military police. So endemic was the violence of young servicemen that all

Salisbury bars and liquor outlets were closed on Saturday evenings. Calling the civilian police wasn't much use: the psychotic servicemen merely took them on. Periodically white youths crashed into bars used by blacks and set about any African they could find with any weapon they could lay their hands on. A hotel manager reflected: "I was in the British army for 22 years and I've been all over the world and I've never seen behaviour like this. Jimmy Trenchard, manager of a complex of 5 bars groaned helplessly about the vandalism. The toilets were ruined, the cisterns destroyed, the pipes ripped from the walls, the toilet bowls kicked in (Caute, 1983, p. 364).

And

Local police told of incidents where car loads of whites stopped black pedestrians to ask directions as a prelude to smashing them over the head with beer bottles. There were random beatings and killings of blacks (Caute, 1983, p. 365).

I could so easily have been one of those servicemen had I returned to Rhodesia after I had graduated. I would certainly have been drafted into the army.

I was still complicit though, in my own dehumanisation and that of others, albeit in less overt ways, once I had become a liberal. The moral high ground I had for so long believed I was conferring upon myself was anything but the high ground. It is only now that I am able to recognize the validity of what Leo Tolstoy (1828 – 1910) (cited in Andrews, 1987, p. 512) had to say about liberalism in the context of another place and another era:

I sit on a man's back, choking him and making him carry me, and yet assure myself and others that I am very sorry for him and wish to ease his lot by all means – except by getting off his back.

The question which I now need to ask relates to how I should deal with this knowledge. It is a question which has much relevance to my finding a way of being able to stay in South Africa and engaging authentically with its people. I engage with this question in the following, concluding chapter of my thesis.

Before bringing this chapter to an end I offer a few remarks, in respect of the period covered by my study, about political developments relating to whiteness in the broader international arena, in an endeavour to provide a few contextual anchors to my study.

I start with developments which coincided with my childhood in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia. It is interesting to be reminded that leading democracies were experiencing race related issues of their own during the period of my childhood. As the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was being dismantled, for example, African Americans were engaged in widespread protest action as they campaigned for the human rights enjoyed by whites to be extended to them. Martin Luther King gave his famous 'I have a dream speech' in 1963, and, as the Civil Rights movement gained momentum, key pieces of legislation followed. The Civil Rights Act (which banned racial discrimination) was passed in 1964, as was the Voting Rights Act (which guaranteed voting rights to all) while in 1965, when UDI was declared in Rhodesia, the Immigration and Nationality Services Act (which opened immigration to all) was passed. Such developments were strongly resisted by white supremacist organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council. African American neighbourhoods were terrorised and many lynchings of African Americans were reported, while Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968 (Tyson & Williams, 1998). Since the USA played a leading role in the campaign against UDI in Rhodesia and Apartheid in South Africa, it is interesting to be reminded of developments such as these which occurred within the USA itself.

Race related and human rights issues were also a feature of the political landscape in Europe during the period covered by my childhood. The primary focus was the growing protest action by whites against growing non-white immigration (Satiroglu, 2009), the same providing a ready platform, in the case of Britain, for the large number of whites who supported UDI in Rhodesia. It is interesting to note, against this backdrop, that at the same time Australia was abandoning the policy which had severely curtailed immigration by non-whites since the coming into being of the Australian Federation in 1901 (Anderson, 2002; Hollinsworth, 1998).

What needs to be added is that neoliberalism has become a force to be reckoned with, not least in Europe and the USA, since the 1970s (Giroux, 2005). What is significant about this, for my purposes, is that since neoliberalism is powerfully wedded to capitalism and market driven values, power becomes increasingly concentrated in a few hands. Rampant individualism destroys the notion of the welfare state and large segments of society are economically disenfranchised. Such conditions make for the flourishing of whiteness (Giroux, 2005).

South Africa's democratic transition had hardly begun when the ANC government, powerfully influenced by organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Organisation, fell under the spell of neoliberalism. It turned its back on its Reconstruction and Development Programme, which focussed on the redistribution of wealth, and opted for a strategy which was strongly focussed on economic growth (Gumede, 2005; Sparks, 2003). In aligning itself with international capitalism in this way the ANC government effectively strengthened its ties with international whiteness and this has had much to do with the on-going dominance of whiteness in South Africa to the present day.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **FAMILIAR PLACES AND FOREIGN SPACES:**

#### **MY STORY CONTINUES**

In this chapter I conclude my thesis. I start by presenting an overview of my study and then, once I have considered the appropriateness of the autoethnographic genre in helping me to understand my socialisation into whiteness, I move on to present my main research findings. Recommendations for further research are provided and my conclusion incorporates personal reflections on my study. I have in mind my research question throughout, most especially when I focus on my research findings per se.

#### **7.1. OVERVIEW OF MY STUDY**

My study is about whiteness in southern African geopolitical and educational spaces. It is about the process by which whiteness is learnt over time. More specifically it is about my own socialisation into my whiteness and it employs an autoethnographic genre to explore the nature of the process.

My study focuses on the geopolitical and educational spaces which have shaped my whiteness in three southern African geopolitical spaces, namely Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia and South Africa. While my experience of whiteness varied within these geopolitical spaces, and was unique to each and to the nature of the interaction between them, there was also much about it that was shared among them and also, significantly, much that was held in common with global whiteness. In this sense it is more correct to speak of what I experienced as being localised variations of whiteness. During the period of my lived experience each of the variations underwent journeys of change in which there was movement from positions of whites being in power, through a phase of whites trying to resist challenges to their power, to one in which political power was ultimately lost. I lived in each of the spaces at critical times in the journeys involved and was profoundly influenced by the variations of whiteness and my experience of them at particular times. My whiteness was born out of the cumulative effect of the 'deposits' made by each variation and by how I acted back on the shaping forces involved.

A distinctive 'spatial turn' is present throughout my study. In terms of this I analyse the part played by particular geopolitical and educational spaces in the shaping of my whiteness. I then use the theoretical lens of Symbolic Interactionism in order to gain an overview of how my socialisation unfolded cumulatively through all of the spaces. In using such a 'spatial turn' and Symbolic Interactionism I work through key themes which pertain to my whiteness and which weave their way through my narrative. My conceptualisation of space is that it is a contested, ideologically laden, and constantly changing construct. This conceptualisation of space, along with Symbolic Interactionism, readily accommodates human agency. This is important in an understanding of the degree to which I act back on the spaces. With this in mind it becomes evident that my socialisation has been shaped by both the action of geopolitical and educational spaces on me and by how I have responded to them. This holds good for the time when I was at school and university when I was essentially a learner of whiteness and for the time when I was an adult and a professional educator, when I continued to be a learner of whiteness and also became an agent and enforcer of whiteness.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study. I contextualise the study and outline its focus and purpose. I pose my research question and explain the rationale and motivation for undertaking the study as well as the conceptual framework which is used. I also outline my research design and explain the methodology and methods which are employed as well as giving an indication of how my data are analysed.

In Chapter 2 I present my literature review and theoretical framework. I discuss the nature of the concept of identity before moving onto an interrogation of whiteness as a social construct. I present the theoretical framework which accommodates my use of the concepts of whiteness, space and education, the social reproduction of whiteness via education, and the 'spatial turn' of my study. I also explain Symbolic Interactionism as the theoretical lens through which the operation of the 'spatial turn' is understood. An interrogation of whiteness in the three geopolitical spaces of my southern African experience follows.

In Chapter 3 I explain the research design, methodology and methods used in my study. I present autoethnography as my research design, and narrative inquiry as the research methodology which I employ. I explain how I went about gathering my data and then

proceed to explain how I went about analysing my data by distinguishing essentially, between 'thinking with' my story and 'thinking about' my story (Ellis, 2004; Frank, 1995; Trellis, 1997). Limitations to my study are suggested and ethical considerations are presented.

My personal narrative is presented in Chapters 4 and 5 which is where I 'think with' my narrative. Chapter 4 is concerned with my lived experience in what is now Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as in South Africa. It is in this chapter that my focus is on myself as a learner of whiteness, both as a school pupil and a university student. In Chapter 5 I focus on my lived experience as both a learner and agent of whiteness as a professional educator. In both Chapters 4 and 5 my story unfolds chronologically, with the geopolitical and educational spaces of my experience serving to demarcate the periods involved and to give structure to my text.

In Chapter 6 I set out to analyse my narrative by 'thinking about' it (Ellis, 2004; Frank, 1995; Trellis, 1997). In doing so I use the 'spatial turn' of my study to focus on key themes which emerge from my narrative and I then analyse the 'spatial turn' using the theoretical lens of Symbolic Interactionism.

## 7.2. REFLECTIONS ON WRITING AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

I have found autoethnography to be a research design which is particularly well-suited to my study since it connects the autobiographical and the personal with the cultural, social and cultural dimensions of life (Coia & Taylor, 2009; Ellis, 2004; Grossi, 2006; Holt, 2003; Reed-Danahay, 1997). It has been particularly well-suited to the tracing of my personal journey through the geopolitical and educational spaces of my experience. As I traced my journey I was able to peel back the layers of my socialisation into whiteness as I delved into my past in order to understand how I have been constructed as a white person.

I feel that having mined for meaning by tracing my personal journey via my personal narrative I have been able to impose a measure of order and understanding on the long stream of experience that has made up my life. I found it helpful to reflect on my experience as an integrated whole as distinct from a series of isolated, individual experiences. I found this to be true even if various voices within myself have sometimes produced a 'polyphonic novel'. I regard this experience as an indication that I am

engaged in a process of 'narrative identity' (Hall, 1996, p. 4) as I seek to understand how I have become the person that I am. This resonates with what I explained about identity and narrative in Chapter 3.

In reflecting upon the appropriateness of autoethnography to my study I have been encouraged to learn that the genre is suited to studies in which an individual needs to be situated within a particular context so as to reveal the degree to which his or her life is caught up in the folds of broader culture (Cohen et al., 2007; Crawford et al., 1992; Neuman, 1997; Spry, 2001; Tierney, 1993a). This is relevant to my study given its distinctive 'spatial turn' and my being able to appreciate the degree to which I have been impacted by the geopolitical and educational spaces through which I moved, and more particularly, the nature of interaction between them. Equally, it has been possible for me to monitor my acting back on the spaces. This has been important in helping me to appreciate my own complicity in my socialisation. Furthermore, it has been possible for me to identify the layers of my socialisation which were laid down in each of the geopolitical and educational spaces and for me to monitor how I changed as I moved from one space to the next. My journey has been revealed for what it is, a process of peeling back layers of consciousness and moving into and then beyond myself and my life's experiences, this being integral to the nature of autoethnography (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Derry, 2005). I know that as my journey continues to unfold, because of the self-knowledge I have gained, I will be able to proceed with a far greater sense of self-reflection and sensitivity towards those who I was socialised to regard as my 'others' than would otherwise have been the case. Autoethnography reveals its own politics and an ethical self-consciousness (Bochner, 2000; Clough, 2000; Denzin, 2000; Richardson, 2000; Spry, 2001) which makes this possible. The politics of my autoethnography focus on my socialisation into whiteness, while the ethical self-consciousness reveals that which centres on my growing awareness of myself as a white person who has been entangled in whiteness in different spaces, and who now wishes to dis-identify with it. This being the case, my autoethnography is well located within a critical research paradigm where critical pedagogues would be especially interested in the degree to which my experience of educational spaces has been of such significance in my socialisation.

The autoethnographic genre has the ability to touch individuals beyond the self of the author as others find themselves in the text and work out how it speaks to them about

their own lives (Anderson, 2006; Brink, 1998; Church, 1995; Coffey, 1999; Delamont, 2009; Ellis, 2004; Holt, 2003; Mykhalovskiy, 1996; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Sparkes, 2002; Tsang, 2000). Mykhalovsky's (1996) comment that when individuals write about individual experience they inevitably write about social experience is particularly poignant. I regard mine as a 'writerly text' (Wilson, 1998) and my narrative as an 'open space' story (Ter Avest, 2012). It is conceivable that my readers could co-produce with me as they seek to understand their past and take themselves into their respective futures. Yancy (2008) contends that not everyone has an equal capacity to repopulate their past histories in a rigorous way. That I have been able to do so speaks, in some ways, to my on-going privilege as a white person. I will be most interested to learn of the degree to which individuals are moved to reflect and co-produce as my narrative is read once it is available in the public space.

As I bring these comments on the appropriateness of autoethnography to my study to a close I argue that my study in fact sits comfortably in the literature on autoethnography and that the genre has been particularly well suited to my purpose. Since I have written a 'writerly' text, furthermore, there is every possibility that others will be persuaded to reflect upon their own socialisation. Such a touching of individuals beyond myself falls within the scope and purpose of my study.

### 7.3. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANSWER TO RESEARCH QUESTION

My findings which emerge from the analysis of my narrative in Chapter 6 are presented below as they address my research question namely:

**How has my whiteness been shaped by my experiences in southern African spaces, with special reference to education, and why did it happen in the way that it did?**

My key finding is that I have become aware that I have been socialised into whiteness and I have gained key insights into how and why my socialisation has unfolded in the way that it has.

My thinking 'with' and 'about' my story has revealed that layers of socialisation into whiteness have been deposited over time and in different geopolitical and educational spaces and that these have had a cumulative effect upon me. I have been made aware that different ways of knowing have been caught within and between the layers and that

some of these will always remain. Such awareness has been born of my peeling back the layers and moving between them and myself in an endeavour to understand the nature of my journey of socialisation. Doing so has made me realise that while I was aware of myself as a white person from a young age it has only been as an adult undertaking this autoethnographic project that I have become fully aware of myself as a white person who has been inextricably bound up with the ideology of whiteness. Doing so has also revealed the degree to which I experienced difficulties of both a personal and professional nature during the course of my socialisation, including those which have shaken the certainties of who I have understood myself to be. Varying degrees of trauma have been experienced along the way. There is resonance here with Spivak's (1990) 'moments of bafflement' and Giroux's (1997b) notion of 'identity trauma' which have been explained in Chapter 2 and to which reference has been made in Chapter 6.

These are useful concepts in helping me to understand the nature of my socialisation into whiteness for, as has been noted in Chapter 6, a number of key 'moments of bafflement', accompanied by varying degrees of 'identity trauma', have been present. While each has not necessarily followed a realisation of my having been racialised each did shake up the foundations on which my white identity was built. Furthermore, each played a part in laying the ground upon which I finally arrived at a realisation that I have indeed been racialised, a realisation followed by a process of my beginning to build a new, sustainable white identity for myself. Each has been explained in Chapter 6 as different stages of my journey of socialisation unfolded. They are listed below in the chronological order in which they occurred in my narrative, as a reminder to the reader:

- The end of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland
- My experience of white pupils at Jameson High
- My experience of the formal school culture at St. Stephen's College
- The end of white rule in Rhodesia
- My exposure to liberalism at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg
- My experience of being 'othered' by my parents-in-law
- My experience of rejection in the Faculty of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and my coming to realise that Liberalism is supportive of white supremacy.

A key finding relating to the nature of my socialisation is that I was socialised out of my working class whiteness into bourgeois whiteness and that, as such, the privilege I started out with simply because I was white, was both consolidated and expanded with the passage of time. The process of conferring advantage and privilege was greatly facilitated by the colonial and apartheid contexts in which my socialisation experience was accommodated since their very nature was to secure notions of white superiority and white control.

It turns out that bourgeois whiteness would have preferred to keep me working class. It will be recalled that my Luanshya High School experience was designed, by the bourgeois elite, to secure working-class places for working-class school leavers. The same applied at Milner High School and Jameson High School, both of which catered for working-class white children. It will be remembered also that the socialisation experience offered at St. Stephen's College was intended to prepare bourgeois white children for the elitist positions they would fill as adults, and that it accepted working-class children, not least those from the copper mines in Zambia, only because of political circumstances beyond its control.

Being able to attend St. Stephen's College led to my socialisation, not only into bourgeois whiteness but also into the role of being a prefect of the same. I was able to continue to benefit because of my going to university where my socialisation continued, and by entering the teaching profession after which time I started to teach and enforce whiteness, even while my own socialisation was still on-going. It is perhaps relevant to mention at this juncture that intersectionality was a feature of my socialisation in that I experienced an alignment between my having been socialised into bourgeois whiteness and my being male, heterosexual and Christian, an alignment which added to my privilege and both my inclination and my ability to 'other' those who fell outside the social norms of the spaces of my experience.

My study reveals that while I was socialised into a bourgeois variation of whiteness and while the colonial narrative attempted to present Africans with a homogenous whiteness in an endeavour to protect whiteness, I experienced several variants of whiteness in the spaces of my lived experience. In addition to the variant defined by social class (bourgeois and working class whites), which has just been discussed, I experienced variants of whiteness marked by political ideology (those associated with Rhodesian

and Afrikaner nationalism and liberalism), and language and culture (those associated English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners). The variants interacted in complex ways and in different spaces which experienced change as I moved through them. As I moved through the spaces in time my whiteness was built up cumulatively as each of the variants left their mark on me and how I acted back on them.

It is important to recognize that the variants of whiteness I experienced were rooted in global whiteness. As with global whiteness the variants were built powerfully around a distinct marking off between whites and their 'others'. Whites were taught that their presence was associated with order and civilisation, self-control and rationality, while non-whites, especially Africans, represented chaos, backwardness, a breakdown in self-regulation and irrationality. Whites associated themselves with the normal and the universal. They did not see themselves as having been socialised into whiteness and they were taught that if they were privileged it had nothing to do with them being white. Whites had to be in control, furthermore, for apart from the securing of their own interests, their custodianship was necessary if Africans were to be brought to a stage where they were able to secure their own political destinies. The 'whitenesses' of my experience were thus essentially local variants of global whiteness rather than being different from it in substance. What gave them their distinctive character were the particular localised spatial and historical dynamics which were at work, dynamics which drew them, and the conflicts associated with them, into sharper focus than might be expected in situations where whites constitute a numerical majority and perceived themselves to be, or are, more securely positioned.

Another key finding is that the 'spatial turn' of my study has been of crucial importance in shaping my whiteness. Such was the impact of space on my socialisation that I believe that none of the other socialising agencies can be fully understood unless they too are spatially contextualised. In elaborating on this it is useful to see the spaces of my experience as having operated in different ways.

It is significant that the geopolitical spaces in question were southern African spaces and that I moved through them at critical periods in their history when they were experiencing substantial socio-political change. They were anything but neutral. There were prolonged contestations over white power and the spaces were manipulated in various ways by white elites in order to extend white control over Africa and African

people and secure their own strategic interests. In the case of the British, in respect of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, such manipulation was driven from far beyond African spaces. Yet I identified with the spaces strongly. As they changed so did the nature of their interaction, the shaping they exerted upon me and the way in which I acted back on them. They provided my whiteness with a territorial anchor which was instrumental in my identity formation.

The nature and intensity of the contestations was greatly aggravated by the minority status of whites in all the geopolitical spaces (Hughes, 2010; Kay, 1967; L'Ange, 2005; Pulosoff, 2012; Sparks, 1990), and their conviction that they represented a superior civilisation which had to be protected against the chaos that would follow a dislodging of white power by an African majority. Steyn (2005) makes the point that the minority status of white South Africans is such that they have always been aware of their presence as whites. This was certainly true for me, perhaps even more so, given the tenuous nature of white settlement in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. However, at the time, I was unaware that I was being socialised into whiteness.

Within the geopolitical spaces, at the level of towns and schools and farms, it was my experience that white elites manipulated geographical spaces in such a way that they were able to effectively live in Africa without living in Africa. This was significant given the minority status of whites. Africans were only allowed into these spaces as a servant-class and this was further reason for whites to feel superior to Africans and to 'other' them. This was certainly how it was for me. It is significant that while white South Africans no longer enjoy exclusive political power they are still in control of many aspects of daily life, primarily because of their strong linkages with global whiteness and global capital. A manifestation of this on-going power for me is that because of the operation of property filter mechanisms I continue to be able to live in a privileged spatial enclave where I am able to enjoy a privileged lifestyle.

While it is no surprise to learn that educational spaces played a significant part in the construction of my whiteness it has been revealing to reflect upon the nature of the education experience. Segregated schooling, in separate racial enclaves, was a defining feature of all my experiences, as was the degree to which I was taught about the world from a Eurocentric perspective. Regardless of where I was, whites of all the variations of my experience were always cast in a superior light, while what I came to

know of Africans conformed to how Europeans had constructed them, as inferior and uncivilised.

Regardless of the educational space I was in during the course of my socialisation I learnt that the privileges whites enjoyed had nothing to do with them being white, but rather were their rewards for their hard work as individuals. Whiteness was the universal, unstated norm. Africans were distinctively raced and cast by whites in strong group terms. They were regarded as backward and inferior and always very different. Whites defined themselves in relation to Africans. I identified strongly with such thinking as a pupil at school and student at university and as a professional educator.

In view of the highly charged political nature of my socialisation into whiteness it is not surprising to see the role played by political ideology in the process. During my childhood and adolescence I experienced British colonialism in Africa as well as the process of decolonisation. I experienced the early years of African nationalism and its maturing in three geopolitical spaces. I experienced different forms of white resistance to decolonisation and to African nationalism. I experienced all of this within a period of less than twenty years.

It is hardly surprising, in view of this, that I became politicized from a young age and that there was a sense in which my socialisation caused me to regard a white presence in Africa and white political control as being often threatened. This places my socialisation in a different category from the experience of whites who are socialised within majority white populations. I was never able to experience my being white in Africa in secure and confident terms for long since it was contested from the time I first arrived in Northern Rhodesia. White Rhodesian and Afrikaner nationalists tried to secure white political control by their manipulation of political and geographical spaces within Rhodesia and South Africa respectively, but white numbers were too small to enable them to do so in the longer term.

Liberalism found its way into the mix of what I experienced as well. In my earlier years I had been socialised to regard liberals as a threat to white supremacy, yet later as an adult, I moved into a position of identifying with liberalism in the false belief that it provided for authentic opposition to apartheid. In the case of my Edgewood College experience I did more than identify with liberalism. I became one of the chief teachers and enforcers of liberalism both as lecturer and education manager. It was much later

that I came to the realisation that liberalism's paternalistic benevolence was simply a means of trying to give white domination a more humane face (Schutte, 2013). Of particular significance was my realisation that because of Liberalism's key focus on the individualism of whites (Ashley, 1989; Gillborn, 2005; Leonardo, 2004; Scheurich, 1993; Sparks, 1990; Sullivan, 2007), whites do not see themselves as having been socialised into whiteness or privileged because of them being white (Distiller & Steyn, 2004; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; Leonardo, 2004; McKaiser, 2012; Yancy, 2008).

A key finding of my study is that my whiteness is also the product of how I have acted back on the forces which have shaped me. While a sense of betrayal is present in my narrative, in that I was so often prepared for a white world which no longer exists, I recognize my own complicity in the same since I identified strongly with the shaping forces. Furthermore, I recognize complicity in my dehumanising of myself and others because of the degree to which I accepted and identified with the white power which committed draconian acts in the name of whiteness (Jansen, 2009). This autoethnography has been instrumental in forcing me to face up to such complicity on my part.

Recognizing my complicity has been difficult for me, especially in the case of the liberalism with which I identified so strongly at Edgewood College and which I dispensed with such enthusiasm. My difficulty was compounded by the respect and liking I had for Dr Andre Le Roux who played such a key role in my learning of liberalism and who died more or less to the day that I finally made peace with the hypocrisy of liberalism and acknowledged my complicity in the maintenance of white domination. I have also been troubled as I contemplate the number of students who were impacted by the liberal expression of whiteness which I taught.

Having said this, I recognize that my primary purpose in embarking upon this study was to enable me to engage critically with my past in such a way that I could move forward into a new sustainable identity and also touch my readers in such a way that they, especially if they are white, might also feel disposed to engage critically with their own racial identities. My intention now is to try to dis-identify with hegemonic whiteness, in as much as that might be possible. In saying this, I have also recognized that while a measure of white guilt on my part might well be a necessary part of my response I cannot allow myself to stagnate there if I am to move on.

#### 7.4. RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

My study focuses on whiteness and in so doing makes a contribution to research on race in South Africa, and to the study of variations of whiteness in particular, there being a dearth of academic engagement in this area in the southern Africa context. It seeks to move beyond absolute and fixed ways of looking at race and an inclination to concentrate on relations between groups and "...on social scientific notions such as racism, prejudice and discrimination, which are understood to be problems located in the individual" (Distiller & Steyn, 2004, p. 2). My study contributes to the body of knowledge by focusing on "...the cultural processes of racialisation, of becoming raced" (Distiller & Steyn, 2004, p. 2). In respect of whiteness in particular, this is in keeping with an injunction by Roediger (1994) that the construction of whiteness, wherever it exerts hegemonic influence, should be a key focal point in the analysis of history.

Paxman (2012) observes that many British people, from the comfort of their home shores, superficially 'laugh-off' what happened in the name of their empire. They do not, of course, have to live with those they colonised. White South Africans are unable to 'laugh off' what happened in the name of British Imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism since they have no option but to live among those who were the recipients of draconian acts of racial oppression. My interest is with those whites who are learning to 'be with' their fellow South Africans as those formerly colonised and oppressed become fellow citizens. There is a resonance here with my explanation in Chapter 2 of Lopez's (2005, 6) drawing on Heidigger's notion of 'mitsein' to explain what is involved. As they learn to 'be with', various strategies of redefinition in respect of both the personal and social domains of life have been, and are being, put to the test by white South Africans (Ballard, 2004; Davies, 2009; Delport, 2005; McKaiser, 2012; Nuttall, 2009; Salusbury & Foster, 2004; Steyn, 2001, 2005). What I have said about dis-identification also has relevance here.

I certainly have not been able to 'laugh off' what has happened in the name of both the empire and apartheid. Whatever my socialisation might have taught me I have realised that it politicised me too much to allow me the luxury of being able to 'laugh it off'. I began my own process of reflecting upon different survival strategies in respect of a post-apartheid South Africa many years ago, even before it became a certainty that white political power would in fact be dislodged. There were times when I considered

emigrating and there were times when I engaged in the gloom and doom of 'white talk' (McIntyre, 1997; Salusbury & Foster, 2004; Steyn, 2005). There came a time however, after 1994, when I resolved that I wanted to stay in South Africa and learn my own form of 'mitsein', a state-of-being built upon a personal journey which has, as has been seen in this autoethnography, taken me through my own 'moments of bafflement' and 'identity trauma'. While previous notions of myself have been unsettled, what is important is that my identity has been opened up to on-going development. My embarking upon this study has been integral to this journey.

It is problematic that, as in the case of whites internationally (Alcoff, 2006; Bakhtin, 1993; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; Mazzei, 2008; McKaiser, 2012; Roediger, 1994; Scheurich, 1993; White, 2012; Yancy, 2008), whites in South Africa do not see themselves as having been socialised into whiteness (Distiller & Steyn, 2004; McKaiser, 2012). They hide behind appeals that everyone should become colour-blind so that the past can be forgotten and we can all move on. They find the South African concept of a 'rainbow nation' a graphic and expedient metaphor to hide behind. Such a stance serves only to hide the degree to which racism is present in the structures and relationships of society (Distiller & Steyn, 2004; Hayes & Juarez, 2009; Leonardo, 2004; Sullivan, 2007; Yancy, 2008). In seeing themselves in this way whites impose racial group identity on others. In their 'race talk', for example, whites invariably name the race of non-whites. Thus while a white man, for instance, is simply referred to as a 'man' an African man is invariably referred to as an 'African man'. African men and women continue to be referred to, by many whites, as 'boys' and 'girls'. While Africans are often named by their first names, when being formally introduced, whites are introduced as 'Mr' or 'Mrs', followed by their surnames. Further examples include whites naming race when referring to criminals and high crime areas and when naming incompetence and inefficiency in government departments, or failure rates in schools. They, and until recently I was included in this group, escape from seeing themselves as privileged because of their whiteness and see their privileged lifestyles as a result of their own initiative and hard work. What is more, they excuse themselves from having to be placed at the centre of inquiry. Liberals, in this regard, are accused by Schutte (2013, p. 56) of having "...cleverly constructed a 'discourse of disguise', largely designed to dupe others into believing they're not white supremacists even while maintaining their stranglehold over the dominant discourse of knowledge and capital".

The fact that Whites do not see themselves as having been socialised into whiteness is a feature of the stubborn staying power of whiteness, and is to be understood in the context of whites continuing to be 'in power' in key ways. As such, whites have been able to maintain their privileged status, a reality enhanced by them finding themselves surrounded by people who want to take on key aspects of their whiteness for themselves. There are distinct similarities with what has been noted in Chapter 2 about white privilege in the USA and other parts of the world, not least post-mastery colonial situations. There are, at the same time, considerations which set South Africa somewhat apart.

It has been observed that whites continue to be highly influential in the South African economy. They are strongly represented among the captains of industry and are well connected to global whiteness, and through it, to global capitalism. They are comparatively well educated and fill most of the well paid and skilled positions. Income levels are high and unemployment is not a major threat. By contrast, Africans remain largely dispossessed as a result of the oppression of colonialism and apartheid (Schutte & Singiswa, 2013). What this translates into is that all whites are protected by a thick layer of African deprivation and oppression which lies beneath them. Their status is such that they cannot sink below it. They were protected by legal means in the past. In the present day they are protected by the advantage they have inherited from the colonial and apartheid eras on the one hand and the history and on-going experience of oppression experienced by Africans, because of the way in which society continues to be structured, on the other. White status and privilege is further protected by the racial hierarchy which exists within the country, with whites being at the top and Africans being positioned below Indians and Coloureds. African women are at the very bottom. Still further protection is afforded as members of the emerging African middle class distance themselves from the poor African masses, as many do, as they draw aside from their oppression and the negative stereotyping associated with them.

Ways in which white privilege can be recognized in the daily lives of white South Africans are broadly similar to the experience of whites elsewhere. Their privilege is locally nuanced, however, as becomes evident below. It was noted in Chapter 2 that many whites in South Africa continue to be able to live in separate, dominantly white

residential enclaves, many of them neatly manicured and fully representative of a white aesthetic. Schutte and Singiswa (2013) observe that these are increasingly protected by private security forces. It was also noted that many whites have increased the degree to which they have separated themselves residentially by moving into secluded gated residential communities (Ballard, 2004). As they travel from their homes, furthermore, in their private motor cars, they are able to choose their routes and travelling times. They enjoy access to high quality health care facilities because they can afford to choose from a range of medical insurance options. The rapid growth of suburban private schools adds a further dimension to the privileged lifestyles they are able to sustain. They are able to choose to shop at any number of shopping malls and so avoid the crime and grime of many downtown town and city centres. The nature of sports and recreation activities enjoyed by whites, and the degree to which they are able to ensure that these are well provided for in respect of grounds and facilities, adds a further dimension to the privileged nature of the daily living experiences of white South Africans.

As the African masses look on and make inevitable comparisons with the conditions of their own daily lives so the seeds of the many service delivery protests, for which South Africa has become well known, are sown. Such is the lingering heritage of apartheid spatial planning however, that most whites can choose to not notice them. Such is the nature their privilege. And if they do not like what they see on their television sets they can choose to switch them off, their ability to 'tune out' and lead essentially private lives being yet another dimension, as has been noted in Chapter 2, of their privileged lives (Cilliers, 2008).

The ability of whites to privilege themselves in these ways has to be broken if the hold of whiteness is to be undermined, if inequality is to be meaningfully addressed and if whites are to be able to engage in new ways of being with South Africa and its people and be 'mitsein'. In bringing my own study to bear on this I argue that an essential starting point is that white South Africans have to acknowledge that they have been socialised into whiteness and, furthermore, that they need knowledge of how and why their socialisation unfolded in the way that it did.

My study is relevant in this regard for this is precisely where I am placed in respect of my journey. I have been, and continue to be, on a journey of personal transformation

which has led me to increasing self-reflective awareness in respect of my socialisation. Concurring with Delport (2005), I contend that from such a position of self-reflective awareness rapport of a dialogical nature can potentially occur between individuals. As they learn to empathise with others and gain insight into themselves and the history that has shaped them (Bakhtin, 1993) there is the possibility that they might become agents of social transformation (Bakhtin, 1993; Delport, 2005; Jansen, 2009; Mitchell, 2004; Nuttall, 2009; White, 2012). In the case of whites, the more so if they enter into alliances with 'white allies' (hooks, 1989). In order to do so whites would need to dis-identify with whiteness, and, following Delport (2005), undertake various inner migrations of an emotional nature as they distance themselves from the hold exerted by former shaping forces.

As I reflect upon my own journey of emotional detachment from the hold exerted by former geopolitical and educational spaces, I have found it appropriate to think of the unfolding process as one involving inner migration and learning 'mitsein' as well as experiencing a 'spatial turn' of the mind and heart. I contend, furthermore, that since my autoethnography provides the space for others to co-produce as they read my text, and given the impact this could have on the coming together of 'white allies', my study has much relevance in the current South African context. This could be read in conjunction with what I say further on about Bhabha's (1990) notion of Third Space.

As a professional educator and an education manager at a school I argue that my study is highly relevant for the classrooms of present day South Africa where South African pupils continue to be subjected to a schooling system which, to varying degrees, continues to teach and reinforce whiteness (Jansen, 2009; Wa Azania, 2014) and hold onto multicultural and assimilatory approaches to teaching and learning (Amin, 2004; Chisholm, 2004; Vandeyer, 2008; Wa Azania, 2014) which are broadly supportive of whiteness and the neoliberal hold that has gripped the country (Gumede, 2005; Sparks, 2003). Mention has been made in Chapter 2 of the importance of critical pedagogy in bringing race to the centre of critical inquiry and facilitating the development of reflective self-awareness among individuals. Mention has also been made of what self-narrativisation has to offer in this regard and of the fact that the various forms of autoethnography can readily be adapted to facilitate the same in learning situations.

## 7.5. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Given the role that can be played by schools in facilitating the development of self-reflective awareness among South Africans, I recommend that 'learning communities' be established within schools and that within these pupils be given opportunities for both self-narrativisation, and a sharing of narratives. White's (2012) experience of such learning communities is that as individuals engage, not least with those previously 'othered', and write and speak and share within their learning communities, so "...cultural sensitivity, inter-racial understanding and a sense of social responsibility are enhanced" (White, 2012, p. 17). As the sharing process evolves a multitude of voices, or 'dialogical threads', emerges. People move beyond themselves as they share and tell their stories. In the process, they learn how to scrutinise themselves and empathise with their 'others'. Bakhtin, (1993) would contend that they now have 'surplus vision'.

Similarly, Jansen (2009), drawing on the thinking of Freire, argues that if such learning communities were to be established within schools, a new hope for the future would emerge. His contention is that "...when human beings from opposite sides of a divided community begin to honestly engage one another, they are often drawn toward the core of each other's humanity" (Jansen, 2009, p. 267). They learn to recognize the common bonds between them and the degree to which they are mutually entangled (Nuttall, 2009). The point is made, that such constructive engagement is dependent, in the first instance, on the participants coming to know how they have been socialised. Self-narrativisation, and a sharing of narratives has an important role to play in this regard, as has been noted, but If individuals are to be able to scrutinise themselves, decolonise their minds and empathise with others, which will be integral to the process, it is important that 'learning communities' should be built upon all that critical pedagogy, as it has been explained in Chapter 2, involves.

While what has been said above may sound like a recommendation in respect of societal healing instead of further research, what does need to be researched is how these learning communities can be established. Schools, by their very nature, are conservative and typically resistant to change (Tyack & Tobin, 1994). This is true of many South African schools which continue to be autocratic institutions wedded to technicism (Jansen, 1999; Pithouse, 2004). My own current experience is that teachers

over rely on textbooks and related learner support materials and that there is a sense that learning is complete once relevant 'sections' have been 'done'. This needs to be seen in relation to the firm hold that neoliberalism has assumed over the shaping of world and community views and the function of schooling in South Africa and in the world beyond. It may be, in the light of this, that individualised school based 'bottom up' strategies should become the research focus, strategies which might eventually lead to the coming into being of like-minded 'communities of schools'.

A further recommendation is that other racial categories of apartheid need to be particularised so that the forces of apartheid society which shaped and entrapped them can also be better understood and dislodged. Jansen (2009) is of the view that there is a need not only to study whiteness, but also blackness in South Africa. He contends that it is easy to fall into the trap of presuming that white is evil and that black is good. Many Africans, for example, have, because of the way they experienced the past, developed a self-righteous attitude of entitlement while others have become locked into a victim mentality. Yet others have in various ways consented to relations of domination, a phenomenon about the behaviour of oppressed peoples which as has been discussed in Chapter 2. Similarly, a re-imagining of coloured and Indian identities in post-apartheid South Africa should be kept high on the national research agenda. In saying this, I am reminded of the degree to which there are significant silences in my narrative in respect of both of these groups of people, either because of their physical absence from the spaces of my experience, or because their minority status meant that they did not pose a threat to whites in the same way as Africans did. What is important is that just as non-whites might learn to take on the identities ascribed to them by whites, so they can also deconstruct such identities and take on new freeing understandings of who they are, as has been explained by scholars such as Bell (1987); Du Bois (2001 (1915)); Fanon (1967); Hardiman (1982); Hardiman and Jackson (1992) and Woodson (1933).

Key to the process of identity reconstruction for all South Africans, however is that whites need to be moved into a situation of reconstructing themselves along the lines which have been outlined above. As has been noted, this process is dependent upon whites first learning that they have been socialised into whiteness and then dis-identifying with whiteness. Whiteness will then shrink from its position of dominance and this will weaken its ability to go on defining non-white identities. As explained in Chapter 2, identity formation will then move beyond the stage of white and non-white identities

feeding off each other because of the change in Centre-Margin relationships (Austin, 2001). Identity formation will then have moved into Bhabha's (1990) notion of 'Third Space'. It follows from this that while non-white identities indeed need to be particularised as a focus of on-going research, there must be an on-going focus on whites and whiteness so that both can ultimately be freed from whiteness.

It is relevant to be reminded in this regard, that Newitz and Wray (1997) speak of examining differences within whiteness as a means of deconstructing whiteness. Related to this, as has been explained in Chapter 2, is the fact that not all whites necessarily experience whiteness as dominance to the same degree. I contend that in the South African context more needs to be learnt about how South Africa's 'poor whites', view whiteness, and about how they are viewed by their fellow whites. A valid question to try to answer is why most of South Africa's 'poor whites' continue to be made up largely of Afrikaners (*Mail & Guardian*, 24 May, 2013). Following on from this there is a broader need to study the dynamics of social class as a social marker within whiteness in the southern African context.

## 7.6. CONCLUSION AND PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

I began this project because of the dramatic changes which have taken place on the South African political landscape since 1994. These changes have been, from a white perspective, captured so aptly by Melissa Steyn (2001) in her book, *Whiteness just isn't what it used to be*, and this was one of the first books I read as I prepared to embark on this study. It has been significant for me that the changes impacted not only the realities of living in South Africa but also on my professional life as an educator.

I knew that I had to try to make sense of the changes if I was to be able to engage with the country and its people in a meaningful way, for 'belonging' had clearly taken on new meanings compared with the notions of 'belonging' I had grown up with. I knew that I did not want to leave the country and the continent and that I was becoming increasingly intolerant of the 'gloom and doom' nature of 'white talk' in which disgruntled whites did little but find fault with the country and its new rulers. Much of it was decidedly racist talk which was accompanied by whites 'racing' to ignore the realities of South Africa's racialised history and to deny that they themselves had been racialised in any way. They refused, as an extension of this, to see that they had in any way been privileged because they were white, choosing to rather attribute their success and standing in life

to their own initiative and hard work. Recognizing their complicity in the oppression of others was similarly denied (Distiller & Steyn, 2004; Fox, 2012; McKaiser, 2012; Steyn, 2001).

Whilst I agreed that being white was indeed not what it used to be I decided that if I wanted to stay in South Africa I had to find a way of doing so without going down the same emotional and racist *cul de sac*. I had to find a way of understanding afresh what had happened in the country, and to me, if I was to be able to cope with changes which had in various ways, and to varying degrees, caused many whites to experience a sense of grieving and loss, an experience which was often coupled with a rather destructive cynicism. I wanted to build a new South African identity. I was hopeful too that I would arrive at a better understanding of the institutional changes which had been ushered in by the creation of a new Faculty of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

I read of whites' various post-1994 coping strategies (Steyn, 2001) along with some of the earlier texts which had been made available to me by Professor Claudia Mitchell. These, together with what I found myself learning about autoethnography, made me realise that an essential beginning would be for me to gain an understanding of whiteness and of the process by which I had become socialised into it. Understanding how a person has become socialised inevitably involves an individual tracing his/her life journey through space and time. The autoethnographic genre has been invaluable in my particular case since it has helped me to understand that my socialisation has consisted of various racial deposits being laid down in each of the geopolitical and educational spaces of my experience. Ultimately the person I have become is the result of an accumulation of deposits and also ways in which I have responded to that which has been deposited. It has also been my experience however, that if layers can be laid down there can also be a peeling back of layers. In my case it is apparent that the peeling back process began only once I was an older person and that it has, in fact, been greatly facilitated by my writing of this autoethnography.

As my personal journey is traced, as I think 'with' my personal narrative in Chapters 4 and 5 and as I have thought 'about' my narrative in Chapter 6, so my understanding of how my whiteness was shaped has been enhanced and to this extent my research question has been answered. My particular focus has been on the shaping influences

upon me of the geopolitical and educational spaces I have experienced. The process which has been involved has found me 'narrativising the self' and this has helped to secure an integrating effect on my life. The integration is not entirely complete however, for my narrative is the product of voices of different variations of whiteness and of the self as they have impacted me and as they have built upon those which have gone before. As the journey unfolds earlier voices do not necessarily stop making themselves heard. I am convinced however, that I have emerged with a sufficient sense of integration and self-reflective awareness to enable me to stand by my conscious decision to engage constructively and empathetically with my fellow citizens as I learn 'mitsein' and allow my personal journey to continue to move forward. It is useful here to be reminded that it is the very nature of autoethnography to reject finality and closure (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013).

As I conclude it would be dishonest of me to try to deny that there has not been a sense of loss for me to deal with, for I have had to deal with much change in both my personal and professional lives. Mention has been made previously of the therapeutic dimension of autoethnographic work (Bochner & Ellis, 1996; Ellis, 2004; Jenks, 2002; Kiesinger, 2002; Spry, 2001) and I have certainly felt its presence in my work.

My study has caused me to have to face up to another kind of loss, however. It is in the response of some whites when I tell them about my study, usually because they cannot see the value of digging up the past. 'Aren't we supposed to be past all that?' is a typical response. They back off a little further when they hear that my study has been about myself. 'But how can that be?' is another typical response, as I sense myself being politely challenged. The same is bound to continue into the future and there are bound to be whites who label me as a 'race traitor'. So be it.

As I have indicated, it is my hope that there will be those who will be touched by my journey, not least educators. If whites are among them they may become 'white allies', people who will come to a knowledge that racism cannot be dealt with by creating opportunities for Africans to become assimilated into a normative white world. They will come to know that it is the structures in society which have made the white world normative that have to be challenged. They will come to realise that to challenge the said norms they will need to engage in self-reflective awareness, cognisant of the degree to which they have been privileged by their whiteness. As I travel with them, and

they with me, I will be living out the journey that was started when I first decided to write this autoethnography.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### Ethical Clearance



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KWAZULU-NATAL**

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05 December 2009

Mr B J Jarvis  
c/o of Faculty of Education  
EDGEWOOD CAMPUS

Dear Mr Jarvis

**PROTOCOL: An autoethnographic investigation into whiteness in South Africa**  
**ETHICAL APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0876/2009: Faculty of Education**

In response to your application dated 05 November 2009, Student Number: **09534966** the Humanities & Social Sciences Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been given **FULL APPROVAL**.

**PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.**

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

**Professor Steve Collings (Chair)**  
**HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMITTEE**

SC/sn

cc: Prof. D Francis  
cc: Ms Rishandhani Govender

## APPENDIX B

### Letter of verisimilitude from Mrs I.J. Jarvis

Kloof Rest Home

12 February 2014

Dear Brian

It has been such a pleasure to read all about what you have to say and I shall do my best to comment in the way you have asked me to. I have been amazed at what you have written down. It is certainly a story worth telling. Well done indeed.

It was all such a long time ago, our time in Rhodesia and Zambia but as far as I can make out you have been quite correct in what you have said about our time there. They were wonderful times. You have been correct in what you have said about our time in South Africa since we came back. I can't say much about what you have said about Edgewood but I know you used to share with us some of the things and how it used to get you down. It all seems to fit and I know more now than I did before I read your account.

You asked me to say some things about what you have not written about and how my own memory was prompted by your writing. I have to say that quite a lot came to mind. Did you find the places we lived in sometimes all merged into one? Your writing was very helpful in getting me to sort things out.

Apart from these happy years now living in Durban and Kloof I think our Luanshya years were my happiest. I think our way of life was wonderful. I remember those years when I was an adult. You were a child then and that makes a difference doesn't it? As an adult I remember Luanshya for its way of life. They were carefree years. We wanted for nothing and there were no stresses and no crime. Your dad worked jolly hard for it, mind you. We had those long holidays down at the Cutty Sark and how the place used to be booked out by Rhodesians. Do you remember the long distances to get there in those little cars and those terrible strip roads in many places. And the motels and our favourite one at Makuti. I remember granny moaning to your dad every time we left to return to Luanshya and how she said we were going back to unsafe, uncivilized parts.

Mind you we also worried a lot about all the political happenings. White people were genuinely scared that there might be another Mau Mau, especially when all the Congo trouble broke out, especially since the border was so close to us. Lots of people left the mine then. We nearly did, but decided to hang on to see what would happen with the federation. Do you think that could ever have worked?

I was fascinated to see you mention White and Lebitina and also George. I wonder whatever became of them. When I think of how times have changed and what we used to pay them then. White used to get two pounds and ten shillings a month for ages. We couldn't pay more. The mine used to say that we should all pay the same or else they wouldn't work for everybody. And those tiny little rooms they used to have to live in. We should have known that what we had could not last.

Mufulira was so much like Luanshya in many ways, even if it was Zambia. We had the same carefree way of life despite UDI and all the tensions. It was amazing that we lived through it all and all that travelling you boys had to do to get to school. It was even more difficult when you were at university and you had to fly via goodness knows where to get home. And we thought nothing of it. You mention all that I notice.

You did so well at school and also at university. Your dad was so proud. You had got where he couldn't. He would have so enjoyed the story you have told. I have certainly found it fascinating and it has also helped me to get a useful overview of all that happened over all that time.

I hope this is what you wanted from me.

With my love

John  
(Mum)

## APPENDIX C

### Letter of verisimilitude from Mr P. Morris

APPRECIATION OF BRIAN JARVIS'S STAY AT ST STEPHEN'S COLLEGE, PO. BALLA BALLA.

March 2014

I have been asked by Brian Jarvis to read a section of his narrative covering his stay at St Stephen's College, P.O. Balla Balla, Rhodesia in my capacity as Chairman of the St Stephen's college Old Boys Association Worldwide, my Chairmanship of the Rhodesian Association of South Africa, Durban Branch incorporated with the Flame Lily Foundation of South Africa, and as Curator of the Archives of all material, in the form of printed and or written material including photos of various categories, ie. College photos, House photos, sports photos, College magazines etc.

I first met Brian in the third term of 1965 ( Sept – Dec) when he arrived as a 'new boy' from Mufulira on the Copperbelt of Zambia. I was living in Kitwe, also on the Copperbelt, at the time. We would have boarded the train bound for Bulawayo, Rhodesia at Ndola in the early evening. The trip lasted two nights and a day and arrived around 7.00 am in Bulawayo. We then transferred three days later to the Balla Balla Express and journeyed all morning some forty miles to reach Balla Balla, having stopped at every siding and junctions.

I have found that the material Brian has written about his College stay very accurate in that they described the sort of things that college boys got up to, both in and outside of the classroom. I felt that the school demanded all of me at times given the requirements of the formal and informal curricula. All of the extra-mural activities were of a nature that one would look for in one's after school activities such as amateur play-acting, debating, choir singing, musical appreciation etc. From the sporting point of view, we were trained sufficiently to know that we could follow up our activities once we had progressed to either varsity or club sports.

One of the other aspects that I observed during my stay was that there was surprisingly little bullying going on. We experienced it without doubt but it was never rife and always curbed by our more caring seniors and prefects. As chairman and historian of the Old Boys Association I have found out that this continued right through to 1975 when the school had no option but to close its doors for security and political reasons.

I endorse that what I have read is a very fair reflection of our College's history, of the type of school St Stephen's was and of what boys experienced of school life, not least its setting within the foothills of the Matopas. I also endorse what Brian has said about Rhodesian nationalism and events surrounding UDI.



Peter C Morris

**APPENDIX D****Letter of verisimilitude from Dr D. Forde**

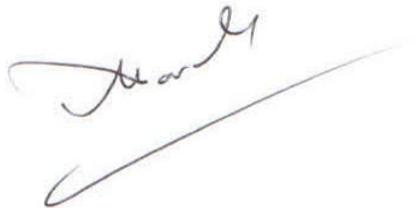
24 September 2013

Dear Brian

I acknowledge that I have read your narrative and am happy to declare that for me it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

I declare this to be so in my capacity as a former pupil of Clifton Preparatory School, Nottingham Rd., KwaZulu-Natal and Michaelhouse, Balgowan, KwaZulu-Natal, both of which were very similar to the schools described in your narrative, most particularly St. Stephen's College.

In addition, my experience as a Headmaster of Maritzburg College, Pietermaritzburg a school modelled along English Grammar School lines, and Michaelhouse, a school cast in the English Public School mould, allows me to attest to the trustworthiness of your narrative.



Dr. Reginald Dudley Forde

19 Balmoral Drive

Cowies Hill

KZN

Contact no: 031 7093088

Forde-ch@mweb.co.za

## APPENDIX E

### Letter of verisimilitude from Mrs C. King

Hillcrest

21<sup>st</sup> April 2014

Dear Dad

Firstly, thank you for a most interesting read that has provided a fresh perspective into your life and encouraged much introspection of my own.

Given the time that has lapsed between now and your childhood, I was initially inclined to regard these chapters as a slightly “rose tinted” anecdote, clouded by the romance most of us are guilty of when reminiscing bygone years. Your detailed recollections of your childhood neighbourhoods and alma mater, however, portray a genuine attempt to authenticate your experiences and their context. This is your white side of a story and, for me, the fact that you have not attempted to account for anything beyond this lends credibility to your work.

A recurrent theme in your earlier narrative is a childhood deprived of stability and a sense of belonging. I had always been aware that you had had to deal with a lot of change as a child but had no appreciation of the frequency and nature of this change. Whilst you regret your ignorance of the hardships that your darker contemporaries were enduring, one has a keen appreciation that these were traumatic times for you too. Notwithstanding the difficulties that such change wrought, I believe the impact of this change as having primarily manifested in your life in two ways:

- A fierce patriotism to South Africa borne out of a yearning for stability in your later life. This being compounded by the uncertainty that living in apartheid South Africa clearly brought. The regular geographic upheavals go a long way to explaining you as a “home body” with a keen interest in the aesthetics of your immediate surroundings and desire to “have roots”. Whilst I would describe myself as a proud South African, I personally have never been able to identify with the degree of patriotism that you display.
- Having experienced life beyond South Africa’s immediate border, you were afforded a dual childhood experience of “whiteness” in both the colonial Rhodesian and apartheid South Africa contexts.

Due to the long periods that you spent away from home as a child, another thing that strikes me about your childhood is the absence of a consistent parent role model in your life that could help you to make sense of your race and shape your political outlook. I imagine that many parallels could be drawn here to the children of black migrant labour. I also have no recollection of your father coming out fiercely in opposition of apartheid or expressing any political point of view for that matter. It is clear that many of the teachers at St Stephens fulfilled this role during your impressionable teenage years which I

believe goes a long way to explain your pursuit of an academic career. By contrast, as a child I experienced you to be keenly engaged in the political affairs of the country!

What is interesting about this is that your political persuasion could have been moulded either way really. So too it strikes me that had you not been white the issue of your working class background could have been a real social hindrance as it was (and arguably still is) in the “motherland”. A fundamental principle that you taught me also comes to mind here – being white is not a guarantee of moral high ground. As you did, I too came to realise this for myself with repeated exposure to the antics of wayward white classmates.

Whereas your earlier life is characterised by upheaval, your adult years stand in stark contrast to this – almost akin to the “calm after the storm”. It is interesting to note that rather than what your appetite for travel and new experience, it had precisely the opposite affect with you dedicating three decades of your life (pretty much your entire career) to one institution in spite of personal sacrifice. Whilst there were doubtless financial constraints of a single income household and the concern that you had become too specialised in pedagogics, opportunities for change must have presented themselves on several occasions. You were emotionally invested in South Africa and, more specifically, Edgewood. Emigration or resignation would have been a last resort for you.

Whilst this has not afforded you an outsider’s perspective of apartheid as an adult, it has, I believe, allowed you to witness and comment authoritatively on the change that has happened within the confines of South Africa and South African education. This, notwithstanding the benefit your many students would have received from you remaining fiercely committed to your calling.

Further to these observations, let me comment on my personal recollections of you as a “white man” in South Africa.

In the family context, you assumed a traditional dominant role, clearly now a legacy of your upbringing and the times where woman assumed a domestic role. Your opposition to apartheid was very vocal but I don’t think you were “radical enough” to becoming fully immersed in the struggle. At the time I had no appreciation of Apartheid’s gravity and could not understand why you were such an avid watcher of the 18:00pm news (it moved to a later timeslot in more recent years with the combination of the 18:00pm and 20:00pm bulletins). There were times when it seemed that all dinner table conversation revolved around politics. We were not allowed to talk at all during news time. At times I could almost sense you hanging onto every word desperate for re-assurances that things were going to work out. You loved to get embroiled in heated debates with family and colleagues over politics. Sometimes I sensed that there was more at stake than simply winning an argument. It strikes me that more of the other children’s dads were interested in sport, a welcome (and intended) distraction. The desire for change was certainly genuine and tangible in our house. To be honest, I had no sense of the detail,

just that things would get better if things did indeed change. I recall more the anxiety than what the anxiety was all about and being anxious that the anxiety would stop. I sensed that the anxiety was as much for our personal security as for the liberation of black people.

I alluded at the outset that the experience of black people is conspicuously absent in your narrative. I believe that this in itself speaks volumes to the separation that both the federation and apartheid governments achieved, success stories in their own right. Lest I mock, where you cannot relay in any level of detail the lives of black people, this has sparked an epiphany of my own. I was equally cocooned, perhaps more so! After much introspection, I realise somewhat shamefully that I really had not the faintest idea of the actual implications of apartheid. I only saw where black people lived en route to my grandparent's farm in Kokstad, I did not think beyond the rondavels and dirt roads.

I will describe some of my other childhood recollections, in no particular order, with no attempt to contextualise or explain them. As the advertising guru Rory Sutherland is at pains to explain, I believe that "our perception is "leaky", especially with the passage of these some thirty years.

- 1) On earlier trips to Kokstad we had to go through the Transkei border post. Again, there was a lot anxiety in case there were issues and I never connected the dots. We moved through quickly but I remember that across the road there were long queues that seemed to go on forever, lots of woman standing around with babies on their backs. I guess I was just too young to understand why. Alternatively, you and mom thought it best to not divulge too much detail. I remember listening to Paul Simon's Graceland disc on those road trips. You used to crank up the volume for us.
- 2) Bomb drills were ubiquitous at school. Mom used to fret about these more than I probably did although I distinctly remember being "drilled" about two different types of alarm signals – bombs and fire. It was a particular worry I think given our location to the nearby Clermont township. We had to hide under our desks for one and follow some other procedure for another. Terrorism was frowned upon since it was targeting children.
- 3) There were fierce restrictions regulating where I was allowed to ride my BMX bike, a certain stop street deemed to be as far as I was allowed to "push the boundary". Of course, I always rode out to this outer limit not really understanding what all the fuss was about.
- 4) Mom was convinced that our phone was tapped.
- 5) On one occasion, you and mom went out for dinner and on en-route to collecting Laura and I were pulled over by an army raatle (sp?) in Pinetown that commandeered your car to pursue "black people" – presumably struggle related. You were both very shaken that night. It made for an exciting story nonetheless.
- 6) Your father ripped an "offending" sticker off the boot of your car one visit. I don't think this was so much that he disagreed with the contents of sticker more than it was about protecting the safety of his family.

- 7) I have a vague recollection of watching PW Botha's Rubicon speech on your old Sony TV, his finger wagging theatrics comes to mind more than actual content. I don't recall any struggle stalwart by names – I have only come to hear of these struggle icons later on in life.
- 8) My history lessons started with arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, we learnt about the San and Shaka, nothing about Africa being the cradle of black mankind.
- 9) I recall one conversation we had in your about the 1992 referendum – your were particularly agitated about this. I really got the sense that things were hanging in the balance.
- 10) I have vague recollection of the 1991 assimilation of Africans into Edgewood and hearing that it was a good thing.
- 11) My first experience in a multi-racial classroom was in 1992 at the Pinetown Convent – it was really a non-event for me since I had been brought up believing black people to be of equal status to myself. I recall receiving a Valentine's card from two black boys in my class and you and mom being tickled pink. Official transition two years later was seamless for me and I have you and mom to thank for my more liberal upbringing where I did not have to let go of any pre-conceived racial prejudices. I am grateful too that I was taught to have an open mind and encouraged to make my own choices in respect of career, political and religious orientation. The prejudices which I might have now, have largely been built up in more recent years with exposure to corruption and the foibles of the current government. I would like to believe that they are not racially grounded but rooted in moral principle.
- 12) It was unheard of in our family to use any racist utterances whatsoever. You used to cringe when mom's dad casually referred to black people as "natives".
- 13) I don't remember you ever advocating sanctions. Tutu was not a revered name. I recall you laughing about a piece of graffiti in Cape Town "I was an Anglican until I put Tu and Tu together". I imagine that sanctions conflicted with your fierce patriotism.
- 14) I experienced a tremendous sense of uncertainty about my own career prospects and future as a white girl entering the workplace, akin to the uncertainty that you experienced in your latter Edgewood years.

Dad, I sense that this journey of self-discovery has had a tremendous cathartic affect and am indebted to you for having shared it with me.

Much love

Your daughter

*Carri*

## APPENDIX F

### Letter of verisimilitude from Mrs L. Röttcher

Hillcrest

17 April 2014

Dear Dad

First off I am so proud of you for going ahead with your thesis and putting all your experiences 'out there'. I must be honest and say that I can only really give confirmation as a source from a certain period of time, namely that from when you were at Edgewood, which is what I remember more clearly. I had picked up tidbits of your early childhood and school experiences from conversations over time, but I realised, having read the childhood/school chapter that I actually did not know much detail about your upbringing. So it was quite an eye-opener for me, and I feel closer to you and granny from reading this narrative.

One aspect I knew of was that you had moved around from school to school quite often, but I had not realised to what extent this had actually happened. It must have been difficult being uprooted from schools and communities so often, and having to start afresh each time. On the other hand, your experiences of so many different schools, teachers, fellow pupils, communities and political spaces, has given you so much material for your thesis! Your story is truly unique, and definitely worth putting down on paper. I am sure many people will find it fascinating. There is so much material published from an African perspective, and nothing from a white perspective. You also have a story to tell, one that includes a struggle too – a struggle in understanding your whiteness when you yourself did not choose your whiteness. It was given to you. That is a struggle I feel many white people go through even today, including myself.

I did not know that you had such a terrible experience at Jameson College. It was certainly fortunate that you did not stay there longer than a term. I remember you enjoyed your years at St. Stephens College and were well-liked by your peers. What a pity that cultural/academic involvement was frowned upon by your peers – well this is still the same today in many schools unfortunately. Even still, it did not prevent you from becoming Deputy Head Prefect. I had forgotten that you were Head of Choir (these two leadership positions seem to run in the family!).

I was interested in the discussion of Pinetown High School, and how the school split into two single-sex schools during the time you were there. That must have been an interesting change for you. How did you find the two systems (mixed and single-sex) compared? Maybe comment on this in your narrative? Or perhaps you have mentioned it elsewhere in your thesis.

I also had not realised that you were studying your Masters while you had young children – this must have been very stressful and time consuming. I thought you had completed your studies before your children came along. Together with mom's poor health, financial pressure as the breadwinner of the household, and the pressure from your in-laws about being a 'mere teacher', this must have been quite a lot to handle. But still, it did not prevent you from furthering your academic and leadership career and being so intrinsic in the development and change of syllabi/models/curricula/processes at school (PBHS), Edgewood, UKZN and now Highway College.

On the topic of in-laws...Grandma and Grandpa's racist views definitely etched away at you, and I think your conflict with them (although I know this included many things) about politics and change happening in SA at the time, was actually a catalyst for your change in mindset and how you viewed yourself and your 'whiteness'. Their 'backward' and racist views only served to help you realise how wrong they were, and how wrong many people like them were. Your anger at them was partly a result of their 'old whiteness'. Their whiteness was not one which you felt could be impressed upon you, and it conflicted with your experiences. That is the impression I have. As children, our grandparents also exposed us to negative words and stories about the "blacks" and "workers" and it was fortunate that these ideas were rebutted by our own parents. Although you were the one having arguments with them, we still absorbed a lot of what was going on, like secondary smokers.

I remember a lot of your time at Edgewood, and the issues that surfaced as the years went by. When I was younger, I recall numerous 'rants' about clashes of interest with colleagues, student reps, students themselves, and rectors/deans. You do seem to play this down in your narrative. You were a lot more frustrated and angry than you let on. I remember especially your conflict with the Indian Dean or Head of Dept (I can't remember exactly) really affected you, and gave your self-esteem a knock. You also play down all the striking and violence by the students towards staff members and fellow students. I wish you were more outright about this in your narrative, but then again, the purpose of your narrative is not to complain, but to give a general overview for the purpose of your autoethnography. Maybe that calls for another book!

I remember your trips into the townships and rural areas. You used to tell us at the dinner table about your latest uplifting or negative experience. In the beginning you seemed concerned, and I recall mom being especially concerned for your well-being when she knew you were going into the "dodgy" areas. But over time, you both became more relaxed about these trips. Although safety was an issue, you obviously gained valuable insight into the workings of black/rural/township schools, and thus had a deeper understanding of the plight of their education and the importance of producing capable teachers. Yes, you did field work for your Masters degree, but in fact, you have been doing field work for your PHD for the last 30 years!

I hope this autoethnography has not only been a cathartic experience, but also brought you some closure on times when you experienced difficulties. All these struggles were meant to happen, so that you have an interesting story to tell – who wants to be boring?! You have really and truly attended the university of life, and I'm sure you will graduate with flying colours. Thanks for telling your story.

Hope this helps dad.

Love

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Laura". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned at the bottom left of the page.

## APPENDIX G

### Letter of verisimilitude from Dr J. Jarvis

9 Glen Arum

Patrick Duncan Road

Kloof

24 April 2014

Dear Brian

I have read your narrative with much interest. I have to say at the outset that I learnt quite a lot about your past that I did not know about, especially when you were a child growing up in Rhodesia. I had no idea about your experience at Jameson High School, for example, or of some of the details of your experience at St. Stephen's College. I think that I know you better as a result. I was also interested to read of what you went through with your first parents-in-law and this too helps me to know you better.

I feel that I need to concentrate on the Edgewood years from 1994, which is when I took up my appointment there as a senior lecturer, and first got to know you. You were, of course, as the deputy rector of the Edgewood College of Education, my boss. As I have said to you on many occasions, I find it difficult to believe that in the years that have elapsed since then I became divorced, you became a widower and subsequently we were blessed to get married in 2002. I believe that this is significant because it places me in the unique position of having known you in both a professional and personal capacity.

This said I believe that I am well qualified to comment on your narrative. I have witnessed the writing process first hand and all that you have been through to get to the point of putting pen to paper. I have seen your struggle and can testify to the genuineness of where you are trying to get to in respect of your 'being' as a white South African in the present time. I have observed your frustration, your anxiety and sometimes your confusion. Your struggle with Liberalism and your final coming to terms with what it really amounted to as an ideology is worthy of special mention in this regard. I remember you asking me how you would manage to face Andre Le Roux, the arch liberal and a man who influenced you enormously, to tell him of where you had finally arrived. As sad as you were when you heard of his death you were also relieved that you would not have to face him. Your final conclusions about liberalism and his death coincided almost to the day.

Our relationship during the second half of the 1990s when Edgewood College went through its major transition was still as two professionals engaged as 'worker' and 'boss'. I was able to watch your role in securing the incorporation of the College into the former University of Natal at first hand and I could see that you were caught in a 'catch

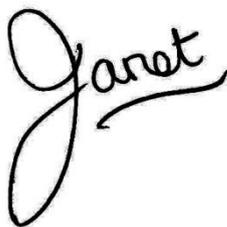
22' situation of being expected to support what Gordon Nicholls, the College Rector, wanted to achieve and your wanting to move the College in what you believed to be the right direction under the circumstances. I was able to witness first hand your struggle with the Rector and your eventual break with him. I recall being impressed with the courage and integrity which you displayed as a leader.

I feel that it is significant to mention that the College management team at the time did not enjoy the full support of the staff, although the team seemed to make decisions and proceed as if it had the backing of the academic and support staff. I think of the position of the increased number of staff members of colour. I got to know several of them very well. While the College management were so engaged in what they considered to be 'the struggle', these particular staff members considered the management's position to be rather paternalistic. Together with several members of staff I questioned the apparent lack of concern regarding gender issues. There seemed to be no sense that individuals needed to be relieved from what apartheid had done on a broader front than just race.

We were married at about the same time of the incorporation of the College into the former University of Natal and this meant that I was able to watch what you went through in the build up to the removal of the portrait of Andre Le Roux by the Dean of the newly constituted Faculty of Education. Like Carin and Laura, I really believe that you downplay this in your narrative and the same applies to the unceremonious way in which you were finally obliged, at the mandatory retirement age of 60 years, to take your leave of the institution. After 30 years of service on the Edgewood Campus, encompassing a multitude of institutional and curricula changes on both a macro, meso and micro level, there was not so much as an email that was circulated within the Faculty of Education to acknowledge the contribution that made to education. I am fully aware of the emotional cost to yourself at the way in which your academic career was ended.

Having watched your narrative process unfold and the copious research you have undertaken to get it underway I believe that I am well placed to vouch for the trustworthiness thereof from the year 1994.

With my love and best wishes for the successful completion of your PhD,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Janet". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial 'J' and a long, sweeping underline.

**APPENDIX H****Letter of verisimilitude from Dr T. Msibi**

October 2013

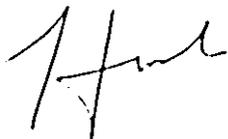
Dear Brian

This letter serves to confirm that I have read your personal narrative so as to be able to comment upon it from the perspective of an African man who has read the text of a white man interrogating his racialisation into whiteness.

I was particularly interested to do so as both a former student and colleague of yours. I offer a number of comments which I trust you will find useful in the analysis of your narrative.

Thank you for asking me to be of assistance to you

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Thabo Msibi', written in a cursive style.

Thabo Msibi (PhD)

Senior Lecturer: Gender & Education and Curriculum Studies

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X03

Ashwood

3605

+2731 260 3686 (Tel)

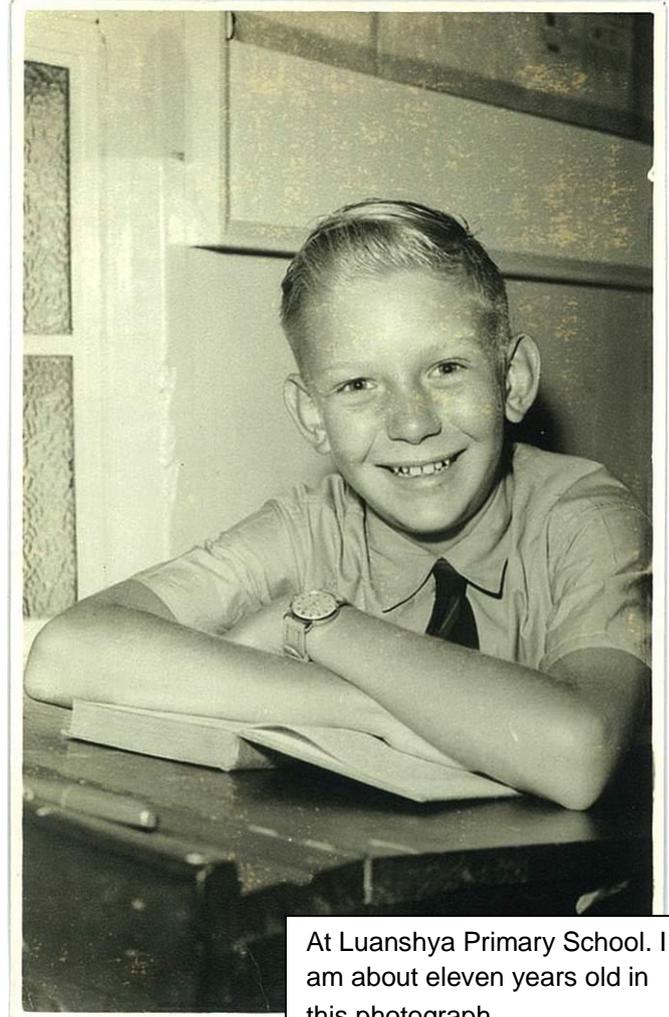
+2731 260 7003 (Fax)

## APPENDIX I

Photographs taken in significant spaces, illustrating key parts of my narrative.



With my mother and father in Springs, South Africa. I am about three years old in this photograph.



At Luanshya Primary School. I am about eleven years old in this photograph.



On my way to school in Luanshya

The Africans who worked for us in Luanshya. From left to right, George, Lebitina and White.





Dinner-time at St. Stephen's College. I am seated at the head of the second table on the right.



In my study as a prefect at St. Stephen's College



In the bush on a Sunday exeat for a picnic lunch



In front of the Arts block of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.



Dressed for dinner. In my room in the William O'Brien Residence at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.



Photograph taken at the signing of the agreement in 1991 between the governments of South Africa (the Minister of Education is seated in the first seat on the left-hand side of the boardroom table) and the KwaZulu Bantustan (the Minister of Education is seated in the first set on the right), which allowed Africans to study at Edgewood. I am seated in the sixth seat from the front on the right-hand side of the boardroom table.

APPENDIX J

College Magazine: Trek to Rhodesia

THE MAGAZINE  
of  
**St. Stephen's College**  
BALLA BALLA  
Rhodesia

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*Editors:*

E. Y. JONES. B. J. JARVIS

---

*Committee:* D. MORRIS. E. D. BARSKE.

Vol. 1, No. 9

October, 1969

## TREK TO RHODESIA

The long line of tattered wagons, each drawn by a group of weary oxen and driven by bearded menfolk, crossed the Limpopo River six weeks after their departure from Johannesburg. Progress had not been easy and now, with their destination—Bulawayo—only another two hundred miles away, the settlers were becoming very anxious.

These people formed the first party of settlers from South Africa in ten years. Prior to this, small parties had moved up, but the few that had reached Bulawayo offered little encouragement to other interested persons. Recently there had been heavy attacks from the Matabele, ammunition and water shortages, and disease. However, the courage of C. J. Rhodes had made immigration to the virgin

land possible again. He had managed to sway the chiefs to his way of thinking.

So it was that this small wagon party, the "Limpopo Party" as it came to be called in history, slowly, wearily but purposefully trekked north. The members of the party were mainly ranchers, and some were driving cattle. Others were going in search of gold, others were shopkeepers, others clerks. Hopefully they moved on.

Tragedy had not marred their dogged advance, but there had been the sadder occasions. An elderly man, a Boer, with a grey beard, a brown, wrinkled skin, and who always wore a tattered characteristic Boer hat, met his death one night as he was returning from a stroll in the veld. He had stopped for a drink of water at a small stream, but as he knelt down on his hands and knees he had slipped into the stream. He could not swim and his body was found, blue with cold, a few yards downstream the following morning by an African maid as she came to collect water. In sorrow the party continued. While crossing the Limpopo a young boy of about twelve was wildly, brutally and suddenly attacked by a crocodile as he sat at his father's side on the front of a partly submerged wagon. Apart from these two tragedies the party had advanced in safety, and it was only at the end of their fourth day into Rhodesia that the pioneers suffered their first major setback.

The womenfolk were putting their children to bed, washing up after supper and in general preparing themselves for bed. The men were sitting around a small, glowing fire, some smoking pipes and others crude, home-made cigarettes. There was a sense of peace and happiness in the air, for, as far as they were concerned, their journey was almost over.

Suddenly, however, almost without knowing it, the men were silent. A distant rolling of drums replaced their laughter and jokes. From a small group of moonlit kopjes in the north-west came a rolling that grew louder, faster and louder. Automatically, gripped by fear, the men ran to their wagons to form a laager. In addition they hastily began, assisted by the young boys in the party, to fill what sacks they had with sand and stones. With these they began building walls around and between their wagons. In the centre of the laager they placed two of their wagons, around which they built more sack walls. In and underneath these wagons the women and children gathered for their safety. Among them were stacked the food and water supplies. This done, the men and young boys, eager for their safety, arranged themselves in defensive positions, their rifles loaded, around the walls of the laager. As the rolling of the drums speeded up, so did the hearts of the settlers. They could do nothing now but wait—wait and see what the drums meant.

Louder and louder grew the pulsating beat of the unceasing drums. Soon shouts and cries were heard. Now it was most apparent that the Matabele were on the war path. Suddenly the drums ceased and in their place came wild and penetrating war cries. These soon

gave place to the pounding of their feet. As they drew nearer, it could vaguely be seen that the warriors had painted their faces and bodies and had no dress except animal skins that clung to their waists. They were armed with assegais and shields the height of an average man.

They advanced steadily and in one group on the laager. Then came the attack. The spears penetrated the sack walls and the sides of the wagons with ease. The settlers were vastly outnumbered. The Matabele, however, lacked fighting technique and yielded quickly when the settlers started firing at them with their rifles and machine gun. They scattered, shouting and screaming with fear, thus weakening their attacking tactics. Soon it was obvious that the warriors had been defeated and the Matabele retreated to the safety of the Matabeleland veld. The settlers had also suffered losses. One man had a spear right through him as he stood up to take aim. Others were hacked and beaten to death by warriors who had managed to penetrate the walls of the laager.

The sun rose on to a peaceful Matabeleland once again. Through the smoking ruins the remaining settlers wandered. Although there were countless bodies strewn over the veld, an official figure showed that out of a party of one hundred and fifty, only eighty remained alive. It was now that they came across the chief, an old, grey-headed man still with an amazing physique. He lay gazing at the rising sun, perspiration pouring from his face and blood pouring from a bullet wound in his chest. Suddenly, in a rage, one of the young survivors grabbed the old man, shook him violently and shouted, "What about the Indabas?" The chief, who obviously knew little English or Afrikaans, merely uttered: "Azigo indaba". Then he died. The news of the Indabas had obviously not reached this remote group of the Matabele.

Heartbroken, the settlers moved on. Two weeks later they reached the tiny town of Bulawayo. They had accomplished their task and, just as important, if not more so, they had played their part in building a new nation—our own Rhodesia.

B. JARVIS.

**APPENDIX K****Class exercise in Std. 7 History Textbook**

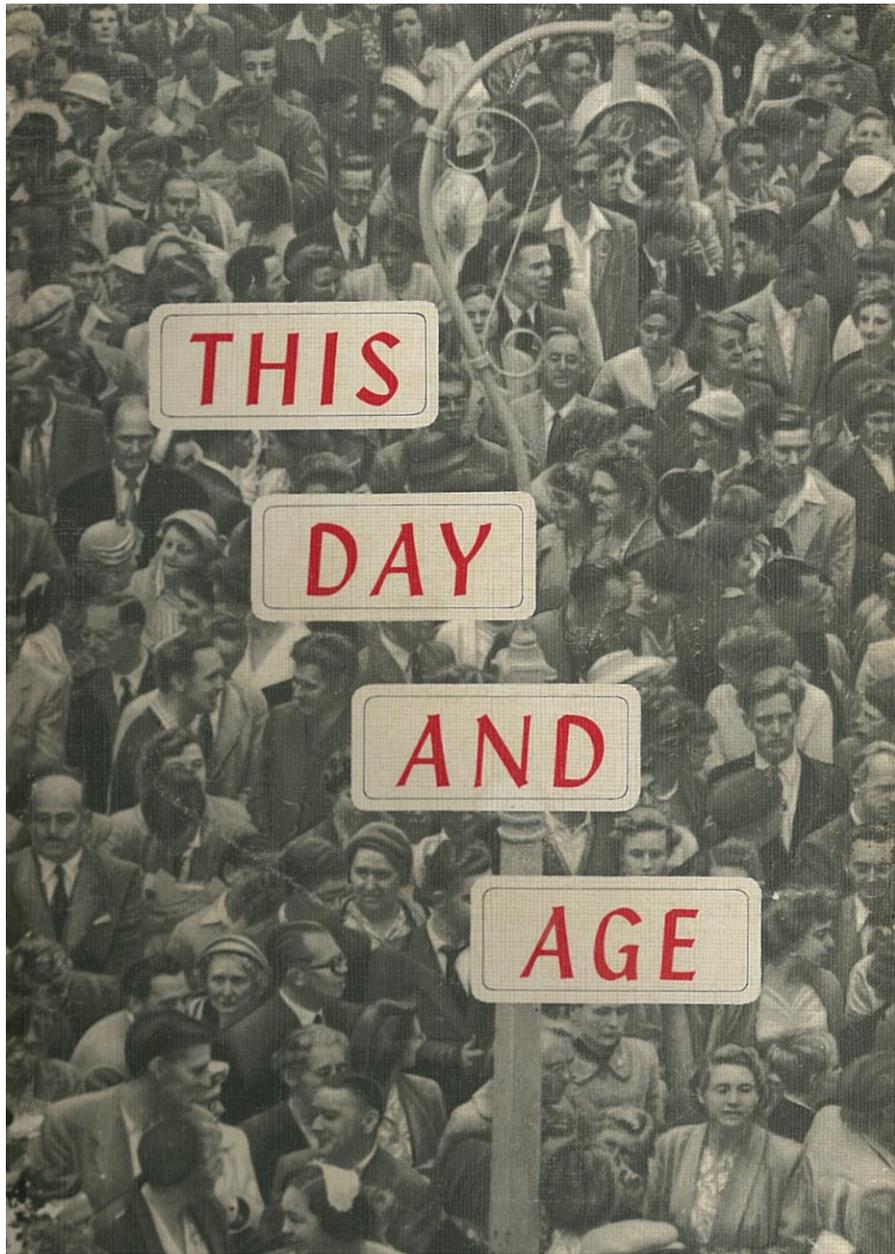
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SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY 1910-61

4. History textbooks can never be completely up to date. Readers will have to conduct their own research if they wish to know how the government's policy of promoting the self-government and development of the Bantu homelands is progressing. Use the following questions to guide you in the search for information.
- (a) How many Bantu self-governing states have been established? Where are they to be found and what are the states called?
  - (b) Who are the prime ministers?
  - (c) What economic resources do these Bantu states have?
  - (d) What provision has been made for transport and communications?

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## APPENDIX M

### Turnitin Report

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