

An emerging black identity in contemporary South Africa

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	6
Tables and Figures	8
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS	9
1.1 Introduction	9
1.2 Background to the problem.....	9
1.3 Focus of the study	13
1.4 Statement of purpose	13
1.5 Significance of the study.....	14
1.6 Definition of key terms used in the study	14
1.7 Overview of the thesis	15
1.8 Summary	19
CHAPTER TWO	20
OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BLACK IDENTITY.....	20
2.1 Introduction.....	20
2.2 Conceptualisation of the psychological impact on black identity	20
2.2.1 Self-hate paradigm.....	21
2.2.2 The Nigrescence paradigm	23
2.2.3.1 Parham’s model	26
2.2.3.2. Helms’s People of Color Racial Identity Model.....	28
2.2.3.3 Bulhan’s three-stage model	32
2.2.4 Manganyi’s theory of Being-black-in-the-world.....	34
2.2.4.1 The body	35
2.2.4.2 Individual in society.....	36
2.2.4.3 Being-in-the-world-with-objects/things.....	36
2.2.5 Lambley’s concept of internalised racism	37
2.3 Summary	39
CHAPTER THREE	41
POSTCOLONIAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	41
3.1 Introduction.....	41

3.2 The postcolonial perspective	42
3.2.1 Orientalism and ‘Otherness’	43
3.2.2 Ambivalence of cultural hybrid identities	46
3.2.3 Hybridity and authenticity	48
3.3 Postcolonial and cultural studies’ conception of identity	50
3.3.1 Postcolonial and cultural studies theory	51
3.4 Summary	61
CHAPTER FOUR.....	64
THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	64
4.1 Introduction.....	64
4.2 Research paradigm.....	65
4.2.1 Social construction and identity construction.....	65
4.2.2 Positioning theory	68
4.2.3. McAdams’ autobiographical method	71
4.3 Social constructionism and discourse analysis.....	73
4.3.1 The meaning of discourse	74
4.3.2 The social constructionist approach to discourse analysis	75
4.4.1 Methodology	77
4.4.2 Approval processes	77
4.4.3 Selecting of respondents.....	77
4.4.4 Data collection techniques	80
4.4.5 Autobiographical interview process.....	80
4.4.6 Interviewing setting.....	81
4.4.7 Discussion of interviews	82
4.4.8 Transcribing the interviews.....	84
4.4.9 Organising the interview data	85
4.5 Data analysis	86
4.5.1 Steps taken in analysis.....	86
4.6 Reflexivity.....	91
4.7 Ethics.....	93
4.7.1 Autonomy and respect for the dignity for persons	94
4.7.2 Nonmaleficence	94

4.7.3 Beneficence.....	97
4.7.4 Justice.....	98
4.8 Trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability and authenticity.....	99
4.8.1 Trustworthiness.....	99
4.8.2 Credibility.....	100
4.8.3 Transferability.....	102
4.8.4 Dependability.....	102
4.8.5 Confirmability.....	103
4.8.6 Authenticity.....	103
4.9 Summary.....	104
CHAPTER 5.....	106
DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION.....	106
APARTHEID AND POST-APARTHEID ACCOUNTS OF RACISM STORIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	106
5.1 Introduction.....	106
5.2 Philemona Essed’s theory of everyday racism.....	107
5.3 Methodology.....	109
5.3.1 Developing codes and categories.....	110
5.3.2 Definition of codes and categories.....	110
5.3.3 Reliability of coding.....	113
5.3.4 Description of the sample.....	113
5.3.5 Descriptive results for the manifestations and micro-geographies of racism.....	115
5.4 Manifestation of racism.....	119
5.4.2.1 Apartheid manifestations.....	119
5.4.2.2. Post-apartheid racism experiences.....	131
5.4.2.4 Summary and analysis.....	137
5.5 Apartheid and post-apartheid manifestations.....	139
5.6 Discussion.....	151
5.7 Summary.....	154
CHAPTER 6.....	156

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF ISSUES OF IDENTITIES, DIFFERENCES AND OTHERNESS IN BLACK IDENTITY	156
6.1 Introduction.....	156
6.2 Blackness as relational to whiteness	157
6.2.1 Black white binary oppositions as black markers.....	158
6.2.2 Stereotyping and otherness as markers of black identity.....	161
6.3 <i>Qaba-tshu</i> [deep darkness in people of ochre] versus white-black (diversity in blackness): the authenticity, multiplicity and the struggles of blackness	168
6.3.1.1 <i>Umzabalazo</i> [struggle] is being black.....	169
6.3.1.2 Defence of a coconut (white-black positioning).....	180
6.3.1.3 Coconuts criticised.....	183
6.3.2.4 Authenticity as a commodity	186
6.3.2.5 Rural versus urban blackness.....	191
6.4 Discussion.....	198
6.5 Summary	202
CHAPTER 7.....	204
“I SAW MYSELF IN SO MANY BLACK PEOPLE THAT I INTERVIEWED”	204
7.1 Introduction.....	204
7.2.1 The lived experiences of everyday racism of black people in South Africa today	205
7.2.2 Discourses that frame ways of talking about black identity and blackness in South Africa today.....	207
7.2.3 Black self construction as a contribution to the construction of the other	208
7.2.4 The impact on black identity of the historical, political and economic changes in South Africa.....	208
7.3 Limitations	211
7.4 Recommendations	212
REFERENCES	213
APPENDIXES	234
Appendix 1: Ethical Clearance Certificate.....	234
Appendix 2.1: Consent Form	235
Appendix 3: English Interview Questions	239
Appendix 4: Imibuzo yeNtentswano yesiXhosa.....	246
Appendix 5: Example 1 of interview transcripts.....	253
Appendix 6: Example 2 of interview manuscript.....	272

Appendix 7: Newsletter..... 306

ABSTRACT

This study aims to understand emerging black identities in contemporary South Africa. The focus is on the impact the radical transformation of the political and social system in South Africa is having on black identity. This study emphasises two key ideas: possibilities for the construction of black identity and the significance of apartheid on black identity, and how these two factors have impacted on the construction of black identity. A reflection on the work of Biko (1978) is used as the key theoretical framework for this study to understand the construction of black identity in the process of encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism. In this thesis, black people's autobiographies have been studied as a site where shared images of the past are actively produced and circulated: a site where a collective engagement with the past is both reflected and constructed.

The empirical work is grounded in two bodies of literature: the psychology of black identity and postcolonial literature. Both review chapters point to the struggle and the tensions inherent in being black in encounter with racism. My work shows that black identity is troubling because of its encounter with racism. From the psychological literature point of view, an understanding of what sustains experiences of everyday racism is a provision for individuals to overcome in construction of a free black identity. From a postcolonial point of view, racism experiences are simply constructed as psychological, and individual black individuals can never overcome racism. It is in this light that experiences of racism were seen as embedded in the historical, economic and political conditions of being black. From a historical condition, discourses that

assign blackness to inferior positioning, as well as the binary opposition of whiteness, remain unchanged in post-apartheid South Africa.

Blackness in this analysis has been found to be an evolving process of change moving forwards and backwards between present, past and future. However, there is clear change in black identity construction owing to desegregation, integration, political change and economic upliftment. In fact the availability of other ways of being black is both positive and negative. The positive aspect of it is that it opens opportunities for going beyond the way blackness is being framed. What is negative about this is that these very forms are stuck in the frame of racism and therefore blackness continues to be a moral minefield today. It becomes evident that in all these socioeconomic developments, what is authentic versus inauthentic is a mimicry and loss of authenticity. This is why blackness has the inability to escape whiteness; it complicates the very forms of the emerging new black identity.

Tables and Figures

Table 4.1 The demographics and geographical data for sample in this study.....76

Table 5.1 Name of categories and the meaning.....108

Table 5.2 Categories of micro geography.....109

Table 5.2.1 Description of story sample by age.....111

Table 5.2.2 Description of story sample by place.....111

Table 5.3 Frequency of manifestation of racism in apartheid and post-apartheid contexts
.....113

Table 5.4 Frequency of micro geography of racism in apartheid and post-apartheid
contexts.....115

Figure 5.1 Manifestations by context.....114

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

1.1 Introduction

This study is about ambivalence and black identity. Ambivalence in this context speaks of black identity as a concept which we understand through poststructuralist language as being historically grounded in an encounter with whites and an encounter with racism. The central aim of the study is to understand how black South Africans are shaping a sense of self in the changing socio-historical context of post-apartheid South Africa. The central question is: With the political change in South Africa how has black identity changed and is there a remaining psychology of oppression in the way in which black identity is constructed today?

In this chapter I provide an overview of the historical background to the study and draw attention to the knowledge interest of the investigation. I conclude the chapter by outlining the issues discussed in each of the seven chapters.

1.2 Background to the problem

Since the early 1990s, South Africans have been caught up in fundamental social and political change in the transition to the new political dispensation of 1994. Bekker (1993) describes this transition as an “historical moment” that could not only change the personal life of each individual significantly but could also have a vast impact on the relations between individuals and their membership groups, and on intergroup relations.

On the other hand, Steyn (2001) makes the point that post-apartheid South Africa is experiencing a period marked by a moment of “gappiness” in identity for all social groupings. This suggests

that post-apartheid is a period in which all South Africans are negotiating and renegotiating their identities. The socio-political transition being experienced by South Africans is having an impact on social, political, economic and cultural life in general (Steyn, 2001).

Recently, Durrheim and Mtose (2006:168) have claimed that “[t]he gains of liberation have not been limited to the political, economic and cultural spheres. They are also apparent psychologically, at the level of identity”. This study addresses how this change impacts on black identity in relation to the social and cultural understandings through which one comes to know and experience oneself. What is emphasised in this study is how black people, through autobiographies, construct black identity in relation to white identity and how they construct various forms of being black which are themselves rooted in whiteness. Mangcu (2008) argues that the dynamic processes of black identity formation have always been underpinned by black people’s encounter with whiteness.

The work of Biko (1978) is used as a key theoretical framework in this study to understand the construction of black identity in the process of encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism. In this regard, Biko (1978:25) says: “There is nothing the matter with blacks. The problem is WHITE RACISM and it rests squarely on the laps of the white society.” Biko (1978) makes a claim that the logic behind white domination in South Africa is to prepare black people for a subservient role. He argues further that in contexts characterised by racism, the dominated group is kept in subjugation not only by oppression but also through its internalisation of an inferior position in society.

Biko’s work was directed at “conscientisation” and pride in blackness. The aim of his work was to protest against oppression. In the first instance of black identity construction, oppression was seen as internalised mentally and culturally and only then politically and institutionally. Despite the fact that people have free will and agency, Biko (1978) argued that the state of the mind of many black people became conditioned and controlled as a result of the legacy of apartheid. In this regard Biko (1978:92) says “... the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed”. According to Kros (as cited in Hook 2004), this inferiority complex has not only dented black people’s self-confidence but has emptied them of their selfhood and

consequently made them passive. The aim of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was to reverse years of negative self-image and replace it with an affirming and positive identity.

Biko (1978: 31) makes this point very clear when he states:

The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth.

Biko was calling on black people to take control of their wellbeing by restoring pride and dignity to blackness. He was also asking black people to resist the dominating colonial power that was overtaking black South Africans.

A positive black identity was seen as a political strategy, creating a unified front against apartheid (Biko, 1978). In this positive sense black identity was a kind of politics intended to position an intellectual and emotive base for ultimate political unity between the Africans, coloureds and Asians of South Africa. In this regard, Mangcu (2008: xiii–xiv) says: “In particular Biko’s concept of a joint venture comes from black-white or African-European interaction.” Black Consciousness was about claiming a merger amongst the minority and resisting the powers of oppression. Biko (1978:92) says: “Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them perpetually to servitude.” Biko believed that by positioning themselves in a politics of resistance against the fragmentation of apartheid, black people could create a psychologically liberated definition and reality of black identity.

The above-mentioned perspective implies that Biko’s concept of “Blackness” is one of a state of mind, a recognition of racial oppression, an acknowledgement of the unity of the oppressed and a commitment to struggle against oppression. As such, there are those whose pigmentation is black but who are not “Black” in terms of this definition, for example, the homeland leaders and all

other black people who bought into the ethics and apartheid categories would not fit into Biko's definition (Biko, 1978). According to Biko, black identity was to be understood according to the social struggles, that is, the politics of representation. The conditions for a black man to attain full selfhood were also, for Biko, through a return to the past where black legends and heroes would be restored to history (Biko, 1978).

In the light of the political changes in South Africa today, one has to understand that these changes do not necessarily translate into a change in socioeconomic hierarchy status. This suggests that liberation in South Africa is still incomplete because black people's social and economic life has not changed. If this is the case, how much of Biko's view can be used to construct black identity today now that the days in which Biko (1978) saw black identity as becoming nothing but a construction of white 'Other' are gone? In South Africa today, the question is who have we become as black people?

Biko (1978) was concerned about what black identity formation had become in the 1970s and displayed a strong continuity of African resistance to various forms of white oppression. In this light, Biko (1978:29) argued, "the black man has become a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity".

This is Biko's position on black identity construction. He defined it in terms of encounter with racism and encounter with whiteness. In this study I use this framework to inform my study in order to assess the extent to which this definition is still relevant in South Africa today. This study is important given that it wishes to understand black identity construction in contemporary South Africa together with what seems to be unresolved tension on what black identity is becoming.

1.3 Focus of the study

What is at issue here is the recognition of the diversity of subject positions, social experiences and cultural identities comprising the category “black identity” in South Africa today. Black politics can no longer be conducted by a simple set of reversals, replacing the bad old essentially white subject with the good new essentially black subject (Zegeye, 2005). This suggests a lack of guaranteed black identity and patterns of social relations, and this is what has created a need for this study.

1.4 Statement of purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand emerging black identities in contemporary South Africa. The focus is on a consideration of the impact the radical transformation of the political and social system in South Africa is having on black identity.

The interest of this thesis is in exploring accounts of black identity in contemporary South Africa. In this study, black people’s stories are viewed as constituting their lives, and their lives are continually being constituted and reconstituted as they negotiate meaning within their context, retelling stories themselves. In this study I have used a gender neutral approach because the focus is on a holistic understanding of being black in South Africa today. Even though there is vast literature to show that racial identities are gendered (hooks, 1992, Cockburn, 1998, Yuval-Davis, 1997). These literatures often suggest that there are intrinsic links between racism and sexuality (Young, 1995). There are two key ideas that this study focuses on: the construction of black identity possibilities and the significance of apartheid on black identity. This study considers how these two factors impact on the construction of black identity of males and females in contemporary South Africa.

1.5 Study objectives

As a continuation from the statement of purpose I set the following objectives:

- 1) To explore black South African’s lived experiences of everyday racism.

- 2) To assess how black people talk about being black in contemporary South Africa.
- 3) To explore the extent to which black people's stories of self contribute to their identity in relation to otherness.
- 4) To assess the impact that the historical, political and economic changes have on black identity.

1.5 Significance of the study

The major contribution of this study is that it provides an understanding what black identity is about in South Africa today. Black identity has been constructed as ambivalent because of racism.

This study contributes to the knowledge of actual conditions that show the basis for the new forms of ambivalence and tensions of being black in South Africa today. It also means to expose the reasons why the construction of black identity has always been a moral field and continues to be so in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.6 Definition of key terms used in the study

Black people

In this study, "Black people" refers to a group of people having shared cultural and historical experiences which constitute an indigenous African descent. This includes unique individual narratives or discourses of being black in South Africa.

Blackness

In this study, Blackness means black identity. This term is used interchangeably with black identity in this study.

1.7 Overview of the thesis

This study is about black identity in South Africa today. The remainder of this thesis consists of six chapters. In chapters 2 and 3, I review two bodies of literature: the psychology of black identity and postcolonial identity theory. I review these two literatures and contrast the similarities and differences between them. There are two features that emerge from both literatures: (1) black identity is seen as problematic, and (2) the context of racism and whiteness is common. I review the two bodies of literature for two reasons: I want to see how, firstly, the reviewed literatures and, secondly, my work helps me to understand what it means to be black in South Africa today. I do this in two different ways: (1) my work acts as a spotlight on these two different theories, focusing on their weaknesses and strengths, and (2) by understanding the conditions for emerging blackness in South Africa. In order to do this, the emphasis of postcolonial literature is used to support arguments for the changing nature of black South African identities. Of course, this is not to deny that there is also a personal struggle. The first empirical chapter studies people's lives in the context of racism and whiteness. The second empirical chapter looks at the nature of the struggle in black identity construction. The empirical work also shows that being black is troubling. This project concludes with a reflection on the two bodies of literature in the light of empirical work. I then conclude by stating what my work shows about blackness in South Africa.

The first body of literature reviewed in chapter 2 entails the psychology of black identity. This reveals something important, that is, that blackness is troubling. This review begins with Clark and Clark's (1939) early work, which centres on the notion of "deficit". There is a problem: black identity has been interrupted because of racism. Clark and Clark's understanding of black identification trouble is according to a psychopathological frame, the trouble is self-hate.

It seems that the other literature on the psychology of black identity draws on and echoes Clark and Clark's self-hate paradigm. For example, the stage models as proposed by Cross (1971) theorise that socialisation in a racist society causes black people to experience self-hate as a result of racial origin. The stage models further hypothesise that a return to traditional African

values would help black people develop a healthier racial identity. In addition to this is Lambley's (1980) work, which shows how racist one can be and also problematises black identity in encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism without using the stage models as a framework.

This literature is unified by the sense that the trouble lies with the individual black person. In other words, the literature on psychological identity is overwhelmingly individualistic. In this literature the problem is psychological neurosis and that is what the individual needs to overcome. What is missing in this literature is the focus on politics, on the history, on economics in the troubling nature of blackness. This contrasts very sharply with postcolonial writings, which also portray black identity as troubling and which are discussed in chapter 3.

As with the psychology of black identity, postcolonial literature shows that black identity is a struggle with self-hate, internalisation and conflict. It also shows that the struggle is an encounter with whiteness and an encounter with racism. But what distinguishes this literature from the psychological literature is the focus, which is primarily on the historical, economic and political structures. It also poses a struggle that is not developmental but political. Hybridity and ambivalence, unlike stages where you can be at one stage or another, cannot be avoided; you are inside and you cannot leave. This gives you a different view of identification during this transitional stage in which, it seems; black identity will not be overcome.

Chapter 4 deals with the theory of the methodology employed in this study. This chapter aims at presenting the theoretical background to data collection and analysis in order to provide the rationale for the methods chosen. The chapter begins by describing the key assumptions underpinning a social constructionist study of identity. The theory includes discourse, positioning theory and autobiography as tools for understanding the complexity of black identity. The techniques used are sampling, data collection and analysis. This chapter also deals with a discussion of ethics.

Chapters 5 and 6 are the empirical chapters of this project; they are both seen in the light of the two bodies of literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 5 addresses the aspect of black

people's lives in encounter with racism, whereby an account of their experiences, as they feature in both identity theories, is outlined. The central question in this chapter is: What is the experience with whiteness like in these biographical encounters and has it changed? In other words, how is it narrated autobiographically and how has it changed for black people in the light of the post-apartheid dispensation in South Africa?

Essed's (1991) theory of everyday racism is used to help us develop an understanding of encounter with everyday racism. Essed presents us with a framework for appreciating this encounter with whiteness. From an analysis of the stories narrated by the respondents, I argue that this encounter has changed in some ways, but there are also many ways in which it has not changed. This chapter shows that the experiences of everyday racism remain a current reality in black people's narrated autobiographies. This is similar to the light in which blackness in the psychology of black identity and postcolonial black identity has been constructed as troubling because of racism (cf. ch2 & ch 3).

The analysis in this chapter highlights the continuity and discontinuity of experiences of everyday racism, as well as the alternative and new ways in which racism seems to manifest in post-apartheid times. In essence, this chapter introduces us to how black identity positions that were created in the past through the language of racism become a reproduction of racism experience in post-apartheid South Africa. What this means is that, as suggested by the postcolonial literature, blackness involves an insistent struggle against racism. This forms the backdrop for putting your life together in an autobiographical sense of who you are. What this chapter does not address is the nature of the struggle in shaping black people's identity. This aspect of identity is dealt with in chapter 6.

Chapter 6 is the second empirical chapter and it deals with the various kinds of discourses of being black. It focuses on how black identity is always in the frame of whiteness. In the first instance, black identity is defined in relation to whiteness. Black identity is also defined in relation to other forms of blackness, which are themselves appreciated in the framework of whiteness. In this chapter, I look at the relational aspect of blackness, ambivalence and hybridity in processing the nature of struggles and tensions in black identity construction. The central questions which the data in this chapter answered are embedded in research questions 2 and 3

(cf. ch1.4) namely: What are the discourses that frame black people's talk about being black in the contemporary South Africa? How do black people's narrations of self contribute to the construction of their identity in accounts of self in relation to others?

Discourse analysis is used as an analytical framework to guide the analysis of this chapter. I show how discourses are positioned to construct an emerging black identity in contemporary South Africa. I also examine the language that is central in the construction of identity and in mediating the relationship between the individual and society. In this chapter, I show that in black identity construction there is a variation in the meaning of being black in contemporary South Africa. This chapter also suggests that black identity is being defined through whiteness, as well as through other forms of blackness, which are also appreciated in terms of whiteness. These different contexts in which blackness has been shown to be a site of struggle have been discussed. For example, the competition and conflict in terms of authenticity, social and political positioning has shown that blackness is mobile and flexible compared to the first stereotypical way of constructing black identity. In the discussion offered in this chapter whiteness is shown to be inescapable in black identity construction.

Chapter 7 is the final chapter of this study. It focuses on the conclusion, the limitations and recommendations for future research. This study is an investigation of the impact of the historical, political and economic changes on black people's identification as presented by black people's way of constructing the meaning of blackness. In drawing the conclusions, I reflect on the empirical work in the light of the two literature review chapters (cf. ch 2 & ch 3), both of which see black identity as problematic. My work shows clearly that there is change that manifests in desegregation, integration, political change and economic upliftment and that these very conditions are the basis for these new forms of ambivalence and hybridity.

1.8 Summary

This chapter has introduced the thesis of this study, which is about black identity in South Africa today. The background to the study is an attempt to address the way that social, economic and political changes have impacted on black identity construction.

I use Biko (1978) as a key theoretical framework. The point of departure for this study is Biko's concern with what black identity has become in an encounter with whiteness and an encounter with racism. This study focuses on what black identity has become in contemporary South Africa, now that 'black' identity comprises a diversity of subject positions, social experiences and cultural identities.

The purpose of this study is to understand emerging black identities in contemporary South Africa. The study focuses on the new possibilities of black identity construction and the significance of apartheid. In this study black people's autobiographies are used as tools for negotiating meaning for black identity.

A set of four research questions have been set as guide (cf. 1.4) for this chapter, and are not repeated here. The key concepts used in this study have also been defined and operationalised (cf. 1.6) in this chapter. Section 1.7 comprises an overview of this thesis, followed by this summary of the chapter.

The following chapter, chapter 2, continues the mood of unresolved tension in black identity construction set by Biko (1978) in the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BLACK IDENTITY

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, Biko's (1978) work situated blackness in a historical, political and psychological context. His work is directed at a political outcome of struggle because the social class has to create the agent of change. Biko's work was concerned with the way blackness can function and be undefeated. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the psychological perspective of identity, which is seen as a dominant way of thinking about black identity. This discussion on the literature will follow the trends in the psychological discourse on black identity construction.

2.2 Conceptualisation of the psychological impact on black identity

In a presentation of the literature that demonstrates the psychological impact on black identity, the literature on the self-hate paradigm is a starting point. The self-hate paradigm describes black racial identity as a monolithic and static concept.

The self-hatred paradigm is followed by the Nigrescence paradigm proposed by Cross (1971). This paradigm attempts to explain how black people come to realise the salience of race in their life and develop a positive racial identity. In his article "The negro black conversion experience", Cross theorises that socialisation in dominant American society caused blacks to experience self-hatred as a result of racial origin. He further hypothesised that a return to traditional African values would help blacks develop a healthier racial identity. The Nigrescence models are therefore extensions of the self-hate paradigm. The discussions on stage models include the works of Parham (1989), Helms (1990) and Bulhan (1980).

Manganyi's (1973) work is also discussed as it also shows the progression and individualistic nature in black identity construction. The last theory to be discussed on the psychology of being

black is that of Lambley (1980) in order to show how one can be racist in talking about the psychology of being black.

2.2.1 Self-hate paradigm

An early statement about the psychology of inferiority is one by Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1939; 1947). Clark and Clark (1939) conducted the first study examining the degree of racial awareness and attitudes of black school children. Clark and Clark wanted to investigate the degree to which black children would make selections preferring a stimulus representing a black individual to one representing a white person. They also wanted to measure the extent to which these children would make correct identifications with the appropriate dolls representing black individuals when asked to do so. Clark and Clark showed pictures consisting of various combinations of a white boy, black boy, lion, dog, or clown to 150 black children, three to five years old. After the instructions of “Show me which one is you”, for the boys and “Show me which one is ...?” using the name of the girl’s brother, boy cousin or boy playmate for the girls, they found that, while overall the children made slightly more choices of the black child, this was not true at each age level (1939:594).

When the responses were interpreted at separate age levels, the findings showed that the youngest children chose the white child in the picture more often (44% of the time) compared to the black child (41% of the time) with 15% making irrelevant choices, such as one of the animals or the clown. The percentage of choices for the white child by black children remained constant at 44% as the children go from three to four years old; however, the children cease to identify themselves in terms of the animals or the clown and consistently identify themselves in terms of either the black or white children. This elimination of irrelevant choices by ages four and five led to a trend in black children of more choices of the black child with age. The black children chose to identify with the black child in the picture 55% of the time at age 4, and 45% of the time by age five. As the children grew older, from age three to age five, they increasingly identified with the black child. Nevertheless, a significant number of black children continued to identify with the white doll: 45% at age four, and 44% at age five (Clark & Clark, 1939). Several years later,

Clark and Clark interviewed black children ages three through seven individually using a set of four dolls, two black and two white. Clark and Clark (1947:602) asked them the following questions:

- 1 Give me the doll that you want to play with.
2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Give me the doll that looks bad.
4. Give me the doll that is a nice color.
5. Give me the doll that looks like a white child.
6. Give me the doll that looks like a colored child.
7. Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child.
8. Give me the doll that looks like you.

They felt the first four questions measured racial preference, while questions five to seven measured racial self-identification. Clark and Clark found that black children preferred white dolls and rejected black dolls when asked to choose which were nice, which looked bad, which they would like to play with, and which a nice colour was. Clark and Clark believed this finding implied that the children perceived black as not being beautiful.

The conclusion drawn from these studies was that, as a result of the historic and systematic unfair treatment of black people in the United States (i.e. racism and racial discrimination), black children had developed contempt for being black and thus sought to be white. This was referred to as “wishful thinking” and was associated with wanting to be white both to acquire full personhood and to avoid discrimination. There are, however, several challenges to this paradigm. Firstly, the entire paradigm was based largely on two studies both conducted by Kenneth and Mamie Clark. Secondly, this finding pertained to African American children and was inappropriately generalised to the wider African American population.

The self-hate paradigm describes black racial identity as a more or less monolithic and static concept. I now move to the stage models, a paradigm that extends black identity from the self-

hate paradigm to an identity that moves across a series of sequential stages as an individual reaction to social and environmental pressures and circumstances.

2.2.2 The Nigrescence paradigm

Whilst numerous authors have written about the racial identity development of African Americans (Cross, Parham & Helms, 1991), it was Cross (1971) and Thomas and Thomas (1971) who first proposed models of racial identity development.

Perhaps the best known and most widely researched is Cross's (1971, 1978, 1980) model of psychological Nigrescence, which refers to the process of developing a black identity. Cross (1971; 1995) developed one of the first and most prevalent models of psychological Nigrescence, a "resocialization experience" (Cross, 1995:97) in which a healthy black progresses from a non-Afrocentric to an Afrocentric to a multicultural identity.

Cross (1971) theorises black identity in terms of a conversion from 'Negro' to 'Black'. Cross suggests that the development of a black person's racial identity is often characterised by his/her own movement through the five-stage process, the transformation from pre-encounter to internalisation-commitment. The five stages are: (a) pre-encounter, (b) encounter, (c) immersion-emersion, (d) internalisation, and (e) internalisation-commitment.

The first stage, pre-encounter, is characterised by a Eurocentric identification and denigration of that which is black. Typically, a person in the pre-encounter stage considers herself or himself to be race neutral; there is little thought about race and being black is not important. For some individuals this stage can also be characterised by anti-black attitudes and sentiments. The person at this stage is most likely to have accepted a deracinated frame of reference, and because their reference point is usually a white normative standard, they develop attitudes that are pro-white and anti-black. These individuals may subscribe to negative stereotypes about black people and may wish that they themselves were not black. Cross also explains that the person in pre-

encounter has a Eurocentric perspective embracing western values and culture. This person is likely to appreciate western values such as individuality and to prefer the western ideal of beauty.

The second stage, encounter, assumes that the race-neutral individual experienced encounter that forced that individual to realise the importance of race in society (Cross, 1971). This stage involves two steps: the first step entails experiencing and personalising the event when the person realises that his or her old frame of reference is inappropriate and so he/she begins to explore aspects of a new identity; and the second step is portrayed by Cross et al (1991:324) as “a testing phase during which the individual [first] cautiously tries to validate his/her perceptions” and then definitely decides to develop a black identity. This means that an individual’s test for new ideas and behaviours relates to insights gained and leads to the development of a black identity.

In essence, this stage is characterised by a negative social event involving being black. This is believed to force the individual to re-examine previously held attitudes and ideas regarding racial matters (Cross, 1971). In his revision of Nigrescence, Cross (1995) points out that a singular event need not cause an encounter, some various incidents could constitute an encounter. The person in the encounter stage feels a great deal of guilt and anger for never having considered the importance of blackness and for having subscribed to Eurocentric values. A person in this stage may also experience growing anger towards white people.

In the third stage of Nigrescence, the individual attempts to separate herself or himself from Eurocentric values. However, a lack of knowledge of black values and culture leads them to form a reactionary identity that is anti-white (Cross, 1995). The person may embrace that which they perceive as black or African, not for its authenticity but rather for it not being white.

The beginning phase of stage three is characterised by an immersion in black culture and a rejection of white culture. Individuals take on African-inspired dress and hair styles and use creative means such as poetry, music and art to express their blackness. The individualism of earlier stages is replaced by a strong group identity and a belief in collectivism (Cross, 1971).

The individual might express the belief in collectivism by being very confrontational and challenging the 'blackness' of those who are not as militant.

As the individual begins to emerge in the second phase of stage three, dualistic views are replaced by a more complex understanding of African American experience. Not able to sustain the intense emotionality of immersion, the individual seeks to stabilise their emotions. During this stage of immersion much of the hostility of immersion subsides. A sense of pride replaces the guilt feelings evident in the immersion phase. There is also an attempt to increase the depth of their understanding of black culture (Cross, 1971).

In essence, stage three is the period of transition in which the person struggles to destroy all vestiges of the 'old' perspective. This occurs simultaneously with an intense concern to clarify the personal implications of the new-found black identity (Cross, 1991). A person at this stage begins to identify only with things that are considered black and there is also a rejection of things representing whiteness. Considering the fact that accordingly the person is at the transitional stage, high levels of ambivalence may be present too. The person may vacillate between feelings of rage and depression, power and helplessness, anger and joy, pride and shame. Even towards other black people the person may be alternately embracing and rejecting.

In stage four, internalisation, the individual comes to accept a positive view of herself or himself as a black person and accepts the existence of good and bad qualities in both black and white people. At this stage, the individual resolves conflicts between the old identity and the new worldview. Increased self-confidence and an increasingly pluralistic perspective are characteristics of this stage (Cross, 1971).

In stage five, internalisation-commitment, the person focuses on things other than themselves and their ethnic or racial group. They achieve inner security and self-confidence within their blackness (Cross, 1995). According to Cross (1991:326), the person "may be characterised by political activism on behalf of blacks as well as other oppressed groups, [but] moves towards a pluralistic and nonracist perspective". This means that a person in this stage may act as an agent of black issues to other communities.

The psychology of Nigrescence model has gone through various revisions (Cross, 1995). The first revision to the model was its name; it was originally the Negro-to-Black conversion experience (Cross, 1971). It is also important to note that earlier models of Nigrescence suggested that stage one was characterised by self-hatred; the revised model now acknowledges that not all people display this emotion (Cross, 1995). In his most recent revision Cross attempts to convey that Nigrescence is not as linear as the stages depict. Additionally, he explains that not all individuals will progress through the entire model – some individuals will “drop out”. Cross also acknowledges that it is possible for a person to regress into earlier stages of the model. This model is contrary to his first linear development theory and similar to Parham’s (1989) and Helms’s (1990; 1993; 1994; 1995) models of black identity development.

Cross’s (1971) model provides this study with an understanding of the psychological significance of black identity construction in an encounter with whiteness and an encounter with racism. However, the nature of development in linear stages as proposed by this model does not provide this study with the tools for understanding the possibilities of change in black identity in the continuing encounter with racism and the encounter with whiteness, as the case seems to be in this study.

I now present Parham’s and Helms’s models, with modifications of Cross’s (1971) model.

2.2.3.1 Parham’s model

Parham (1989) describes cycles of racial identity development as a life-long, continuously changing, process for blacks. He proposes that, within the context of normal development, racial identity development is a phenomenon that is subject to continuous change during the lifespan. He suggests that identity development may recycle throughout adulthood and argues that the manifestations of black identity during childhood may be a reflection of externalised parental attitudes or societal stereotypes rather than personal identity.

Parham's (1989:196) model assumes that there is a qualitative difference between the Nigrescence experience between adolescence or early adulthood and in, say, middle or late adulthood, because "[a] black person's frame of reference is potentially influenced by his or her life stage and the development tasks associated with that period of life ... [and] within the context of normal development, racial identity is a phenomenon which is subject to change during the life cycle". Parham posits three different ways in which people deal with their racial identity as they advance through life: stagnation, stage-wise linear progression and recycling. Stagnation is characterised by maintaining one type of race-related attitude throughout most of one's life time. The second is stage-wise linear progression which refers to movement from one stage to another in a stage-to-stage fashion (i.e. pre-encounter-internalisation) over a period of time in one's life (Parham, 1989). The third stage, recycling, is defined as the reinitiating into the racial identity struggle and resolution process after having gone through the identity process at an earlier stage in one's life.

In essence, Parham theorises that individuals move through angry feelings about whites and develop a positive black frame of reference. Ideally, this leads to a realistic perception of one's racial identity and to bicultural success. Parham relates black identity directly to white people in a way that moves individual black identity from the unconscious to the conscious. In this regard Mama (1995:62) says, "the most important advance Parham makes is that he puts forward a theory of the black person as a dynamic subject ... it is a theory of subjectivity that moves some way beyond the linear stage models of black identity development". In common with Cross (1971; 1995), it can also be argued that this model clearly delineates that when blacks brush up against white culture and negative differential treatment by others, feelings of difference are triggered; subsequently a consciousness of racial identity is triggered as well.

The model further outlines a movement from an unconscious to a conscious racial identity.

2.2.3.2. Helms's People of Color Racial Identity Model

Helms (1990; 1993; 1994; 1995) developed one of the first white racial identity models. Her model presupposes the existence of white superiority and individual, cultural and institutional racism. Helms's (1990) racial identity model is derivative of Cross's (1971) model. In her racial identity model, Helms maintains the racial identity stages posited by Cross and preserves Cross's notion that one's level of racial identity development (one's racial identity stage) guides one's thoughts, feelings and behaviours.

While the individual levels of development in the Helms model shares commonalities with Nigrescence, the model as a whole has many distinctions. To begin with Helms refers to the individual levels of development as statuses not stages. In making this distinction, Helms, like Parham (1989), attempts to explain that the cognitive process of the individual engaged in racial identity development is more flexible than a stage might imply. Being of a certain status, a person's cognitive process is most influenced by the schema associated with that status. However, the person might still act on modes of thinking from more advanced or from prior statuses. This suggests that Helms (1995) considers racial identity stages as permeable and interactive, a theoretical assumption that distinguishes her from Cross (1971), who views stages as mutually exclusive categories to which a person is assigned. According to Helms's model, stages are continuous and persons can simultaneously hold racial identity attitudes from more than one stage (Helms 1990, Parham & Helms, 1981).

A second distinction is Helms's (1995:184) assertion that "the general developmental issue for people of color is surmounting internalized racism". What Helms means by this is that the more prevalent the racial identity attitudes, the greater their influence on a person. Similar to Nigrescence, the Helms's (1990) People of Color Racial Identity Model is composed of five stages of development. These are 1) pre-encounter; 2) encounter; 3) immersion-emersion; 4) internalisation; and 5) internalisation-commitment. The pre-encounter stage is considered to be the least sophisticated. Each subsequent stage represents increasing levels of maturity. The most sophisticated is the internalisation-commitment stage.

The racial identity attitudes at the pre-encounter stage are characterised by an idealisation of whiteness and a denigration of blackness. A person with a preponderance of pre-encounter attitudes identifies with a white American worldview and may be oblivious to socio-racial concerns (Helms, 1995). Pre-encounter racial identity attitudes reflect external definitions of self that are based on negative stereotypes of black people (internalised racism) and positive stereotypes of white people (Helms, 1996). In this study this positioning suggests that black identity may be ambiguous in the discourse of wanting to be white.

In the encounter stage, blacks experience a personal and social event or series of episodes that conflict with or challenge their previously held view of race. The white worldview is no longer seen as valuable and another identity based on a black perspective is sought out. Individuals in this stage may experience guilt, anger and anxiety over having previously espoused a worldview that did not consider the value and significance of being black in America. In this study 'new' black identity is constructed as a result of a reclaiming and return to black values and culture by black people who have been embracing white culture.

The immersion-emersion stage is characterised by a dichotomised worldview in which black identity is idealised and whiteness is denigrated. Blacks with a prevalent immersion-emersion racial identity withdraw psychologically and physically into black experience. This results in exclusive participation in black activities and organisations.

The internalisation stage is categorised by the development of personal strength. Individuals at the internalisation stage are characterised by greater levels of calm and self-control. Flexibility in thinking and a decline in the denigration of whites are also characteristic of this stage. Blacks may renegotiate relationships with those whites that they believe are worthy of such relationships. The internalisation of racial identity attitudes represents the use of internal criteria for self-definition (Helms, 1996).

The last stage, known as internalisation-commitment, is depicted by a sustained interest and commitment to the black identity in the form of social and political activism. The Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B) measures the racial identity attitudes of the first four stages.

The last stage, internalisation-commitment was not operationalised because it contained attitudes that did not appear unique to one stage (Helms, 1990).

At a later stage, Helms expanded her conceptualisations of racial identity theory and replaced the term “stage” with “ego identity” status to clarify some distinctions in the conceptualisation of racial identity development (Helms, 1994; 1995; Helms & Piper, 1994). Statuses are defined as “the dynamic cognitive, emotional and behavioural processes that govern a person’s interpretation of racial information in her or his interpersonal environment” (Helms & Piper: 128).

Helms (1994) suggests that ego identity statuses are expressed according to their level of dominance within the person’s ego or personality structure. Helms (1994; 1995) explains that the statuses are all present in the ego at one time and are potentially accessible to a person. However, the ego identity status that is most dominant will have the most influence on the person’s racial reactions. Helms (1995) also note the contribution of secondary statuses to a person’s personality constellation and indicate that a person’s racial identity can be described by a blend of several statuses. Helms’s model is helpful in outlining interracial exposure as a powerful trigger for the development of racial identity.

These ego-identity statuses consist of Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion/Emersion, Internalisation, and Integrative Awareness (Helms, 1995). Since these statuses share many commonalities with the stages of Nigrescence, and have already been discussed under Helms (1990), they will not be discussed in as much detail.

The Conformity status can best be characterised by allegiance to the dominant society and obliviousness to issues of race (Helms, 1995). In the Dissonance status an individual is faced with confusion over the importance of race in her or his life. In the Immersion/Emersion status an individual will tend to value all things associated with her or his racial group and devalue all that is considered white. Moreover, the person in Immersion/Emersion status is usually hyper vigilant about issues of race. A person who has achieved Internalisation status is most likely to have a strong commitment to her or his racial group and is able to incorporate the values of her

or his race into all aspects of life. Finally, a person who has achieved Integrative Awareness status is so strong in commitment to her or his racial group that she or he is able to relate to the experiences of members of other communities of colour.

In contrast to the self-hate paradigm, the psychology of Nigrescence refers to the process of one developing a uniquely African American psychology. In general, this paradigm considers racial identity to be a “psychogenic process”. Cross (1991) describes the psychogenic process as a “remobilizing experience” whereby the cognitive processes associated with racial identity formation iterate between what is already known and what is experienced. The hypothesis of this approach is that identity development is characterised by movement across a series of sequential stages and that it is influenced by an individual’s reaction to pressures and circumstances in the social environment (Cross, 1971; 1978; 1995; Thomas & Thomas, 1971). It also allows for differences in racial identity formation between individual African Americans, and within the individual, throughout the life cycle. Stages occur in fixed, invariant sequence and are assumed to be universally applicable. Increasing individualisation and complexity occur, prompted by internal cues rather than environmental events. If a developmental task is not resolved, further development is impaired.

All the racial models suggested by Cross, Parham and Helms discuss what can be described as an intersection between the racial perceptions of others (racism) and the racial perception of self (racial development). Underlying all these stage theories is the common theme of a deficit model, blackness as self-hate, and individual responsibility to overcome the “problem” of being black. These stage models are to a large extent closely related to Cross (1971). The following is a discussion of Bulhan’s (1980) theory. Even though his theory involves stage development in a psychological frame, it is in many respects different from the stage theories discussed above. I now discuss Bulhan’s theory and, in so doing, highlight similarities and differences as compared with the psychology of Nigrescence theory.

2.2.3.3 Bulhan's three-stage model

In common with stage theorists, Bulhan proposes three types of reaction pattern. The first stage, Capitulation (CAP), involves increased assimilation into the dominant culture whilst simultaneously rejecting one's own culture. This stage was previously called "moving towards identification" and is similar to the pre-encounter stage as proposed by Cross (1971) and Helms (1990; 1995). According to Bulhan (1980), this response of Capitulation involves an individual's adoption of the cultural and social characteristics of the aggressor/oppressor/neo-colonialist. As with Cross's (1971) pre-encounter stage, this manifests itself in an internalisation of the coloniser's culture, values and efforts to emulate the (neo) coloniser.

The second stage, Revitalization (REV), previously called "moving away identification" is an identification pattern by which Africans view western culture as leading one to alienation, corruption and identity loss. Moving away identification means that the person has come to the realisation that the white frame of reference is inappropriate and therefore explicitly rejects the (neo) coloniser's culture. This stage fits well with Encounter as proposed by Cross (1971). Similar to Cross (1971), this stage is characterised by a reactive disavowal of the dominant culture and concurrent romanticism of the indigenous culture.

The third stage, Radicalisation (RAD), is the last Identification pattern stage. This stage is similar to stage five internalisation-commitment by Cross (1971; 1991) and Helms (1986; 1990) in that it is characterised by resistance and confrontation of whites. According to Bulhan (1980), at this stage an African might resist the oppressor's mechanisms of social control and exercise her or his agency to transform the unacceptable and dehumanising situation brought about by the oppressor. Similar to Cross and Helms, at this stage black people might express RAD identification by engaging in political activism. In this study of black identity as solidarity against ongoing racism, black people could still be using political struggle to construct black identity.

This theory is also similar in terms of the proposition from the models of psychological Nigrescence. It is similar because it assumes that reactive patterns of possible responses occur in

response to socioeconomic and cultural domination and that the oppressed develop predictable personality characteristics (Bulhan, 1980).

However, Bulhan's (1980) theory is distinct from the stage theorists in that he developed a scale, consisting of three subscales, to measure his three identification patterns. Factor analysis of the measure reveals three factors for each subscale, thus there are nine factors in total. For instance, the CAP subscale is characterised by a capitalist ethos, elitist consciousness, and a sense of inferiority. The three central factors of the REV stage are the traditional ethos, a race's consciousness, and identity rumination. Socialism, fear of being co-opted, and class consciousness are the pivotal themes or factors identified for the RAD subscale. Thus, the subscales seem to reflect the responses of western-educated Africans. Bulhan states that his model is applicable to most conditions of prolonged or extended subjugation of one group by another, thereby implying that the model has universal applicability for all people, including all African peoples. However, no empirical evidence exists to support his claim since Bulhan's research has focused entirely on Somali (East African) students.

In Bulhan's (1980) theory of Cultural-In-Betweenity, he tries to get out of Nigrescence stage models but also recognises blackness as a deficit model to overcome the scar of race as individualistic.

The stage models, including Bulhan's theory of Cultural-In-Betweenity, concentrate on the individual personality in encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism.

I now turn to Manganyi's (1973) theory on the experience of being black in racist South Africa. The key elements of Manganyi's work as discussed here is the notion of psychological impact on both an individual and at a collective level in the struggle to construct black identity. Manganyi's work brings a new dimension to the stage models and Bulhan's theory; that is, experiences of being black in South Africa on both an individual and a collective level. In this study it has been important to understand how blackness has been constructed and criticised within blackness. Manganyi's theory captures the tension that exists between the black self and the black other.

The following is a presentation of Manganyi's (1973) theory on the experience of being black in racist South Africa. The title of Manganyi's book, *Being-black-in-the-world*, suggests that it is applicable to the experiences of black people's who have gone through colonisation in the world.

2.2.4 Manganyi's theory of Being-black-in-the-world

Manganyi's (1973) work was aimed at addressing what he refers to as the black "experience in South Africa" (Couve, 1984: 90). Manganyi argues that there are similarities between the body image of healthy black subjects and paraplegic black subjects. He builds on the idea that healthy black subjects exhibit the same internal psychological malady as hospitalised paraplegics. This includes body images with diffused boundaries, usually associated with passive-submissive and non-coping life strategies. The aetiological locus of this psychological disorder is attributed to the level of the racist socialisation of the black body.

Similar to Clark's self-hate theory, Manganyi's (1973) theory recognises the body as having a central position in existence because he assumes that individuals make approaches to the world through their bodies. In this regard he says "[t]he body is a movement inwards and outwards" (Manganyi, 1973:6). Individuals are in dialogue with the environment because they exist in the environment. If the body is the nexus of almost all essential relations which an individual develops with others and the world, it can also be said that it is intrinsic to the experience of being-black- in- the- world.

Manganyi (1973) has taken dialogue as the guiding principle of his theme of black identity in relation to white identity. Rather than stages, as proposed in stage models, he mentions three levels of dialogue: the body; individual society and being-in-the-world-with-objects/things.

The following are the three different levels of dialogue:

2.2.4.1 The body

At this level of dialogue, Manganyi (1973:29) hypothesises that an individual develops a personalised or mental concept of his/her body, which he terms the “individualised schema”. It is through individuation that an individual knows his/him/herself. “Under ideal conditions of the good body, the body becomes an individual”. Manganyi (1973:51-52) states that

in African experience there has been over time developed a sociological schema of the black body prescribed by white standards ... as we should all know by now, been entirely negative. It should be considered natural under these circumstances for an individual black person to conceive of his body as something which is essentially undesirable (something unattractive); something which paradoxically must be kept at a distance outside of one’s self so to speak.

According to Manganyi, the legacies of colonialism have resulted in the development of a dichotomy of the body. According to white standards, the white body was projected as a norm of accomplishment and the black body was projected as being inferior. The result was the development of two different sociological schema of the body based on white standards, a distinction which affected the texture of interpersonal relationships across the colour line (Manganyi, 1973). Therefore, the sociological schema of the black person is projected as unwholesome and in turn it manifests in a negative self-evaluation by the black person. This view is similar to the pre-encounter stage, the acceptance of white normative standards resulting in pro-white and anti-black responses, feeling and attitudes.

Manganyi (1973) argues that when both the individual and sociological schemas are projected negatively, an “unhealthy objectification” of the body occurs whereby the individual experiences self/body/subject as something outside him/herself. For instance, the black person attempts to develop attributes of personality and behaviour which insulate him/her against the tragedy of being black and, therefore, the black person is artificially driven into the social and cultural environment of white society. All the efforts to make him/her feel at home in the European world, through the wearing of a white mask, are frustrated by his/her sudden realisation of his/her skin pigmentation. He/she becomes hopeless and develops a hatred of his/her skin

pigmentation. This ‘pathological’ black person, unlike the healthy person, begins to experience the body as alien and as an object, something outside him/herself.

2.2.4.2 Individual in society

This theme shows the troubling of black identity as a result of racism, even though its focus is on the family and community relationships. Manganyi (1973) sees the colonial conquest resulting in the eradication or, at least devaluation, of African cultural features such as communalism. According to Manganyi (1973), this resulted in black people having to relinquish important aspects of their ontology, replacing a traditional African approach to society by individualism and materialism. Manganyi (1973:31) comments that “the rise of the individualistic and materialistic ethic is something which is essentially alien to being-black-in-the-world”.

3.2.4.3 Being-in-the-world-with-objects/things

At this level of being-in-the-world-with-objects/things, Manganyi portrays black identity as wanting to be white. This desire is perpetuated by being in a world that has been different for black people and white people. Manganyi (1973) argues that black people who internalise white values may emulate whites by idolising material possessions, although the difference for them is that most often they are deprived of the economic means of actualising such aspirations. Black people begin to judge themselves according to the objects they possess.

This work also illustrates Manganyi’s interest (from a psychological perspective) in the exploration of what he terms “false consciousness”, a condition whereby black people assume a white identity and consequently become alienated from self and their community. According to Manganyi (1973, 1977), the assimilation of white culture provides the black person with a false identity because it requires the substitution of his/her African culture for a white culture. Furthermore, this substitution is unequal because it does not yield what it promises, but having

accepted the white culture, the black person becomes trapped in the culture that assigns him/her inferior status.

In sum, Manganyi seems to be preoccupied with, and deeply distressed by, the ways in which the legacies of colonial domination create a paralysing inferiority complex for black people and their object idolisation of whites as their role models. His approach is progressive and individualistic in that he hypothesises that a regeneration of community feeling and the active promotion of creative, experiential and attitudinal values which do not support individualism and materialism should be the cornerstone for the development of a trouble-free black identity.

So far the literature on the psychological model talks about the implicit notion of pathology and the personal quest for development. Now I include Lambley's (1980) work to show the kind of racist reading in this psychological framework. This literature is largely individualistic and apolitical; it is interesting to observe here how racist Lambley (1980) can be in thinking about blackness.

2.2.5 Lambley's concept of internalised racism

Lambley (1980) is of the view that colonialism results in an 'internalised oppression'. This concept of internalised racism has the potential to pathologise oppressed people. Lambley (1980) views oppressed as people incomplete and psychologically damaged. In this regard, Lambley (1980) contends that in South Africa individuals living under apartheid are essentially living in a context of "normalization" or "ordinary" "pathology. Lambley (1980) also proposes that all dominated racial groups in South Africa exhibited a generalised avoidance of apartheid which manifested in the ways that they tried to avoid confronting and dealing with the system of apartheid in their daily lives.

According to Lambley (1980), other ways that black people deal with oppression include subtle forms of self-deception or blaming others for oppression. The unwillingness to assume responsibility for their conditions allegedly results in an "inverted" morality (i.e. the belief that it is alright to be deceitful to whites when necessary). Lambley asserts that pathology has become

institutionalised at every level of South African society. He argues further that the victims of apartheid (blacks) exhibit callousness, indifference and manipulateness in order to insulate themselves from their inner feelings. Lambley (1980) expected that 'ordinary' human emotional responses to apartheid would include upset, concern, shock, fear, sympathy and a sense of fairness. Instead, amongst black adults he discovered across the board what he refers to as a "curiously inverted" sense of unity and charity. He observed and reported the differential use of high-risk behaviour such as reckless driving, drinking and cheating; maladaptive behaviours such as being truant from school or missing work, indiscriminately engaging in sexual acts, and being physically abusive or aggressive.

Lambley (1980) has suggested that African intellectuals, artists and professionals internalise their victim status. In so doing they commit 'safe' coloured and African children, with the intention to survive, to manipulate and develop a culturally approved mask of indifference or else collapse psychologically. Nevertheless, the radical black youth rejected the culture or perhaps the values of apartheid, which their parents did not actively engage or oppose in order to retain a sense of self, independent of the seeming complacency of the older generation in their communities.

Despite Lambley's descriptions it is not clear from the empirical literature what characteristics black people have internalised in response to apartheid. What is implicit is that the encounter with racism and the encounter with whiteness do trouble black identity construction. According to Lambley (1980), the avoidance of the encounter with racism and encounter with whiteness impacts negatively on black identity development. The battle of black identity takes place in the mind according to Lambley (1980) and, because oppression is internalised, it always finds ways to construct a negative image of black identity.

However, Lambley's view has been challenged by Foster and Louw-Potgieter (1991) through their observation that, for the most part, black South Africans have not been devastated by oppression, because of numerous buffering forms and an active sense of identity that operates to negate psychological damage. Foster and Louw-Potgieter (1991) see racial identity and blackness as multiple and contradictory. Although they admit that black South Africans carry traces of the (negative) mark of oppression, they contend that self-protection strategies

(resistance and protection) have operated effectively to the advantage of the black South African's psyche and identity. Foster and Louw-Potgieter (1991) suggest that, ironically, an unintended positive effect of racial segregation was that while it served as a system of control and oppression, it also served as a "buffer" against white domination (in the form of some safe space in one's own community). Ultimately Foster and Louw-Potgieter were unable to be categorical about the effects of apartheid on black South Africans and conclude that some blacks have been damaged by oppression, whereas others have not. It is important to realise that linkages between oppression and identity are not clear because the psychological effects of domination may be experienced differently at an individual or personal level, that is, some people may be severely damaged by oppression, whereas others may be strengthened by their capacity to resist it (Foster, 1993).

2.3 Summary

Clark and Clark's (1939) self-hate paradigm has been used as a starting point to show how this dominant psychological approach has influenced the way of thinking about blackness as troubling and problematic. It seems that the other literature on the psychology of black identity draws and echoes Clark and Clark's self-hate paradigm. For example, the stage models as proposed by Cross (1971) theorise that the socialisation in a racist society causes black people to experience self-hate as a result of racial origin. As regards the stage models, Manganyi (1973) further hypothesises that a return to traditional African values would help black people develop a healthier racial identity. In addition to this literature is Lambley's (1980) work, which shows how racist one can be when thinking about the psychology of black identity.

One thing that is clear about this literature is that blackness is seen as troubling in encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism. The understanding of the troubling nature of blackness in psychological literature is psychological neurosis. Even as early as Clark and Clark's (1939) work, the sense of black identity is portrayed as something wrong because of the history of racism. The understanding of the troubling nature of blackness in this literature is a psychopathological frame, the trouble is self-hate.

There is another picture in this literature that unifies it, that is, the sense that the trouble is experienced by the individual black person. In other words, the psychological black identity literature is overwhelmingly individualistic. Underlying all the stage models from Cross (1971), Parham (1989), Helms (1990) and Bulhan (1980) is the common theme of the deficit model.

Blackness is a quest for an integrated personality to overcome the spectre of race and self-hate. It is also individual pathology and that is what the individual must overcome in terms of the stage models. This means that the unit of analysis is an individual black person in their development through tensions and progress. In the stage models it is clearly evident that it is the individual's responsibility to overcome the problem and the challenge posed by blackness. The limitation of the psychological literature is the focus on the individual and the focus on stages. It becomes non-functional, depending on stages to progress to becoming fully rounded and psychologically well. It predicts that given the right conditions black people can shake off the psychology of oppression through psychological maturation. This is similar to Biko (cf. ch 1) who anticipated that under the right conditions black people would eventually shake off the psychology of oppression through political liberation. Both literatures have a common understanding that oppression is internalised and subsequently has a psychological element. What is missing in this literature is the focus on politics, on the history, and on economics in the troubling nature of blackness.

The literature review chapter on postcolonial literature that follows takes a very different view of blackness. It draws theoretically from both the psychology of black identity and Biko, that is, political liberation, but does not anticipate that blackness can shake off the inferiority. In fact the economics, the politics, the culture and the history are the starting point for the literature review of postcolonial studies.

CHAPTER THREE

POSTCOLONIAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

As in the previous chapter, this chapter shows that there is a struggle within black identification. What this chapter has in common with the previous chapter is that the struggle with black identification emerges as a result of the encounter with racism and the encounter with whiteness. Here the notion of encounter with whiteness takes a different direction and entails a focus on the ambivalence in black identity construction. Unlike the previous chapter, where it was proposed that an individual could move from one stage of identity to the next, with this notion of ambivalence and hybridity one cannot escape, one is inside it. In terms of this study, the ambivalence of black identity clearly makes it difficult to overcome the tension in black identity construction. This also suggests that in the transitional period of the new South Africa, black identity is unlikely to overcome the tension in encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism.

The epistemology that underpins the approach to this study carries a number of assumptions about culture and identity which are shaped by postcolonial theory. Mishra and Hodge (1994:276) claim that postcolonial theory “foregrounds politics of opposition and struggle and problematises the key relationship between centre and periphery”. This means that politics and the history of being black is a starting point for postcolonial theory. It is a theory that focuses on the experiences and realities of formerly colonised people, for instance, black South Africans in the context of this study. However, it should be noted that the term “postcoloniality” as used here is not a historical marker, but the ‘post’ in postcolonial theory marks a theoretical orientation and historical periodisation. While it can be argued that a bitterly hostile colonisation is in the past, the effects still live on under a different constellation of politics and with different social, economic and historical effects. Schwarz (2000:268) argues that histories are complex, as:

Becoming postcolonial is not only a protracted, uneven transformation, pitting colony against metropolis; it also has its subjective dimensions in which that are “already the past” and that which is the present never quite seem to stay in place.

In spite of the political movement to a democratic South Africa, the power relations in positioning black identity remain largely unchanged. Bhabha (1991:63) notes: “The term postcolonial is increasingly used to describe that form of social criticism that bears witness to those unequal and uneven processes of representation by which the historical experience of the once-colonised Third World comes to be framed in the West.” The methodology of engagement with texts used in this thesis can be classified as postcolonial discourse analysis. It draws on a strand of postcolonialism that uses deconstruction/poststructuralism as a tool. In this study black people are involved in a dynamic process which reflects the search for cultural continuity in post-apartheid South Africa. As postcolonial discourse analysis concentrates on cultural effects, this chapter looks firstly at some postcolonial literary critics’ positions. These writings represent a struggle to move beyond colonialism and to imagine postcolonial societies.

This chapter is divided into three sections: In the first section, I discuss Edward Said and Homi K. Bhabha as the “Third World” scholars who played key roles in the development of postcolonial studies. Secondly, I discuss the postcolonial and cultural studies conceptions of black identity. Thirdly, I present a summary of this chapter.

3.2 The postcolonial perspective

Three critical concepts underpin postcolonial theory, these are: 1) Orientalism and ‘Othering’ 2) ambivalence and cultural hybrid identities and 3) hybridity and authenticity (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1991; 1994). To relate postcolonial theory to understand black identity and ambivalence in the encounter with whiteness and the encounter with racism these three concepts are used as tools. They are used to show the myriad of tension in black identity construction. Each is discussed in turn.

3.2.1 Orientalism and ‘Otherness’

As a starting point, I would like to begin with Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism*, in which he elaborates his interpretation of a certain form of European cultural mapping of the Orient. Said introduces the concept of Orientalism as the prevalent European ideology dividing the world into two distinct geographical spheres: the ‘West’ and the ‘East’ also referred to as the Occident and the Orient respectively. Said (1978:50) asserts that Orientalism creates an “imaginative geography”, dividing the world into ‘East’ and ‘West’, assigning societal distinctions and worth based upon these imagined divisions. Descriptive categorisations are assigned to the ‘East’ (irrational, superstitious, exotic, etc). A hierarchical power structure resulted, as Europe has only defined the ‘East’, but has also created and recreated the concept of the ‘East’. Said (1978:1) writes that “[t]he Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences”. He argues that the European idea of the Orient, the myth of an exotic place, became the Orient. This is true not just for the Europeans, who saw the Orient as “one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other”, but also for some of those who lived there, who saw the Orient through colonial eyes (Said, 1978:1).

Said (1993:xii) does later recognise that ‘Orientalism’ tends to be an overly unifying and monolithic concept, at least as it is portrayed in his book *Orientalism* (1978), which depicts colonial discourse as all powerful and the colonial subject as mere effect. This is evident in the following statement: “Because of Orientalism, the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action” (Said, 1995:3). This becomes problematic, as the colonial sees himself through European perceptions and creates a sense of identity through this perception. This is what Said (1978) explains in his book; he tries to show that the Orient is a European idea and has a lot more to do with Europe than it does with the Orient itself. From this perspective, Orientalism is the study of the Europe’s ‘Other’. It is an interesting political vision of reality that produces a binary opposition between ‘them’ (the strange, the Orient, the East) and ‘us’ (the familiar, Europe, the West). This binary becomes essential for European identity, as Loomba (1988:47) points out:

If colonised people are irrational, Europeans are rational; if the former is barbaric, sensual and lazy, Europe is civilization itself, with its sexual appetites under control and its dominant ethic, that of hard work; if the Orient has to be feminine so that Europe can be masculine. This dialectic between self and the other ... has been hugely influential in subsequent studies of Africans, Native Americans and other non-European peoples.

In this binary opposition the relationship of dependency becomes explicit: the construction of the 'Other' as backward is necessary for the construction of the 'self' as culturally superior, which justifies the exercise of domination and control as a 'duty' to intervene in the name of progress – to civilise, to educate, to modernise and to develop. In this analysis of Orientalism, the construction of the 'Other' is not disinterested and is determined by the will to dominate, as the relationship between cultures in question is unequal and the knowledge produced is put at the service of the colonial administration (Moore-Gilbert, 1997). According to Seidman and Alexander (2001:26), Said shows that this construction of the 'Other' is in essence, "both a condition of and integral aspect of, the dynamics of political and economic colonialism".

Said's writing seems to resist European notions of the Orient. By his resistance and deconstruction of the field of Oriental studies he allows the possibility of reinscription of the Orient within an Oriental perspective. In order to formulate a true sense of identity, the colonial must try to see himself without the European looking glass, or at least be aware of European cultural mappings. However, this is just part of the problem. The other side of the problem a colonial must face is his own perception of the colonial power, of the colonial 'Other'. The colonial has to deal with not only the European vision, or myth, of himself, but also the myth of Europe itself (Said, 1978). No matter what one reads or knows about the colonial 'Other', the idea of the Other is one that is quite difficult to change. Postcolonial resistance begins with the resistance to these myths.

The Orientalism and otherness dimension in postcolonial theory is critical to this study of black identity reconstruction. It illustrates how black identity continues to be framed in whiteness. But criticisms of Orientalism prevail; thus, the term 'essentialism' is used by Said (1978) in order to

criticise the external identity of the Orient in the eyes of the people in the West. Orientalists presuppose or invent some sort of 'essence' which describes the Orient as stable, stagnant and uniform (Said, 1978). Essentialism in this study has been used to mean "the assumption that [black] categories or classes of objects have one or several defining features exclusive to all members of that category" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2000:77).

The assumption of a flat relationship of domination and subordination between the West and the East is the major problem of Said's work. The problem of this flat relationship is the starting point for Homi Bhabha. Bhabha (1983:200) criticises Said for promoting a static model of colonial relations in which "colonial power and discourse is possessed entirely by the coloniser", with no room for negotiation or change. Bhabha (1994) uses the dimension of ambivalence and hybridity to criticise Said's notion of Orientalism and otherness. He conceptualises the West and the East and the coloniser and the colonised relationship as 'ambivalent' and open to negotiation. This elaboration by Bhabha (1991; 1994) provides a significant contrast in postcolonial theory, and offers balancing perspectives for this study.

From this point, I will now turn to Bhabha in order to build from this initial deconstruction.

Although Bhabha is critical of Said's oversimplification of the binaries of East and West and coloniser/colonised (as both 'poles' are hybrid and implicated in each other), their locus of enunciation and the intellectual positions of Said and Bhabha can be considered to be part of the same tradition, as both examine processes that divide, categorise and dominate the world. However, their approaches differ in focus: while Said focuses on differences and oppositions between colonised and coloniser, Bhabha generally examines points of similarity (Childs & Williams, 1996). Bhabha's (1991:437) reading of the postcolonial is a criticism of "unequal and uneven processes of representation." Bhabha is more specific, but also more pessimistic, about the potential for a resistant subaltern subject position. He begins from the position that colonial power is never possessed entirely by the coloniser, because of an ambivalence that lies at the root of the West's approach to subaltern 'otherness'. The following is a discussion of Bhabha's concept of ambivalence and hybridity.

3.2.2 Ambivalence of cultural hybrid identities

The concept of ‘ambivalence’, central to Bhabha’s work, is relevant to this study as it provides a framework for understanding how stereotypes and identities are constructed in a complex relational process and how they are related to the notion of blackness as inferior. In this regard, Bhabha’s (1994:1) argument for the positioning of culture is that “[t]he ‘beyond’, is neither a new horizon, nor leaving behind the past”. The “beyond” indicates the complex nature of transition, where space and time intersect resulting in complex features of difference and identity, past and present and exclusion (Bhabha, 1994). Cultures evolve through history. Accordingly, Brah (1996) claims that living cultures by definition are never static.

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995:12) conceptualise ambivalence as “a complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterises the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised”. The implication, according to Seidman and Alexander (2001:26), is that “as much as the colonizer is repulsed by the repressive towards the colonized, the colonizer is also attracted to, influenced by and opens to the claims of the colonized”.

It is important here to remember that Bhabha sees the identities of both the coloniser and the colonised as being implicated with each other and not as essentialist wholes. He illustrates how ambivalence works in different moments of the colonial discourse. For instance, he states that colonial discourse wants to produce subordinate subjects who reproduce its assumptions, values and behaviours (mimics the coloniser), but it does not want to create subjects that are too similar to the coloniser as this would be too threatening. *Mimicry* is a process that emerges in the context of this ambivalence, producing in the “Native” partial representation mimicry – of the coloniser, similar but distorted. In essence, the colonial mimicry is the process by which subjugated people are driven to reproduce the characteristics and ideals of a dominant culture. Bhabha (1994:128) claims that mimicry is “a flawed colonial mime” that reveals the fundamental difference between being English and being anglicised. This contributes to the discourse of colonialism, which suggests a black inferior position and that blacks know themselves in terms of the white other, thus objectifying themselves in terms of white supremacy. Mimicry is defined by Bhabha as an

unwitting agency, undermining colonial authority by blurring the boundaries between coloniser and colonised.

Bhabha (1994) argues that an important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity', the ideological construction of otherness. In dealing with fear created by mimicry, according to Bhabha, colonial authority is essentially dependent on the notion of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness, a process that defines racial difference and produces the colonised as entirely knowable, unchangeable and predictable. Bhabha (1994:66) asserts that "[f]ixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as a disorder, degeneracy and demonic repetition".

From an identity point of view, the key questions concern how the stereotypes are constructed, how the power is distributed in the stereotypes and how the stereotypes can be discerned.

In Othering and stereotypes, whites as essential subjects have made black people into devalued beings, into objects defined against the white norm. In this regard, Pickering (2001:62) says, "whiteness is the Subject, the Absolute – blackness is the Other – the objectification of blacks have made them inferior ... the racialised Other". According to Pickering (2001) blacks are not only 'other' to whites but also to themselves in as much as they have accepted white objectification of them – the white essentialist versions of what blackness is and the conceptions of black inferiority – thus affirming white superior status. This suggests that the Othering process does not displace or supersede the concept of the stereotype but renders it rather more complex, opening up for interrogation its ambiguities and contradictions of meaning and affect. Bhabha (1997) claims that analysing stereotypicality through the conceptual lens of the Other allows us to understand more fully how it is implicated in identification as a field of cultural encounter and interaction and how it operates strategically in that field of cultural encounter and interaction. Pickering (2001) is of the view that compared with the concept of the stereotype a more complex understanding is the fruit of a fuller theorising of Otherness. This is what is conceptualised by Bhabha (1994:66) as "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that can be anxiously repeated".

This suggests that racism is not based on false images or stereotypes of the Other or the self, but is an ambivalent process of construction of 'self' in relation to the Other. In this sense Bhabha (1994: 82) suggests that the ambivalence of the stereotypical chain creates a perverse articulation of multiple belief: the black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and the manipulator of social forces. In each case what is being dramatised is a separation – *between* races, cultures, histories *within* histories – a separation between *before* and *after* that repeats obsessively the mythical moment of disjunction.

In denying the capacity of the colonised for self-government, independence and Western modes of civility, colonial discourse uses this disjunction or separation to justify the authority of the mission of colonial power. The difference of race, culture and history elaborated by the colonial experience and other political and cultural ideologies creates racist stereotypical discourses that present the colonial subject as knowable and inferior, justifying stereotypical knowledges and racial theories as well as authoritarian forms of political control. Bhabha (1994) advocates that it was impossible for the colonised to be equal to the coloniser. This relationship between the coloniser and the colonised maintained the position of black identity in an inferior position; thus it sees the colonising subject as the cause and effect of the system of colonisation. Hence the existence of strategies of hierachisation and marginalisation may be better understood in the management of colonial societies by objectifying, normalising and disciplining colonial subjects (Bhabha, 1994). As a result, the establishment of a cultural hierarchy of the perceived fixed identities of coloniser and colonised is a necessary feature of colonial domination.

3.2.3 Hybridity and authenticity

Through the later concept of *hybridity*, Bhabha (1985) allows a stronger sense of agency into his formulation of the ambivalence of colonial discourse. He suggests that colonial power produces hybridised subjectivities through which “other ‘denied’ knowledges enter the dominant discourse

and estrange the basis of its authority” (Bhabha, 1985:156). The history of hybridity has caused some to consider the employment of the concept as problematic, indeed, offensive (Werbner & Modood, 1997). In colonial discourse, hybridity is a term of abuse for those who are products of miscegenation, mixed-breeds. It is imbued in nineteenth-century eugenicist and scientific-racist thought (Young, 1995).

Despite this loaded historical past, Papastergiadis (1997) reminds us of the emancipative potential of negative terms. He poses the question “should we use only words with a pure and inoffensive history, or should we challenge essentialist models of identity by taking on and then subverting their own vocabulary?” (Papastergiadis, 1997:258). In fact, the concept of hybridity occupies a central place in postcolonial discourse. It is “celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweenness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference” (Hoogvelt, 1997:158). This is particularly so in Bhabha’s discussion of cultural hybridity. Bhabha emphasises the advantages of the state of in-betweenness, thus in Bhabha’s work the hybridised nature of postcolonial culture is portrayed as a strength rather than a weakness. From this interweaving of elements of the coloniser and the colonised, there emerges a new hybrid subject-position that challenges the validity and the possibility of an essentialist cultural identity. Hybridity can thus be used by the colonised to become a “strategic reversal of the process of domination” (Bhabha, 1985:154): it transforms colonial discourse into something that disrupts what colonisers intended, by tactically inserting repressed knowledges into colonial discourses. The naturalisation of a ‘superior’ fixed and knowable subject who constructs knowledge about another ‘inferior’ fixed knowable subject is based on a “radical denial of hybridity, as well of the relational social construction of self and otherness” (Souza, 2004: 122).

Souza (2004:114–115) claims that Bhabha’s approach is based on a poststructuralist notion of discourse in which, 1) there is no secure outside ground on the basis of which different representations may be studied or compared; 2) no sign is identical with what it signifies – there is always a gap between the signifier and the signified, which requires a located interpretation, and 3) meaning is not self-present in the sign or in the text, but is the result of interpretation from the space of the gap or slippage between the signified and signifier, also known as ‘difference’

(Loomba, 1988). The implication is that no representation can exist in isolation from its cultural or ideological categories – all systems of representation are imbricated in other systems of representation, and not dependent on anchored, fundamental external referents outside discourse, which makes the idea of authenticity indefensible. This notion is particularly important in the analysis of how blackness is represented in history and how black people represent themselves.

Bhabha suggests that colonial discourse fails to produce stable and fixed identities as different systems of representation are involved in this construction, showing the existence of hybridity in the construction of any representation. As Loomba (1988:232) points out, colonial discourses are diluted and hybridised in their process of delivery, “so that fixed identities that colonialism seeks to impose on both the master and the slaves are in fact rendered unstable [...] coloniser and colonised are both caught up in a complex reciprocity”. For Bhabha, identities are relational and not formed in “perceiving a self-reflection in human nature or a place for the self between culture and nature, but in relation to the Other [...] only through the Other can the subject locate its space” (Childs & Williams, 1996:124–125). Bhabha does not separate the construction of the identity of the coloniser from the construction of the identity of the colonised. He conceptualises this construction as a process that is “relational, agonistic and antagonistic” (Souza, 2004:121). At the heart of this construction are assumptions and representations that establish a notion of self as culturally superior or subordinate.

3.3 Postcolonial and cultural studies’ conception of identity

In this section, I discuss various theorists’ conceptual shift in black identity that moves beyond a notion of fixity. It is divided into two subsections: the first looks at how the claims of ethnic absolutism, essentialism and national identity have all come under the critical scrutiny of postcolonial theory and cultural studies. The second part of the discussion extends the examination of the cultural studies orientation to issues of blackness.

3.3.1 Postcolonial and cultural studies theory

Paul Gilroy (1993) has taken on the mission of deconstructing both absolutist and nationalist conceptions of cultural identity. Taking the conception of racial and ethnic purity to task, Gilroy denounces all attempts to construct identity in national or absolute terms. This argument has particular relevance for African American scholars. Gilroy (1993:15) writes, “[m]uch of the precious intellectual legacy by African-American intellectuals as the substance of their particularity is in fact only partly their absolute ethnic property”. Gilroy calls this effort to make such claims “ethnic particularism” and warns that it promotes a form of “cultural insiderism”, his term for an essentialistic construction of ethnic difference. Gilroy (1993:3) notes that this cultural insiderism has “maximized so that it distinguishes people from one another and at the same time acquires an incontestable priority over all other dimensions of their social and historical experience, cultures, and identities”. What Gilroy appears to be arguing is that cultural insiderism makes a case for only the “authentic” insiders or natives of a community to speak on its behalf. What Gilroy fails to address is the tendency of the West to speak on behalf of the “Other”. In such relationship blackness becomes a political vision of reality that produces binary opposition to whiteness.

Gilroy’s (1993:xi) position is grounded in “a concern to repudiate the dangerous obsessions with ‘racial’ purity which are circulating inside and outside black politics”. He notes that by asserting an ethnic absolutist stance, cultural insiderism is often used to legitimate claims of racial or ethnic authenticity that are unleashed to promote and justify Afrocentric notions of a black essence. At the same time, this homogeneous focus on authenticity through experience denies a place for those who do not fit some prescribed cultural characteristics such as place, age, birthright, and social class standing.

Steve Fuller (2000:16) names this practice as one of the elements within a process he calls “hypercapitalism, an exaggerated – perhaps essentialised – sense of cultural difference that tends unwittingly to incapacitate the people on whose behalf it advocates”. In a sense, only natives of a culture are authorised to speak on its behalf. Others’ voices are regarded as suspect because they have not immersed themselves in the life of that culture. A critique of this cultural insiderism

also illuminates the importance of “otherness” in the production of not only hegemonic discourses, but also counter-hegemonic efforts to subvert dominance. In discourses where subaltern groups use their marginality in order to claim a privileged authenticity, they often simultaneously construct the dominant group as an excluded Other. Thus, anti-essentialist critics may be correct in asserting that nationalist, essentialist and absolutist notions of cultural identity require a necessary “other” in order to gain currency. However, writing off essentialism as an “othering” strategy does not address the importance of marginality in the critique of an oppressive, hegemonic discourse. Again directing his critique at the practice among many black intellectuals, Gilroy (1993:19) notes:

Marked by its European origins, modern black political culture has always been more interested in the relationship of identity to roots and rootedness than in seeing identity as a process or movement and mediation that is more appropriately approached via the homonym routes.

Typical of many postcolonial and cultural studies scholars, Gilroy locates essentialism within a modernist frame, questions the origin’s thesis and is sceptical about the place of essence within discourses of cultural identity. In this regard Gilroy (1993:24) asserts:

At this point, it is necessary to appreciate that any discomfort at the prospect of fissures and fault lines in the topography of affiliation that made pan-Africanism such a powerful discourse was not eased by references to some African essence that could magically connect all blacks together. Nowadays, this potent idea is frequently wheeled in when it is necessary to appreciate the things that (potentially) connect black people to one another rather than think seriously about divisions in the imagined community of race and the means to comprehend or overcome them, if indeed that is possible.

More importantly, Gilroy (1993:xi) believes that our interests would be better served through recognition of the “inescapable hybridity and intermixture of ideas”. Gilroy posits a theory of the “Black Atlantic” which he argues is necessary to engender a “diasporic” consciousness among blacks in order to move beyond essentialism, and “discrete national dynamics” that have

characterised cultural criticism. He uses the term 'Black Atlantic' to refer to intercultural and transnational formation of identity imported from a particular continent.

Gilroy's attack on essentialism may also be applied to a wider conversation. Feminist scholar Diana Fuss (1989) brilliantly illuminates some of the critical tensions surrounding the use of essentialism as a cultural strategy. Fuss (1989:xii) asserts: "To some essentialism is nothing more than the philosophical enforcer of a liberal humanist idealism which seeks to locate and to contain the subject within a fixed set of differences." From this perspective, essentialism is defined as the antithesis of cultural difference, whereby "the doctrine of essence is viewed as precisely that which seeks to deny the very radicality of difference" (Fuss, 1989:xii). However, Fuss notes that other scholars find usefulness in essentialism. Fuss (1989:xiii) continues, "[t]o others, essentialism may not be without a certain tactical or inventionary value, especially in our political struggles and debates".

Spivak (1993) is among those who find essentialism to be useful within discourses of cultural identity. Spivak is interested in a specific use of essentialism, what may be called "strategic essentialism". Spivak (1993:3) finds a way of articulating essentialism as a strategy for mobilising people to engage in political work "without invoking some irreducible essentialism". Spivak (1993:3) relies on the *Oxford English Dictionary* which defines the word "strategy" as: "Usually an artifice or trick designed to outwit or surprise the enemy." She notes that one of the most crucial things to consider is that a strategy is neither disinterested nor universal but must always take into consideration the location and position of those responsible for its invocation. Spivak (1993:4) claims that "If one is considering strategy, one has to look at where the group the person, the persons, or the movement is situated when one makes claims for or against essentialism. A strategy suits a situation; a strategy is not a theory".

In taking this position, Spivak appears to be echoing Fuss who is similarly reluctant to dismiss essentialism. Rather than expose or "discredit closet essentialists", Fuss (1989:3) argues that it is more important to "investigate what purpose or function essentialism might play in a particular set of discourses". Fuss is more interested in the historical and discursive events that motivate people to use essentialism in order to mobilise others. This focus on essentialism as a strategy

may be somewhat useful for thinking about identity construction in non-totalising ways. By denouncing the tendency to think about essentialism as having a universal and timeless meaning, Spivak (1993:3) paves the way for a particular use of essentialism at “strategic moments”. Spivak (1993:3) further writes:

The strategic use of an essence as a mobilizing slogan or master word like woman or worker or the name of a nation is, ideally, self-conscious for all mobilized. This is the impossible risk of a lasting strategy. Can there be such a thing?

While Spivak (1993:3) embraces some uses of essentialism, she recognises that “the strategic use of essentialism can turn into an alibi for proselytising academic essentialisms”. In this case, she argues that unfortunately the bigger problem is that “strategies are taught as if they were theories, good for all cases”.

Hall (1992; 1996), Mercer (1994) and Gilroy (1993) also seem to be in agreement with Spivak (1993) and Fuss (1989) about the value of a “strategic essentialism”. They all view such a complex political formation of black identity as undermining the essential black subject. As Hall (1996:166) argues:

What is at issue here is the recognition of the extraordinary diversity of subjective positions, social experiences, and cultural identities which compose the category “black”, that is, the recognition that “black” is essentially a politically and culturally constructed category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed transcultural or transcendental racial categories and which therefore has no guarantees in Nature.

Within Hall’s (1990:223) formulation, we can think about cultural identity in at least two different ways. In the first he says:

Shared culture, a sort of collective “one true self” hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed “selves”, which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities

reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us “as one people” with stable unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history.

Thus, in this first instance, Hall claims that one way to consider identity is as being consistent with a singular, shared culture. This cultural identity is underpinned by a shared history and heritage of a people. Hall (1996) admits that this form of identity has been extremely useful for postcolonial and anti-racist struggles, such as the Pan African movement. He cautions that even though this form of identity is somewhat essentialist, “we should not, for a moment, underestimate or neglect the importance” of this conception. Here Hall seems to recognise the use of essentialism as a “strategy” for mobilising disenfranchised blacks and others at critical, strategic moments. While Hall (1996:3) recognises the limitations of this form of essentialism, he is not willing to dismiss its usefulness altogether. And, though he never directly endorses a strategic essentialism by using those words in any specific sense, one gets a sense that his focus on a “strategic or positional identity” is somewhat similar to the strategic identity that Spivak embraces. Hall appears to be extremely cautious about embracing essentialism. He is particularly concerned about the tendency among some African Americans and other diasporic Blacks to invoke notions of biological or genetic essences. In his view, this move valorises the ground for the racism that it tries to problematise. He illustrates this point in his (1995) essay entitled, “What is this ‘Black’ in Black Culture?”

Cultural identity in this second sense is a matter of “becoming” as well as “being”. It belongs to the future as much as the past. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, it is subjected to the continuous “play” of history, culture and power. What Hall is getting at here is that meaning, while constructed through difference, is not fixed, and that history plays an important role in its formation. This sense of fluidity in meaning is akin to Derrida’s notion of “difference”, whereby meaning is always deferred, never fixed, and therefore open to slippage. Such an understanding of identity as “becoming” rather than “remaining” allows one to acknowledge that identity is not just about being a subject of or subjected to a discourse, but that one can position one’s self in relation to differing meanings. Thus in this study such understanding enables the problematisation of black identity as culturally homogenous.

It should be noted that Hall shows some concerns about the use of the term “Black” to denote a category that is fixed and absent of historical and political influences. Hence he rejects the idea of any pure form of art, citing that this promotes a type of ethnic absolutism. Like Gilroy, Hall believes that these art forms, which we often mistake as “authentic”, are the results of “partial synchronization” and negotiation between minority, subordinate and dominant cultures. Hall and other scholars have referred to this so-called “partial synchronization” as cultural hybridisation. It is important to note here that Gilroy also makes this same point by illustrating that, contrary to the common perception of hip-hop culture as a “pure” African American invention, its roots can be traced directly to the Caribbean. In addressing the specific concern of the use of the word “Black” in the term “Black Popular Culture,” Hall (1996:129) writes:

It has come to signify the black community, where these traditions were kept, and whose struggles survive in the persistence of the black experience (the historical experiences of black people in the Diaspora), of the black aesthetic (the distinctive cultural repertoires out of which popular representations were made), and of the black counter narratives we have struggled to voice.

Here, Hall joins Gilroy and wants to replace the notion of an essential racial identity with a perspective that links Africans in the Diaspora to historical experiences. According to Hall (1996), the focus on origin or essence is not the only way to conceptualise cultural identity. A second way is to think of identity not as essential and buried underneath the colonial experience waiting to be uncovered or recovered, but as the product of history. Therefore, rather than talk about who we are, Hall’s vision of identity focuses on who we have “become”. From this vantage point, identity should always be conceived as both “being” and “becoming” or as Hall puts it, as a production. This view problematises the very authority and authenticity to which the term ‘cultural identity’ lays claim (Hall, 1990:51). Here ‘production’ means not only to be determined by others but also to be committed by one’s own self. He gives an example: the emergence of the new ‘black’ identity by both Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities in the 1970s in Britain. In this regard Hall (1997:163–164) says:

This is the moment when the term “black” was coined as a way of referencing the common experience of racism and marginalization in Britain and came to provide the organizing category of the new politics of resistance, among groups and communities with, in fact, very difficult histories, traditions and ethnic identities. In this moment, politically speaking, “the black experience”, as a singular and unifying framework based on the building up of identity across ethnic and cultural differences between the different communities became “hegemonic” over other ethnical/racial identities – though the latter did not, of course disappear.

He illuminates the fact that identities have histories, and like everything historical, they are constantly transformed. With regards to his conception of cultural identities, Hall (1992:52) writes:

Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere ‘recovery’ of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.

Hall’s preference for the positional view of cultural identity is somewhat tempered by the reality that a strategic use of essence has been effective for some important cultural movements in the past. Sharpe (2000:113) notes that “in order to do so they had to break the authority Western culture had over indigenous languages, forms of knowledge, and literary production”. Hence, postcolonial studies emerged to counter the hegemony that was put in place during the colonial period. bell hooks (1992) identifies the necessity and advantages of challenging essentialism within the African American community. For hooks, such a challenge provides the opportunity to undermine racism in the guise of the “authentic black”. Further, she sees it as a way of acknowledging how class mobility has altered collective black experiences, as well as enabling blacks to affirm multiple identities, and a varied black experience (hooks, 1992).

Several excellent texts have been written on the complex identities that emerged as a result of the tense relationships between the coloniser and the colonised. Albert Memmi (1965) is among those who brilliantly articulate the pervasive elements of colonialism. Memmi traces the roots of colonialism to a desire for economic privilege. Memmi (1965:xii) argues, "... the idea of privilege is at the heart of the colonial relationship – and that privilege is undoubtedly economic". Memmi (1965: xii) offers this explanation in order to debunk the common myth of "the so-called moral or cultural mission of colonization and shows that the profit motive in it is basic". He further argues that "[t]he *deprivations* of the colonized are the almost direct result of the advantages secured to the colonizer". However, Memmi (1965) cautions that it is important to recognise that colonial privilege is not solely economic. In this regard, Memmi (1965:xii) says:

To observe the life of the coloniser and the colonized is to discover rapidly that the daily humiliation of the colonized, his [her] objective subjugation, are not merely economic. Even the poorest coloniser thought himself [herself] to be – and actually was – superior to the colonized. This too was part of colonial privilege.

Memmi interrogates the logic of colonialism and the subsequent responses to it by the colonised. While denouncing the oppressive colonial discourse, he attempts to rationalise the dehumanisation process in order to make sense of the inner workings of colonialism. In the introduction to Memmi's (1965:xxvi) text, Jean Paul Sartre says Memmi is clear that "[t]he coloniser can only exonerate himself [herself] in the systematic pursuit of 'dehumanization' of the colonized". Sartre queries this fabrication of history. He asks:

How can an elite of usurpers, aware of their mediocrity, establish their privileges? By one means only: debasing the colonized to exalt themselves, denying the title of humanity to the natives, and defining them as simply absences of qualities – animals, not humans. This does not prove hard to do, for the system deprives them of everything (Sartre in Memmi, 1965: xxvi).

Again, Sartre's appropriation of Memmi allows us to understand the discursive production of Blackness worldwide where a colonial relationship existed.

Moreover, Memmi is also concerned about a form of ambivalence that exists between the colonised and the coloniser, even after colonisation ceases to formally exist. While on the one hand, the colonised may resent the former master and what he/she stands for (oppression, violence, self-righteousness, etc.), paradoxically there is a kind of admiration for what the coloniser has vis-à-vis privilege. In view of this privilege, former oppressed people are confronted by somewhat contradictory options. Faced with a crucial moment of self-determination, the former colonial subject struggles to choose between two limited choices. Memmi (1965:120) attests that "[h]e (the colonized) attempts either to become different or to conquer all the dimensions which colonization tore away from him". Memmi (1965:120) further explains:

The first attempt of the colonized is to change his condition by changing his skin. There is a tempting model very close at hand – the colonizer. The latter suffers from none of his deficiencies, has all rights, enjoys every possession and benefits from every prestige.

He is, moreover, the other part of the comparison, the one that crushes the colonised and keeps him in servitude. The first ambition of the colonised is to become equal to that splendid model and to resemble him to the point of disappearing in him.

In postcolonial circles, this practice is known as purgative mimeticism, whereby the colonised may seek to purge every suggestion of indigenous culture from his or her thought or action (Bhabha, 1994). Traditionally, marginalised people want so much to empower themselves, according to this logic, that is, that they detest what their current identity stands for. Here Memmi appears to be echoing the argument made by Frantz Fanon (1967:10) that the "Antillean Negro wants to be white". Fanon, like Memmi, cites the oppressive colonial relationship as central to the self-hatred that is common among many black and former colonial subjects.

Fanon's theory of colonial psychopathology as outlined in *Black skin, white masks* (1986:110) connotes that the black man is subjugated to the white through the process of racial Othering: "For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man." In a sense, Fanon criticises black identity for its perpetual interrogation of white dominance, which indicates that identity must be understood within the context of power relations between black identity and white identity.

According to Fanon, black refers to a static set of trans-cultural and essentialised racial characteristics. Fanon considers the possibility that colonialism may inflict its greatest psychical violence precisely by attempting to exclude blacks from the very self-other dynamic that makes subjectivity possible. This connotes that black in relation to white is different, and that it is in the process of making black different that the representation of blacks (and the historical and cultural experiences of blacks) has been objectified in terms of white supremacy. According to Fanon (1986) it is in this place of the 'other' that the colonial desire is articulated, permitting the inversion of roles.

Furthermore, Fanon (1986) argues that black identity is marked by self-division, which is a result of colonial subjugation causing profound and pathological alienation. Black identification is caught in the tension of demand and the desire to be the white other becomes a space of splitting (Fanon, 1986). Fanon is of the belief that the native (black) has a fantasy to occupy the 'master's' place, while keeping his place in the slave's avenging anger. Fanon suggests that the black identity struggle is around the contradictory choices that one has to make between the resentment of what whiteness stands for and admiring the privilege associated with white identity. This brings about black identification centred on the ambivalence of being different, resulting in the construction of the black other. Fanon defines this as accepting the coloniser's invitation to identity. In construction of the black 'other' there is engagement and disengagement with blackness which produces stereotypes, thus objectifying blackness. Fanon argues that the repetition and continuing stigma in black identity construction lies in the desire of wanting to be white, as well as the use of the language stereotypes of the coloniser.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter postcolonial theories have been discussed. The literature reviewed helps us to understand the basis for the ongoing troubling nature of black identity in its encounter with whiteness and its encounter with racism. The tension in the previous chapter, chapter two, was based on the progressive model of how blackness could overcome, function and become a psychologically well-rounded being. In this chapter the focus is on the tensions and struggles, as blackness emerges as grounded in the politics, the social, the economic and the historical past.

The work of Said (1978) has been used as a starting point in the discussion and positions of postcolonial theories. Said's (1978) theory of Orientalism and Otherness illustrates how black identity continues to be framed in whiteness. Said focuses on the differences and oppositions between the colonised and the coloniser. In this theory all the power is possessed by the coloniser. As a result of this hierarchical structure between black and white, whiteness defines, creates and recreates blackness. This depicts colonial discourse as all-powerful, resulting in black identity being constructed through white eyes. It is from this perspective that Said sees black identity as the study of Europe's 'Other'. In other words, the otherness of blackness is both a condition of being black and the fundamental aspect of the dynamics of political and economic colonialism. Said's work focuses on the differences between black and white and examines the processes that divide and dominate the world. According to Said, the mark of oppression unifies black people into one category, the colonised, who are subjects of the colonial rule.

Contrary to Said's theory of Orientalism, Bhabha (1983) uses the dimension of ambivalence and hybridity; he claims that the two poles are implicated by each other. In essence, Bhabha contests Said's claims that colonial power is never possessed entirely by the coloniser. In fact, Bhabha conceptualises the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser as ambivalent and open for negotiation. Whilst Bhabha also examines the processes that divide, categorise and dominate the world, his approach examines the positions of similarity between the coloniser and the colonised. In so doing he illustrates how ambivalence works in constructing postcolonial blackness at different moments of colonial discourse. He sees this discourse as producing subordinate subjects that mimic the coloniser. In other words, mimicry is a process that emerges

in the context of ambivalence, producing blackness as an incomplete version of whiteness. The colonial authority depends on the notion of ‘fixity’ in the construction of blackness as the ‘Other’ of whiteness. Bhabha declares fixity as a sign of cultural/historical and racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, which constructs blackness and whiteness in binary oppositions. In this process, racial difference (othering) and stereotypes are used to produce a troubled black identity as unavoidable, fixed and expected.

In addition to this are various theorists who conceptualise shifts in black identity that move beyond the notion of fixity.

As was evident in the case of the psychology literature, this chapter shows us that there are various struggles ongoing in black identity construction. What distinguishes this chapter from the previous one is that, although it is psychological in its concern with the subjective experience of oppression, its primary focus is not psychologically adjusted to the sociohistorical structures that frame and produce such subjectification.

This chapter has seen a discussion of the postcolonial perspectives in order to consider redressing the construction of black identity and the ambivalence present in the construction of a contemporary black identity in South Africa. This notion of postcolonialism has been useful as a conceptual framework for interpreting the meaning of change and ambivalence in black identity construction in the empirical work of this study (cf. ch 6). This framework directs me to understand the conditions needed for the form of hybridity and the form of ambivalence that we see in black identification today. In this postcolonial work, identity has been revealed by the positioning of the ‘other’ and contains the notions of true self – a kind of guarantee of individuality. In postcolonial theorising the concept of black identity is presented as both complex and problematic, and is challenge by the emergence of the hybrid or new identity. Consequently, black identity is contradictory and ambivalent. The works of Bhabha have made an important contribution to the changing perspective on colonial discourse, particularly his perspectives on hybridity and the multiplicity of black identity, which make ambivalence an issue for the construction of black identity by the self and the other.

In essence, the postcolonial framework helps us understand that black identity in postcolonial terms cannot fully escape the structures established under colonialism. So, to some extent there is change because there is reversal of power; however in terms of identity there seems to be many sticking points, and these are what I need to investigate. All the information about fixity and hybridity involves a theorised mechanism by which this lack of transformation in terms of identity. Unlike the psychological literature there is a presumption that you can move beyond the problems of the scheme of racism. In this literature it is not easy move beyond these problems because of the theorised imbrications of blackness and whiteness: one mimics the other and they make reference to each other. Hence, it is not something easy that it is simple to transcend.

The following chapter introduces us to the method used in this study in order to understand the complexity of identity as demonstrated in chapter 2 and in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

I concluded the previous chapter by noting that postcolonial theory elaborates on the tensions that exist in black identity construction. The research questions that serve as a guide to the aims of this study are the following:

1. What are the lived experiences of everyday racism of black people in South Africa?
2. What are the discourses that frame black people's talk about being black in contemporary South Africa?
3. How do black people's narrations of self contribute to the construction of their identity in accounts of self in relation to others?
4. What impact do the historical, political and economic changes in South Africa have on black identification?

In this chapter the methods used to investigate the complexity of black identity are explained.

I use social constructionism, positioning theory and the McAdams autobiographical method as the theoretical background to my data collection. Social constructionism helps to understand how black people have drawn from the social creation of black identity in the past; positioning theory helps to understand the storyteller's construction of identity; and McAdams autobiographical method helps us to understand the expressions in a construction of identity. It is in this chapter that I provide the rationale for using discourse analysis for constructionist research.

The theoretical background to data collection and analysis is presented in order to provide the rationale for the methods of data collection and analysis chosen. The chapter begins by describing the key assumptions underpinning social constructionism in a study of identity. This is followed by positioning theory, as proposed by Davies and Harré (1999), in order to understand the nature of self as revealed in the narratives of black people's stories. In the

chapter, the reason why discourse analysis is an attractive tool for social constructionist research will be discussed. In this chapter, three tools are brought into use and explained: discourse, positioning and autobiographies.

The discussion of these tools is followed by the explicit plan of action. This plan includes the techniques to be employed in the execution of the research. The techniques I have used are sampling, data collection and analysis. The last part of this chapter is concerned with the ethics of this qualitative research study.

4.2 Research paradigm

The research paradigm used in this study is social constructionism. Theorists in social constructionism maintain that social realities are multiple, rather than single and quantifiable. This approach suits this study of racism and identity because the stories of black identity incorporate the reconstructed past, present and future. Within the social constructionist paradigm four theoretical perspectives will be discussed here: social construction and identity construction, positioning theory, McAdams' autobiographical perspective and discourse analysis. I discuss each of these perspectives below and outline the way in which they guide the research according to the social constructionist paradigm.

4.2.1 Social construction and identity construction

The social constructionist epistemology takes as its starting point the philosophical view that all knowledge, not only that of research participants, is socially constructed (Seale, 2004). In this regard, Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:148) assert that “[s]ocial constructionist approaches treat people as though their thoughts, feelings and experiences were the products of systems of meaning that exist at a social rather than an individual level”. Postcolonial theories of blackness (cf. chapter 3) have defined the troubling nature of blackness as a historically grounded view of encounter with racism. From a social constructionist perspective, an identity is a narrative

construct that is influenced by the sociocultural context in which people live. This approach focuses on text and narration, stressing the importance of dialogue and multiplicity, and pays attention to process as opposed to objectives, which is known by Hall and Du Gay (1996:2) as a “theory of discursive practice”. According to this view, Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:6) maintain “constructionist research ... aims to show how versions of the social world are produced in discourse and to demonstrate how these constructions of reality make certain actions possible and others unthinkable”.

The argument in this study is that a social constructionist approach challenges the notion that knowledge is based on an objective and unbiased observation of the world (Burr, 1995). Understandings of the world are seen not as universal but as products of culture and history that are dependent upon the social and economic environment prevailing in that culture at that time. One’s currently accepted view of the world is, therefore, a result of constant interaction, negotiation and construction between oneself and others. An important claim that guides this in this study is that black identities are socially, culturally and historically constructed. The people’s understandings of the world are shaped by discourses – taken-for-granted assumptions that inform the cultural stories of how life ought to be (Burr, 1995).

Social constructionists contend that not only is knowledge constructed socially but also that objective knowledge is not possible (e.g. Burr, 1995; Davis & Gergen, 1997; Gavey, 1997; Gergen, 1994a, 1994b, 1999). According to Shotter (1993a:34), “[w]e can no longer claim to be presenting neutral ‘pictures’ of fixed, already existing states of affairs, awaiting our judgment as to their truth or falsity”. There is a denial of representationalist epistemologies that maintain that there can be a clear and direct grasp of the empirical world and that knowledge simply reflects what is out there. At this point it is necessary to distinguish between the assertions that the *world is out there* and *the truth is out there*. Common sense would hold that there is a real world out there. The world is, indeed, out there but we have no way of apprehending that world outside language (Edley, 2001a). Knowledge or truth is, therefore, conveyed by linguistic constructions. Rorty (1989:21) asserts that we must drop the notion that language can represent the world as it is “since truth is a property of sentences, since sentences are dependent for their existence upon vocabularies, and since vocabularies are made by human beings, so are truths”. The social

constructionist perspective claims that identities harnessed by race and racism are not fixed, nor static, but shifting in a state of flux and socially constituted through language (Ratele & Duncan, 2003). This becomes clear in the following empirical chapters, where respondents draw on historically and politically available discourses to construct black identity.

This study wishes to understand the impact of historical-political, socio-economic change on black identification. Post-apartheid black identity in this study has provided us with a diversity of subject positions, social experiences and cultural identities comprising the category of “black” (cf. ch 6). Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) believe that social constructionist research is appropriate if the researcher believes that reality consists of a fluid and variable set of social constructions. Burr’s perspective understands identity as discursively constructed and as always socially and historically embedded. Burr (1995:51) states that “identity is constructed out of the discourses culturally available to us, and which we draw upon in our communications with other people”. This means that self and culture are interdependent and selves are nurtured within a culture constructing the concepts they provide. Constructing identity is thus always in process.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Hall (1996:4) focuses on identity as a process of ‘becoming’ and stresses the importance of representation in the construction of identity:

Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in a process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we come from’, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constructed within, not outside representation.

Shotter (1993b) claims that identity construction takes place within and through dialogue. He believes that by using certain kinds of language, people construct different social relationships, and in so doing they construct a sense of their own identity. This means that one’s private experience of the world, which is apprehended through the senses, is related to the social sphere. Given the earlier assertion that social constructionism focuses on relational activities between people, questions are then raised about how this methodology accounts for people’s inner,

subjective lives. To provide an answer to this question, Shotter (1997:11) explains that the inner *things* are not so much inside us but are to be found in the “momentary relational spaces occurring between ourselves and an other or otherness in our surroundings”. In other words, our sense of self is seen as something we accomplish with social interactions “reconstructed from moment to moment within specific discursive and rhetorical contexts, and *distributed* across social contexts” (Edley & Wetherell, 1997:205). This has led to a conceptualisation of the self as de-centralised, fluid or multiple, with the person or self changing within the context (Gergen, 1991, 1994b; Hall, 1992).

In a study that is concerned with the tension that exists in the construction of self, it is important to know how the language positions people as they talk about their experiences of being black. I now move to positioning theory in order to understand the storyteller’s construction of identity in narrative.

4.2.2 Positioning theory

Davies and Harré (1999) propose an analysis of “personhood” based on the notion of positioning. According to Davies and Harré (1999:32), positioning is “the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent respondents in jointly produced storylines”. The positioning triad is composed of speech acts, storylines or “narrative style”, including the “conventional flow of events” and characters (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999:134), and the positions that individuals produce in the development of an interaction. Positioning is based on a perspective “according to which language exists only as concrete occasions of language in use”, or an “immanentist view” (Davies & Harré, 1999:32). As the authors show, positions are likely to shift as people converse, adjust and assume different storylines for the situations that they experience. In assuming that the interactants of a conversation position themselves and one another, we are also assuming that positioning is a “discursive process” jointly constructed (Davies & Harré, 1999:37).

Rather than saying that individuals have one fixed self or role, we would say, using Davies and Harré's approach that individuals construct, or take upon themselves, several positions. As Davies and Harré (1999:35) state, "[a]n individual emerges through the process of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate".

An analysis of personhood, or self, based on the concept of positioning implies the consideration of speech actions. However, to Davies and Harré (1999:34) a speech act does not necessarily imply a corresponding speech action. Rather, as the authors show, "a speech-act will determine a speech action only to the extent that it is taken up as such by all participants. So what it is that has been said evolves and changes as the conversation develops". In addition, positioning involves the consideration of the storylines constructed as the interactants interpret what is being done.

Thus, an individual's interpretation of a speech act is a function of the storyline that is being constructed in an interaction. For example, when individuals tell stories of discrimination, we can expect that certain positions, typically associated with known discriminatory episodes, such as the position of victim and perpetrator, will be created. The use of specific linguistic features allows the speakers to construct these positions and the sense that one experienced discrimination.

Davies and Harré (1999) show that there are several observable dimensions when individuals position themselves and others. For instance, the words that a speaker chooses have a bearing on the positions that are created. Although this choice of words and the resulting images that are invoked through them may not always be intentional, they help to define the situation at hand as being of a specific type. As Davies and Harré (1999:38) go on to show, the perception of an encounter as being of a certain kind may vary for the different participants. This, in turn, relates to the different "commitments" that the speakers have, the different ideas that they have of who they are, or the "availability of alternative discourses" for the kinds of interactions that they are developing. To Davies and Harré (1999:39) then, positions do not result in "a linear, non-contradictory autobiography", but rather in "cumulative fragments". The positions constructed in

an interaction can derive from known roles and storylines, or they can be anchored in the kinds of acts that are being developed in the interaction.

The concept of positioning is useful for analysing stories and talk about identity and discrimination. For instance, it allows us to see how speakers relate what they already know of racism to the situations that they experienced, as they construct or refer to specific storylines in constructing self. This relationship unfolds as the tellers describe actions and speech lines in the interaction between the characters in the story, and as these actions and lines performed by the characters of the stories reflect specific storylines for episodes of racism.

As Davies and Harré (1999:41) write, positioning helps us as speakers in “locating ourselves in conversations according to those narrative forms with which we are familiar and bringing to those narratives our own subjective lived histories through which we have learnt metaphors, characters and plots”. Thus, in stories of discrimination, the positions of perpetrator and victim emerge in the stories as an outcome of the images of self that the speakers seek to convey. For instance, speakers can interpret certain events as episodes of discrimination because, based on their experiences and shared cultural background, they know what individuals who have an appearance similar to theirs, or a comparable racial profile, are likely to experience. In the words of Davies and Harré (1999:46), individuals are thus “committed to a pre-existing idea of themselves that they had prior to the interchange” at stake. Thus, the analysis of these and other linguistic choices can be a revealing way to learn more about the predominant views of blackness and racism in South Africa. The kinds of roles that are created in these stories, and how prejudice is conveyed through language, can teach us more about the impact of discrimination in the lives of the ones who have experienced racism. Furthermore, such an analysis may lead us to a better understanding of how the tellers, or the ones who experienced discrimination figuring in such narratives, perceive themselves.

Davies and Harré (1990) further propose that we adopt positions and assign them to others in talk. Once positioned, there are sets of related concepts which may be drawn on in talk, but this positioning is not necessarily regarded as deliberate (Davies & Harré, 1990; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The offering, resistance and acceptance of positions in talk provides an arena in which to

explore how identity is related to discourses, or repertoires, which in turn make visible some of the ideologies prevalent in this context. This is illustrated in the analysis chapters of the present study.

I now turn to narrative as one of the strands within social constructionism to show how it fits in with the positioning theory discussed above. The following is a discussion of the use of the autobiographical method as proposed by McAdams (1996). In social constructionism, the understanding of identity focuses on how identity is related to culturally available narrative forms (Sarbin, 1986; Gergen & Gergen, 1986). Bruner (1986) proposes that narrative as a factually indifferent process provides an arena in which the self can be studied. However, this requires, firstly, a focus on the meanings of the terms by which the self and the culture are being defined. Secondly, some attention should also be paid to how the self is negotiated, that is, the practices through which the ‘meanings of the self’ are put to use (Bruner, 1990:116). When talking of retrospective experience, we organise our accounts in terms of a narrative structure, that is, with a beginning, middle and end, to some identifiable goal or end point. However, our constructions of narratives are subject to social sanctioning and negotiation. Through situated communicative practices respondents make available particular positions for each other for claims being made about identities are established in subsequent talk (Davies & Harré, 1990).

Although McAdams is not a social constructionist, his method is useful for social constructionist research. Similar to social constructionist research, McAdams method has its emphasis on the narrative construction of self, revision and dialogue. Autobiographies in this study are used as a tool for understanding the expressions of black experiences in their encounter with the white ‘Other’; at the same time expressing and reproducing power relations by the subject positions they take in constructing black identity.

4.2.3. McAdams’ autobiographical method

McAdams (1995) proposes the view of a person as a storyteller who narrates life while living it. His focus is on the person’s use of verbal narrative to organise an identity through the development of a “personal myth” in late adolescence that is refined, further developed and

possibly changed in later life. However, McAdams's (1990:169) emphasis is that the individual's story is not a fabrication but rather an attempt to construct consistent and realistic accounts of a past from "more or-less validated facts". This implies attempting to understand that the task in identity formation involves making sense of how a single person could be a variety of characters that occur in the history of self and of how these characters must be integrated into the life story as the person continually tries to construct an identity with unified purpose and meaning.

McAdams's empirical work focuses on the process of how the multiple characters that are aspects of the self are integrated into a life story. He interviews adult individuals to get their life stories and also uses the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to get other narratives that he can use to determine their motives. In analysing the self-narratives, McAdams identifies that the different images of self are unified but are relatively single-minded, and the narrow characters that may conflict or, at times, collaborate with each other. This implies that identity is emergent in a dialectical process by which the experience of self flows into and is fulfilled by one's social being (the person) and vice versa. The storytelling approach views a person as a storyteller. The assumption is that it is the person, a continuous but ever-changing self, who constantly revises her or his self-narrative throughout adult development. In addition, sense of one's social identity is affirmed or disaffirmed by the telling and the retelling of stories about self and other (McAdams, 1996).

Furthermore in keeping with postcolonial concerns, there are other voices represented in the imagination of each person that speak for important other individuals and groups with whom the person is in dialogical relation. This means that each person is engaged in social relations of distinct kinds with a large variety of individuals, social groups and cultures, either directly or through imagination. In this context there is no single social reality; instead there are multiple realities. Each individual, group and culture has its own voice ready to engage in dialogue over what values are real and what facts are true. The individual person experiences this same divisiveness internally as dialogue between the different identifications that the person makes and assimilates into his or her identity. To an extent each of these subselves who have a different viewpoint are pulling the person in opposite directions.

According to McAdams (1996: 307), these narrative accounts appear to be an “internalized and an evolving narrative of the self that incorporates the reconstructed past, perceived present and anticipated future”. This is a useful lens through which to analyse data in this study. It is possible that respondents could be negotiating and renegotiating their present and future identities from their previous experiences of being black.

Using this approach, life is reflected as texts of narratives, or well known as stories which are culturally designed and structured through conversations and discourses. According to Denzin (1989) a story seems to be one of the psychological means to discover one’s internal and developmental process throughout the life span. Denzin believes that a life story method has inductive, interpretative-explorative features. These features of the storytelling method will enable me as a researcher to explore the emerging meanings of blackness in South Africa today.

This study sought a method that considers that cultural identities are constructed through a complex contextual milieu. My purpose was to understand the meaning of blackness as it is manifested through the storied narratives of black people. In so doing, I have used McAdams’s autobiographical method to structure my interviews. I have analysed these stories using discourse analysis and I would like now to discuss the suitability of this method of analysis for this study.

4.3 Social constructionism and discourse analysis

This section begins with defining the meaning of discourse in order to justify why discourse analysis is suited to the sort of constructionist research conducted for this study. This is followed by mapping the social constructionist approach to discourse analysis.

4.3.1 The meaning of discourse

Discourse analysis has a variety of influences including analytical philosophy, linguistics, linguistic anthropology, new literacy studies, poststructuralism, semiotic, conversation analysis, ethnomethodological, Althusserian, Gramscian, critical discourse analysis and social constructionism (Macleod, 2002; Potter & Wetherell, 198). Given the plethora of the theoretical positions it is difficult to provide a succinct definition of discourse and discourse analysis. As Potter and Wetherell (1987:6) note, when attempting to arrive at a definition of discourse “terminological confusions abound”.

The following variety of approaches reflects the complex and contested nature of the study of discourse:

“A system of statements which constructs an object” (Parker, 1990:191)

“Practices which form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972:49)

“All forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987:6)

“The network of social, political and cultural relationships, including those created by language, which provide the relays for circulation and dispersal of power across and throughout the social structure” (Buchbinder, 1998:8)

There are, then, a variety of understandings of what discourse is and even as those understandings can differ subtly, so too can the meaning of the text.

4.3.2 The social constructionist approach to discourse analysis

Burr (1995) suggests that from a social constructionist perspective this multiplicity of approaches to the study of discourse can be divided into two broad categories. One approach has emerged from a philosophical tradition of structuralism and poststructuralism and is concerned with “issues of identity, selfhood, personal and social change and power relation” (Burr, 1995:47). Within this approach there are differences between researchers with respect to their styles of analysis and underlying theoretical orientation, but what is shared is a focus on language as central to structuring and constraining meaning, and the use of interpretive, reflexive styles of analysis (Burman, 1991).

The second approach identified by Burr (1995:47) draws upon different traditions because its focus is upon the “performative qualities of discourse, that is what people are doing with their talk or writing, what they are trying to achieve”. Within this tradition the focus is on how the accounts are constructed (e.g. Potter & Wetherell, 1987) or upon the rhetorical devices that are used by people and how they are employed (e.g. Billig, 1987). These approaches are less concerned with issues of selfhood, subjectivity or power, but are rather more oriented to the use of language.

Given the number of orientations to the concept of discourse, it holds that there is no one method of conducting discourse analysis. Burr (1995) describes discourse analysis as an “umbrella” for a wide variety of research practices with different aims and theoretical backgrounds. Discourse analysis, Burr (1995:163) continues, “is unlike the majority of existing traditional methods of social scientific enquiry, since it is not possible to describe it adequately in ‘recipe-type’ terms”. There is, then, no single right method for carrying out discourse analysis; however, there are theoretical considerations that are relevant to its application in a research context. To summarise, Potter and Wetherell (1987:35) suggest that

- language is used for a variety of functions and its use has a variety of consequences
- language is both constructed and constructive
- the same phenomenon can be described in a number of different ways

- there will therefore be considerable variation in accounts
- there is, as yet, no foolproof way to deal with this variation and to sift accounts which are “literal” or “accurate” from those which are rhetorical or merely misguided thereby escaping the problems variation raises for researchers with a “realistic” model of language
- the constructive and flexible ways in which language is used should themselves become a central topic

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:154) define discourse analysis as “an act of showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts”. This definition identifies three different aspects, firstly the *discourse* as deployed in text, then how a particular *effect* is achieved in a text and lastly the broader context in which the text operates. In this regard, Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001a:3) describe discourse analysis as “a set of methods and theories for investigating language in use and language in social context”. According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:156), this process of analysis of discourses is defined as “broad patterns of talk – systems of statements – that are taken up in particular speeches and conversations, not the speeches or conversations themselves”. They further argue that various discourses operate in a particular text or, put differently, the text draws on or is informed by these discourses. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) refer to text in discourse analysis as referring to written and spoken language as images. Discourse analysis focuses on talk and texts as social practices, and on the resources that are drawn on to enable those practices.

This suggests that discourse analysis is concerned with the ways in which language constructs objects, subjects and experience. The social constructionist argues for a centrality of language in the construction of identity and social life and in mediating the relationship between the individual and society. Thus, discourse analysis becomes an appropriate constructionist methodology in this research.

4.4.1 Methodology

The theoretical and methodological issues discussed in the previous section have provided the context for a closer consideration of the practical dimensions of the research method employed in this study. I discuss the audit trail with respect to gaining approval for the project and arriving at the criteria used for one part of the text collection, that of participant interview. The actual process of data gathering, primarily the collection of relevant written work and participant interviews, is described. This is followed by a description of how the data analysis proceeded.

4.4.2 Approval processes

The proposal was first presented to the School of Psychology Graduate Committee, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus. With the approval and support of the committee, the application for the doctoral study was accepted provisionally with two conditions required in the first 12 months: (1) completion of methodology chapter; and (2) gaining approval from the University Ethics Committee.

On approval of the methodology chapter, I then sought clearance approval from the Ethics Committee. The ethical clearance was granted on May 2006 (see Appendix 1)

4.4.3 Selecting of respondents

The sample for this study was 35 black South Africans. de Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport (2002:194) define a sample as “a small portion of the total set of objects or persons that together comprise the subject that is being studied”. They argue that the major consideration in sampling is feasibility. According to Patton (1990), decisions about sample size and sampling strategies depend on prior decisions about the appropriate unit(s) of analysis to study. The unit of analysis in this is “black people’s autobiographies”. It would be impossible for me to cover the total black South African population for this study, so I decided to use purposeful sampling. The intention for using purposeful sampling was to select information-rich cases whose study would illuminate

answers to emerging black identity in South Africa today. According to Silverman (2000:104) “[p]urposive sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested”. This is contrary to how the quantitative researcher would approach sampling. A quantitative researcher does so from the perspective of generating large context-free samples from the population of interest, selected randomly with statistical methods (Patton, 1990).

The 35 people are diverse in age, class, region of origin, gender and socio economic background but all live in South Africa. Diversity in terms of socio economic background in this study is based on the status of the participant’s or the family’s income range as determined by occupation. I define rural as a place of dwelling that has features which are typically of areas that are from city, a place where most people depend on farming and crop growing for living . Urban is defined as an area that is close to an industry and business, close to cities and people are living and working in town. Whilst the two areas; rural and urban were used to classify a place in which the participant was living at the time of the interview. This was the case because in South Africa black people cannot be easily classified as rural or urban as they migrate between the two spaces because the past segregation laws. This suggests that whilst some the black people in South Africa today stay in urban area they have their roots in rural areas and the tendency is to move between these two areas.

4.1 The demographics and geographical data for sample in the study

Region	Respondents	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	Adult	Youth
Eastern Cape	16	14	2	9	7	13	3
Gauteng	11	0	11	4	7	6	5
KwaZulu-Natal	8	5	3	2	6	6	2
Total	35	19	16	15	20	25	10

One justification for using these criteria is that I wanted to have a diverse group of black people as my research participants. In my analysis of blacks' experiences, I wanted to interview a broad spectrum of people with different backgrounds. Marshal and Rosseman (1989:54) suggest that, when considering a qualitative sampling strategy, "the best compromise is to include a sample with the widest possible range of variation in the phenomenon, setting or people under study". They also point out that poor sampling decisions may threaten research findings. This sample allowed me to choose diverse cases so that I would be able to explore accounts of blackness in South Africa.

The key issue with qualitative research sampling strategies is not to search for traditional generalisability, the objective is rather to seek an understanding of the conditions under which a particular finding appears and operates; and how, where, when and why the phenomenon exists and manifests itself (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

I selected people for the study according to the criteria I established (region of origin, place, gender and age group, all living in South Africa). Certainly, being black facilitated the process of participant selection. I was able to tap into both formal and informal networks to select the respondents for this study.

Choosing respondents in the Eastern Cape was not difficult because I live in the area and I know many people living here. However, to select respondents in other regions (Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal) I used both purposive and snowball sampling methods. Some of the people who

agreed to participate in my study were purposely selected because prior acquaintanceship made me aware that their experience would provide valuable insights. With respect to snowball sampling, discussions about this study with friends, colleagues and others black people led to suggestions from them about possible interviewees that I could contact, some known to me, others not.

Several of the respondents also suggested others to whom they thought I might be interested in talking. Such a sampling method does not pretend to be representative, although, in line with the recommendation of Biernacki and Waldorf (1981), the referral chains were controlled in an endeavour to ensure respondents from a diverse range of age, class, region of origin, gender, and family situation. In this way the “sample includes an array of respondents that in qualitative terms, if not in rigorous statistical ones, reflect what are thought to be the general characteristics of the population in question” (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981:155). The sampling process was effective in that there no difficulty was encountered in recruiting participants. No one who was approached declined the invitation to participate nor did any participant subsequently withdraw from the study.

4.4.4 Data collection techniques

In this study, data collection involved setting the boundaries for the study, collecting information through interviews and following the protocol for recording information (Cresswell, 1994:2). This study investigates psychosocially constructed black accounts of self in contemporary South Africa. For data collection I used life-story interviews as proposed by McAdams (1996). This concept has already been discussed in the section on theory above (cf. McAdams 4.2.4).

4.4.5 Autobiographical interview process

Black identity autobiographies were generated through semi-structured one-to-one interviews. Semi-structured interviews are defined by de Vos et al. (2002:298) as “those organised around areas of particular areas of interest, while still allowing considerable flexibility in scope and

depth”. They are referred to as conversations with a purpose. The major aim of semi-structured interviewing is to understand the experiences of other people and the meaning they make out of those experiences (de Vos et al., 2002). This makes this method an appropriate choice for this study because it is focused and discursive, and allows me and the respondents to explore the issue being studied (de Vos et al., 2002). Interviews are social interactions in which meaning is necessarily negotiated between a numbers of selves (de Vos et al., 2002). As a researcher my interview style entailed engaging with the respondents instead of trying to be objective or detached. I made this choice for a number of reasons including the reason outlined by de Vos et al. (2002:287), who say “[e]ngagement implies willingness on the part of the researcher to understand the participant’s response to a question in the wider context of the interview as a whole”. This implies an understanding that the respondents were constructing their meaning of black identity and this unfolded as the respondents were narrating their stories – they were not my own views.

The format used for the interviews was that of storytelling process adapted from McAdams (1996) to fit within the requirements of this study. The questions for this semi-structured interview were prepared by me as the researcher and my supervisor reviewed the questions.

4.4.6 Interviewing setting

My initial contact with the prospective respondents was made either face to face or by telephone or email. In this contact I briefly introduced myself and the study to the prospective respondents. I told them that the aim of the study was (1) to develop an understanding of how black people are shaping a sense of self in the changing social, historical context of a post-apartheid period, and (2) to collect and analyse life stories of black people in order to discover what impact the transformation of the South African political and social system has had on black identity.

I then explained that I was extending an invitation for black people to play a role as storyteller of their own life and to construct a story of their past, present and what they saw as their future as black South Africans. If this information prompted an interest to participate, I then arranged a time for us to meet. The interviews took place at times and venues selected as convenient by

each participant. Efforts were made to ensure that the audio taping occurred in quiet surroundings that would be free from interruption. Respondents had a choice to be interviewed in isiXhosa or in English. Ten out of 35 respondents were interviewed in IsiXhosa and 25 were interviewed in English. The 25 respondents interviewed in English code switched to IsiXhosa and IsiZulu. Most important was that the environment should be comfortable, non-threatening and easily accessible to them.

The interviews with the respondents were collected over a period of eleven months, between May 2006 and March 2007. As mentioned previously, I interviewed people in rural and urban areas in three provinces, namely Eastern Cape, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. At each interview I first went through the introductory comments I had prepared, which entailed an explanation of the aims of the interview as well as the role of the participants. I also assured the respondents that the information they gave me would be treated as confidential and that their names would not be published. I asked the respondents for their consent to participate at the beginning of the interview and verbal consent was recorded. I then gave them a written consent form (see Appendix 2.1 and 2.2) to keep.

The time allocated for each interview was 90 to 150 minutes and it was audio recorded and later transcribed. Interviews were conducted in English (see Appendix 3) or in IsiXhosa (see Appendix 4). Some respondents preferred to be interviewed in English or to code switch. It is important for the purpose of this study that the respondents were empowered by being able to use a language that they were comfortable with. I then transcribed the interviews. Some of the IsiXhosa text is was only translated into English when used in analysis and in the discussion of findings.

4.4.7 Discussion of interviews

The interview consisted of 11 questions (see Appendix 3 and 4). The first question was about life as a victim of racism in South Africa. Each respondent was asked to begin thinking about his/her own life story of being black in South Africa. In this first part of the interview the respondents were asked to give a sense of the story's outline.

Think of your life as having at least a few different chapters, composed of different experiences as a black person. I would like you to describe those chapters in your life, by giving a plot summary of each of those experiences. This first part of the interview is to give a sense of the story's outline, the major things that compose your life.

The respondent was allowed five minutes to think or write and then talk. Also clarification and elaborations at any point in this section could be asked for, although there was a significant danger of interrupting too much. If the interviewee finished in less than 10 minutes, then he/she has not said enough, and I should probe for more detail. If the interviewee looked like he/she was going to continue beyond 25 minutes, then I would try (gently) to speed things up.

For the rest of the interview the respondents were asked to describe the moments, their feelings, the impact that the event had on their lives. The second question was about the moment of feeling a sense of being a true human being with dignity. The third question was about moments of despair and human degradation. The fourth question was about outgrowing the stigma of being black. I was specifically interested in the turning points that can occur at many different times in a person's life, in relationships with other people, in work and school, and in outside interests.

The fifth question was about the important Childhood Scene. A respondent had to speak about the first memory that came to mind that was especially important or significant in connection with being black. It might be a positive or negative memory.

The sixth question was about life challenges. The respondent was to reflect over the various experiences in his/her life story. Most importantly, he/she had to say how he/she faced, handled or dealt with these challenges. The seventh question was about positive influence in one's life. The respondent had to identify a single person or group of people that had the greatest positive influence on his/her story as a black person. Question 8 on the other hand addressed the negative influence.

Question 9 was about the alternative futures. The respondent had to consider the future by imagining two different futures, a positive and a negative, in his or her life story as well as for other black people in South Africa. The tenth question was about a life theme, which means the main theme that runs throughout his/her story. The last question was a reflection on the interview; the respondent was afforded an opportunity to add anything to what he/she had said so that I could understand him/her better.

4.4.8 Transcribing the interviews

There is a variety of transcription conventions of varying degrees of complexity employed in discourse analysis (Wood & Kroger, 2000). The various systems represent different features of speech, for example, intonation, stress, pauses and so on, with different degrees of detail (Fairclough, 1992). However, according to Macleod (2002) most of the transcription systems emphasise readability and ignore nuances of pronunciation, speed and intonation. Sandelowski (1995:371) cautions against the *recipe* approach to data management as it could “lead to lack of creativity and violation of the spirit of qualitative research”.

According to Macleod (2002:21), whichever system is adopted the process is one of translation, requiring “decisions concerning where to place a full stop, a comma, a pause, inverted commas, *etc.* so as to reflect as closely as possible what I as listener hear, so that you as reader may ‘hear’ the same thing when reading the material”. Wood and Kroger (2000) contend that there are some common requirements for making and using transcriptions regardless of the system utilised, in particular the need to make a thorough transcription. Thus, a transcription of all the speakers’ contributions is required; hence I transcribed each interview word for word, including the questions and comments of the researcher, which are included as a context for the answers.

It is, of course, impossible for a reader to *hear* the recorded speech from the written transcript no matter how detailed it may be, and different listeners would possibly translate the spoken text into written text in different ways. Transcription, particularly in the notion of translation, also

imposes an *interpretation* on speech (Fairclough, 1992). Consequently, no single authoritative version of a transcript is possible (Macleod, 2002; Wood & Kroger, 2000).

All interviews were transcribed verbatim including repetitions, grammatical and syntactical ‘errors’, and the narrative sections chosen for the first draft of the thesis were exact copies of the original transcripts. However, in many instances this hindered both the narrative flow and comprehension. The material chosen from the transcripts for inclusion in the finished work was subsequently *re-interpreted*, by removing hesitations, repetition and digression; grammar was introduced on the basis of accepted conventions and text added for clarification. In addition, the isiXhosa transcripts that are included in the finished work are presented firstly in isiXhosa followed by my translation of the transcript.

4.4.9 Organising the interview data

The transcriptions of the interviews amounted to between 11 and 25 pages each. The analysis began by close reading and rereading of the material in order to sort the material into thematic “bites”. I then identified themes that were relevant as experiences of racism and themes that were constructions of black identity. I divided all the racism stories into two sections under the headings ‘stories of apartheid racism’ and ‘stories of post-apartheid racism’. A total of 288 stories were categorised and coded from the 35 respondents (cf. ch5).

For the second empirical chapter, I read and reread the interviews, identifying the discourses used to construct the meaning of black identity. As I read the interviews I made rough thematic notes, giving each theme a key from those which had been identified previously during the analysis of postcolonial literature. I include two examples of interview transcripts in this thesis (see Appendixes 5 & 6). It was at this point that I needed to choose those that were relevant to my analysis. In order to do so, I further read and continued to reflect and this allowed me to identify subthemes, which were also allocated keys. The text was then re-read with the now expanded keys being noted alongside the pertinent sections of the material. The transcripts were then photocopied and the marked bits of text cut out. These were then sorted into collections

according to the keys; this organising (or coding) of the material according to thematic keys was a precursory act to the actual process of discourse analysis and deconstruction.

The analysis per se necessitated my reading and re-reading the groups of text segments, as I simultaneously engaged in the conceptual work required by discourse analysis.

4.5 Data analysis

4.5.1 Steps taken in analysis

Most descriptions of how to do qualitative analysis come with the caveat that the description provided is by no means the one best way, but rather a sharing of experience (Symon & Cassell, 1998). The following is a description of my analysis technique.

Having transcribed the data, all the time gaining familiarity with it, the transcriptions were re-read in conjunction with the audio tapes, each time noting anything which might be of interest. One starting point for carrying out discourse analysis is a suspension of belief in what is normally taken for granted in language use (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). How to analyse discourse depends on the questions you are asking, which determine the categories for coding (Gill, 1996). In the present study some of these categories were relatively straightforward, for example apartheid and post-apartheid experiences. Others were less so, for example, categories of blackness. In the initial stage it is better to be as inclusive as possible and all vaguely relevant instances should be included (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). It is at this point that some more traditional qualitative studies end their analysis.

The second stage of analysis involves a questioning of the ways I make sense of something. Instead of reading for gist, I had to interrogate ‘why am I reading this in this way?’ (Gill, 1996). The study aimed to capture the paradoxical relationship that exists between the discourse and the speaking subject. In this regard Wetherell et al. (2001b:210) argue that identity is informed at an unstable point when ‘unspeakable’ stories of the subjective meet the narratives of the culture.

This means that when people talk (or think) about things, they do so in terms already provided for them by the history. They do so using a lexicon or repertoire of terms that has been provided by a particular historical era. Edley (2001a) writes that a language culture usually supplies a whole range of ways of talking about or constructing people, objects and events. Yet, some formulations and ways of talking are more 'available' than others, because some ways of understanding the world have become culturally dominant or hegemonic. The aim of the analysis would be, amongst others, to establish whether new or different identities are emerging in the negotiation of blackness in the encounter with whiteness and encounter with the racism and what the consequences of these new identities are for self and the 'other'. A further feature of this analytical approach is that it is sensitive to the operation of power. It is possible to reveal whose best interests are served by the prevailing constructions of blackness and the ambivalence of black identity, for example, and to examine how black identity is constructed, reconstructed and transformed.

This phase of the analysis was made up of three related tasks. Firstly, there was the search for patterns in the data, either of variability or consistency. Secondly, there is a concern with the function of certain features of the discourse, checking these against the data. Thirdly, there was a concern about how the language used positions people. In this study I used Wetherell et al.'s (2001b) three key concepts to analyse construction of identity, that is, interpretive repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. Wetherell et al. (2001b:198) define interpretive repertoires as coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world. In discourse analytical terms, they are the 'building blocks of conversation', a range of linguistic resources that can be drawn upon and utilised in the course of everyday social interaction. This implies that interpretive repertoires consist of any community's common sense providing a basis for shared understanding. The concept of an interpretative repertoire is important for the analysis because it highlights the cultural history dimension. Wetherell et al. (2001b) recommend that to identify interpretative repertoires one has to be familiar with the data through repeated reading of the transcripts and recognition of patterns across the different people's talk or figures of speech. Wetherell et al. (2001b:199) argue that this becomes a sign that one is getting a feel for the 'discursive terrain' that makes up a particular topic or issue.

The second analytic concept of analysis is ideological dilemmas. Ideological dilemmas connect to the 'lived' ideologies according to which members of a culture make sense of the world and events. Wetherell et al. (2001: 210) argue that ideological dilemmas are more than just cultural common sense, and say:

... it alerts us to the possibility that different interpretative repertoires of the 'same' social object or event do not necessarily arise spontaneously and independently, but are developed together in opposing positions in an unfolding, historical, argumentative exchange.

A similar argument on ideological dilemmas is brought by Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton and Radley (1988), who argue that lived ideologies are not coherent or integrated and are characterised by inconsistency, fragmentation and contradiction. Therefore, lived ideologies or a culture's common sense do not provide members of the culture with a clear direction about how they should think and act. Instead, they contain many contrary or competing arguments: in other words they have a dilemmatic character. However, the indeterminacy of lived ideologies makes them rich and flexible resources for social interaction and everyday sense making in the world. In an ideological dilemma two sets of commonly shared values appear to be in rhetorical conflict. In this study I examine the rhetorical nature of the talk. Billig et al. (1988) discuss the way common sense, or ideologies, contains contrary themes which give rise to ideological dilemmas when in opposition to each other. This fits well with the theoretical notion of multiplicity of subject positioning in black identity construction, not all of which are compatible. The concept of ideological dilemmas is used to analyse the constructions of blackness and ambivalence, focusing on the rhetorical character and tensions in the encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism.

The third analytic concept is subject positions. Wetherell et al. (2001b:210) define subject positions as 'locations with conversation', identities made relevant by certain ways of talking. Edley (2001b) gives an account of Louis Althusser's influential paper on ideology where he talks about the way that ideology creates or constructs 'subjects' by drawing people into particular subject positions or identities. Edley (2001b:209) elaborates:

Subjectivity ...is an ideological effect. The way that people experience and feel about themselves and the world around them is, in part at least he said, a by-product of particular ideological or discursive regimes.

According to Wetherell et al. (2001b:209) ideology constructs subjects by drawing them to particular identities. Furthermore, they use the concept of interpellation and say “interpellation refers to the process of being called or ‘hailed’ by a particular discourse”. To be called or hailed by a particular discourse makes a claim that certain stories within an era are more available or appropriate to the society as a means to understand self. This echoes Davies and Harré’s (1999), argument that discourses create subject positions. The concept of subject positions is used, for example, to analyse the identities of ‘self’ and ‘other’ that emerge through the discourse in various forms of being black in post-apartheid South Africa.

The three key concepts proposed by Wetherell et al. (2001b) were combined with discourse analytic procedures as put forward by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Potter and Wetherell’s (1987) guidelines for the analysis of discourse are aimed at providing an account of what people *do* with the language and discourses they employ. Thus, in analysing the categories of blackness it is important to understand how black people articulate representations of identity in the post-apartheid period. In this regard, Wetherell et al. (2001a:23) say “[o]ne key claim ... is that the language positions people – discourse creates subject positions”. This implies that, when people speak, they speak from a position according to their recognised pattern of talk. This primary orientation towards the uses to which language is put prompts a particular method of discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This method consists of close reading of the interview material and the coding and classification of the collected interview material into themes on an inclusive basis. Once this has been accomplished, a closer examination of the themes should be conducted in order to analyse them in terms of *function*, *variability* and *construction*, as proposed by Potter and Wetherell (1987).

Function refers to the fact that “people do things with their discourse” (Potter & Wetherell, 1988:169) both intentionally (using specific discourses for specific purposes to produce and perpetuate specific understandings and explanations) and unintentionally, in that the use of

particular discourses often has wider social and ideological implications (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). However, the process of analysing the function of discourses is not as straightforward as it may at first appear. It is rare, if not indeed non-existent, that individuals hold uniform and unwavering views about a phenomenon across all possible situations or contexts. Discourse can be put to different uses.

Regarding *variation* Potter and Wetherell (1987:33) claim, “[i]f talk is oriented to many different functions, global and specific, any examination of language over time reveals considerable variation”. Potter and Wetherell (1987:171) claim that variation refers to observation that:

...what people say and write will be different according to what they are doing ... as variation is a consequence of function it can be used as an analytic clue to what function is being performed in a particular stretch of discourse.

The third aspect, *construction*: is used to refer to the manner in which “language is put together, constructed, for the purposes and to achieve particular consequences” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987:171). Using language for particular ends – in order to create specific accounts of reality in differing contexts – necessarily involves the construction of versions, indicated by language variations (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In this way an analysis of the specific way in which a discourse is constructed, what kind of language is used, when it is used, as well as how and with or by whom, provides clues as to the variation and the function to which it is being put and thus provides a detailed, multifaceted approach to the analysis of the discourse. Through an analysis of the *construction* we are able to show how already existing linguistic resources are drawn on to inform individual accounts, we can analyse how individuals go about exercising a degree of agency in the construction of their accounts of a phenomenon and we can gain insight into ways in which people orient their talk to do specific things (Potter & Wetherell, 1987)

Interpretive repertoires incorporate patterns of interpretations and explanations that individuals utilise in their construction of their social realities (Potter & Wetherell, 1998). Wetherell and Potter (1988:172) assert that “[r]epertoires can be seen as the building blocks speakers use for constructing versions of actions, cognitive processes and other phenomenon. Any particular

repertoire is constituted out of a restricted range of terms used in a specific stylistic and grammatical fashion”. In this study I am interested in the ways of talking about blackness. Therefore black people making meaning of themselves could be socially constructed. It was also crucial to understand how the socially constructed black identities contribute to making sense of emerging blackness in the changing political era.

A discourse analyst must distance him/herself from the text (Parker, as cited in Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:158) identify ‘tricks’ that may assist the researcher in reflecting on textual activities: they say “[b]y identifying what binary oppositions, recurrent terms, phrases and metaphors are present in a text, we begin to see how the text is the product of particular discourses”.

Although I engaged in a detailed reading of each excerpt of text, my task was to examine how the discourses operate in a body of texts. I achieved this by identifying the discourse that the respondents drew on in their way of speaking. Therefore, it was important to read many different texts in order to show variation and consistency in discourse. I paid attention to the process by which blackness has come to be produced by socially and culturally available discourses. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:160) stress that “... everything is part of every-thing else, so that isolating a text from its surroundings is of necessity already to misunderstand it”. The text should be placed in context in order to understand what it is doing.

4.6 Reflexivity

I see reflexivity not as an end in itself but rather as a means by which I can be made accountable for my analysis through an explication of my interests and context. I am wary of accounts of reflexivity that rest on simple humanistic notions of being ‘open’ or ‘transparent’. Given the impossibility of ‘knowing oneself’, Parker (1999:31) has argued for a critically reflexive humanism which involves more than engaging in “agonising confessional work”. This should also be more than a simple listing of the social locations one occupies in order to render them unproblematic (Bola, Drew, Gill, Harding, King & Seu 1998) but, rather, an identification of

those aspects of one's social identity which might influence the analysis and a tracing of their influence.

Reflection on our forms of understanding is vital to our future wellbeing (Gergen, 1999). Reflexivity provides a way forward to overcome the issues of loss of objectivity and bias, and use of self as researcher and researched. Heilbron (1999) believes that this process is a primary condition for intellectual progress and states that it is a feature widely employed in social constructionist work.

Reflexivity is a topic that has become widely discussed not only in social constructionism but also in much of the contemporary writing on qualitative research (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1994a; de Vos et al., 2005). Reflexivity is widely used both in social constructionism and discourse analysis. According to Burr (1995) there is no single understanding or use of reflexivity in the research process. Nevertheless, several themes can be identified. In the first instance, reflexivity is used to draw attention to the fact that, when someone gives an account of an event, that account is simultaneously a description of the event *and* part of the event (because of the constitutive nature of talk) (Burr, 1995:161). From this context emerges a consideration of the involvement of the researcher and the effect this has on the research process for, as Candy (1989:6) states, “[s]ocial reality is both shaped by, and in turn shapes, the interpretations and perceptions of individuals”.

Working within this framework, it is not only the experience of the respondents in this research that must be considered, but also the factors that shape this experience; the *knowing* position of the researcher in relation to the research respondents needs to be considered (Goodley, 1999). This is not only in terms of the power ascribed to (or assumed by) the researcher but through the inherent danger that it becomes self-indulgent. It can become an exercise in which the personal confessions of the researchers – either of the reflexive positionings (the discursive positionings assigned to him/herself by an individual) or of their emotional investments – dominate the work (Davies & Harré, 1990:13).

The second issue that emerges is the recognition that social constructionism is not exempt from the critical stance it brings to bear on other theories (Burr, 1995). Thus, as Gergen (1994a: 48) noted, social constructionists “may employ self-reflexive deconstructions of their own theses, thus simultaneously declaring a position, but removing its authority and inviting other voices into the conversation”. A social constructionist position considers that it is beholden on all researchers to engage in a self-reflexive process: the continual questioning of one’s own position. Through this self-inquisition one has to abandon the security of previously cherished notions of right and wrong, truth and untruth, fact and fiction, and open a space for other possibilities to emerge.

From this perspective there is no claim to being *the* authority but a claim to being a voice in critical dialogue with others (Shotter, 1993a). It is my contention that this study provides a new lens through which to view black experiences in the contemporary South Africa. I am not proposing to replace one view with another, nor do I wish to be perceived as privileging one particular viewpoint.

One of the positions taken as an assumption of social constructionism is that knowledge and social action interact as we seek ways to re-evaluate, reorganise and construct new ways of being. Thus, I can only propose that this work is one of many possible viewpoints, and that this multiplicity of perspectives is important if we are to accept the challenge of constructing new meanings and offering new possibilities for understanding emerging black identities. In view of the fact that the focus of this study is constructive and not neutral, I need to identify my position as researcher in relation to the project even though, as Gavey (1997:59) points out, “such identification is unlikely to capture the nuances and complexity of these positions”. My positions are currently adult, female, black and political. From my youth and school days I have been involved as an activist challenging racism. From an early age my thoughts about consciousness and values of my blackness have been influenced by Biko and others in the Black Conscious Movement (BCM).

4.7 Ethics

Wassenaar (2006) claims that, one of the most important aims of research ethics is to protect the welfare of research participants.

In doing this research the philosophical principles guiding ethical research were observed as closely as possible. Wassenaar (2006:67–68) mentions four basic principles applicable to research, namely, autonomy and respect for dignity of persons, nonmaleficence, beneficence and justice. In addition to Wassenaar’s proposed guidelines, other researchers’ views were also used to guide my ethical conduct in this project.

4.7.1 Autonomy and respect for the dignity for persons

One of the ethical requirements for research on human respondents is that the researcher must obtain informed consent from respondents (de Vos et al., 2002; Wassenaar, 2006). According to Wassenaar (2006:67) the autonomy principle “finds expression in most requirements for voluntary informed consent by all research participants”. The consent form of this study was a way to ensure that the prospective respondents understood the nature of the research and could voluntarily decide whether or not to participate. The assurance protects both parties; both the participant whose autonomy is respected and the investigator, who otherwise faces legal hazards (de Vos et al., 2002). A copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix 2.

4.7.2 Nonmaleficence

Wassenaar (2006:67) explains that this principle of nonmaleficence “supplements the autonomy principle and requires the researcher to ensure that no harm befalls research participants as a direct or indirect consequence of the research”. In this study I guaranteed the respondents’ anonymity. This was done by not publishing the participants’ real names, and removing information about their occupation, political alliance, and relationship to a public figure and so on. The respondents were given a copy of the consent form to keep and, at the beginning of the interview, the consent form was read aloud to them. The verbal consent was then tape recorded. In doing this I made sure that the respondents understood the aims of the study and that they

would be making a time commitment and that they were also agreeing to reveal their experiences. The written consent form was left with the respondents to ensure that they could read it later if they had any questions about the process after I had left the site.

The language used in my interview schedule was simple and direct. As explained previously, respondents chose whether they wanted to be interviewed in IsiXhosa or in English. The respondents were also free to code switch between IsiXhosa and English at any time during the interview. This was done to ensure that language did not become a barrier to their participation. This code switching happened a lot during the interview; some respondents preferred to be interviewed in isiXhosa but used English whenever they used the language of politics. Some chose to be interviewed in English but used isiXhosa or Zulu words and expressions. This seemed to be the case when they wanted to refer to their cultural practices like *lobola* and *masiko* (traditions and culture).

The first part of the interview entailed a written aspect, which involved writing an overview of the respondent's life story. The respondents were allowed ten minutes to think about and to write down their stories of being black in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. They were not asked whether they could write or not, but I observed the hesitation in their body language, for example, some would try to hide what they were writing and some would look nervous about writing regardless of the fact that I explained that I was not going to read their written responses. Consequently, I then decided to encourage them to just think about the outline of their stories and to talk to me when they were feeling ready. I emphasised that it was not necessary to write it down; what was important was to spend time thinking about the question. I realised that this made the environment even much easier and more comfortable for all the respondents before the interview conversation started. This first question was important to me as it prompted their thoughts before the oral interview began.

However, what I had not anticipated were some of the respondents' reactions to the interview. The three most difficult issues that I encountered were, firstly, the anger of one of the respondents towards white people in the moment of the interview, secondly, one respondent's monetary compensation issue, and thirdly, an office space problem with two interviewees.

One of the first problems I encountered related to the fact that I was asking respondents to share their experiences of being black in South Africa. At times respondents spoke about personal traumas related to racism and I found myself under pressure to act as a counsellor. This happened on two occasions when respondents became very upset about recent experiences of racism. These emotions surfaced immediately after I had read them the introductory comments to the interview. I then realised that I could not continue the interview until we had cleared the air. I asked if they would like to reschedule the interview, or to withdraw from the study if they thought that it would make them feel uncomfortable in any way. As none of the respondents decided to withdraw from the study, I asked them if we could deal with the traumatic events after the interviews, explaining that this suggestion did not mean I was asking them to withhold these experiences from the interview if they felt they were part of their story of being black in South Africa. After they had agreed to continue with the interview, I reread the introductory comments. When the interview upset the participants, I recommended that they seek professional help to deal with their anger and frustrations. For example, I referred two student-participants to the counselling unit of their universities.

The second unanticipated problem occurred at the beginning of an interview with a woman who worked as a sex worker. I was explaining that the interview would take an hour or more and she responded by asking me how much she was going to be paid because the time she would spending with me was time she could be spending making money to feed herself. As this was quite unanticipated, I really did not know what to do. I was worried that paying her would be unethical, as it was not part of the plans I had submitted to the ethics committee. I was also worried that committing myself to pay her after the interview would limit the interview conversation. I decided to offer her an incentive after we had finished with the interview. After the interview I gave her a hundred rand and she was quite happy. The interview had gone well and did not appear to have been affected by the promise of an incentive.

The third problem was experienced with three respondents who held prominent government positions. Access to one of them was quite difficult and, as I readied myself to do the interview, I was interviewed by security officers about the nature of the study. I had not anticipated this and

with hindsight see that, because of their senior portfolios, I should have sent them more information in advance. I was then asked to write an affidavit declaring that the information obtained in the interview would not be used to defame them or the positions they held. I wrote the affidavit addressing their concerns and, once the security officers were satisfied, I was allowed to conduct the interviews. One of the three senior government employees told me after my introduction that he could not participate because of his portfolio. I accepted this explanation and as he was taking me to my car he told me that there were cameras in his office and that the Minister had access to his conversations and because he was going to be revealing some private stories about his life he was not comfortable in his office. The other concern he raised was the fact that I had come with a tape recorder which was not allowed on the premises. He asked if we could meet at his house that evening and I agreed to do so, and the interview proceeded smoothly there.

4.7.3 Beneficence

The principle proposed by Wassenaar (2006:67) “obliges the researcher to attempt to maximise the benefits that the research will afford to participants in the research study”.

As a researcher, I avoided engaging in what Collins (1998) terms ‘voyeurism’ and ‘academic colonialism’. I merely applied typical qualitative research methods to address issues affecting the black community. It was for this reason that I asked black people to tell their own experiences using the autobiographical method: this allowed the respondents to have a voice in the reconstruction of their own identity and, in eliciting their voices, they were given ‘power’ and control over how they constructed their experiences in ways potentially not heard or examined before. To unmask these voices I identified a diverse group of black South Africans to tell their own stories. Such an approach challenges those who have taken it on as their responsibility to define and circumscribe the lives of black South Africans in the colonial and apartheid era. I believe that my lived experience as a black person provides me with cultural lenses through which to see things that the others possibly may not see or may see differently.

The methods used to establish the validity of the interview process and the data included the methodological structure of the interview format and structured analysis, both techniques suggested by a range of scholars (Seale, 2004; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I also considered concerns about the validity of the interview process. Firstly, in order to get comprehensive input from the respondents on the topic of ‘accounting of self’, I ensured that I asked a number of questions that would access these stories (see Appendixes 3 and 4). This also helped to control the social desirability stemming from the retrospective nature of the autobiographical interview. Secondly, in an attempt to control the effect that I as the interviewer might have on their input, I spoke little and listened a lot.

As part of maximising the benefits for the respondents and also as an expression of gratitude to the community for their participation, I agreed that all the respondents would be informed of the results of this research without offering too many details or encroaching on the principle of confidentiality. This feedback is intended to be in the form of a “newsletter” which was be issued to all the respondents (see Appendix 7).

4.7.4 Justice

The principle of justice is complex. According to Wassenaar (2006:68) this principle entails the respondents being treated by the researcher with fairness and equity. It also includes the fair selection of respondents. In this study the criteria used for selection did not exclude respondents on the basis of gender or place; as has already been explained, a diverse population was selected (cf table 4.1 in this chapter).

The written consent form (see Appendix 2) left with respondents after the interview served a debriefing purpose because it would help to ease the fears that respondents might experience after the interview had taken place. The newsletter informing them of the basic results will also serve as part of the debriefing of the subjects. It is hoped that the interview and the follow-up newsletter may function as a positive learning experience for respondents.

4.8 Trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability and authenticity

With regard to ensuring rigour in qualitative inquiry, Spiers (2002:2) asserts that “[w]ithout rigour, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility”. Central to assessing the rigour or quality of quantitative research are the criteria of reliability and validity. A number of frameworks have been put forward (and debated) in the qualitative inquiry literature; however, a widely adopted set of criteria has been that proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). They have replaced the concepts of reliability and validity with that of *trustworthiness*. Rather than criteria of *internal validity*, *external validity*, *reliability* and *objectivity* which are typically used to establish trustworthiness within a quantitative research paradigm, they originally proposed that research using qualitative methods, such as this study, should consider the criteria of *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*. In response to their critics they later expanded these criteria to include that of *authenticity* (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

With respect to discourse analysis, Potter and Wetherell (1987) propose four validity criteria: *coherence*, *participant’s orientation*, *new problems* and *fruitfulness*. By 1996, however, Potter had revised his view on the appropriate criteria and while retaining the criterion of coherence had replaced the latter three criteria with *deviant case analysis*, *participant’s understandings* and *reader’s evaluations*.

4.8.1 Trustworthiness

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985:290) with respect to trustworthiness the basic issue is simple: How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of? What arguments can be mounted, what criteria invoked, what questions asked, that would be persuasive on this issue?

Using the criteria outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Potter (1996a), the following discussion will establish the trustworthiness (or rigour) of the study by auditing the events and influences on the research process and my reactions to them. Koch (1994) notes that although the

readers may not share the interpretation presented by the researcher they should be able to follow the way in which it was derived. This is a result of the fact that each of us brings to the analysis our own preconceptions that influence the dialogue between researcher and text or the reader and the interpretation. My own prejudices and preconceptions are what will be discussed below. During the period of this study these initial beliefs were challenged and rescripted; a process that continues as part of the constant dialogue that sustains and creates knowledge.

4.8.2 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a number of techniques that make it more likely that credible findings and interpretations will be produced: activities in the field that increase the probability of high credibility, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy and member checks. Of these techniques, four were adopted during this study: activities in the field, peer debriefing, member checks and negative case analysis. The latter criterion has been considered as being synonymous with Potter's (1996b) concept of deviant-case analysis.

Activities in the field

With respect to activities in the field that increase the probability of high credibility, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest three techniques: prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation. During my eight years of experience as the only black staff member teaching white students in a predominantly white institution and working with all-white colleagues, part of me resisted allowing whiteness to penetrate my skin, however at the same time I felt compelled to prove that I could do equally well or better than my white colleagues. In contrast, for the last four years I have worked for a historically black institution with the majority of black colleagues and students. Within this context I continually find myself defending my black position from those who experience my contributions to knowledge and my accounts on how to do certain things as being assimilated into whiteness. This experience and continuous struggle around my own identity suggest that I am a "stranger in a strange land". Of course, such prolonged engagement risks the introduction of "distortions based on *a priori* values and constructions" (Lincoln &

Guba, 1985:302). In an attempt to minimise this problem notes were written and kept for referral as new ideas and challenges emerged. These challenged my *a priori* beliefs such that they came to be perceived as too simplistic in light of the complexity of the issues being explored.

It is, no doubt, the nature of preconceptions to be simplistic; however, there is a danger in adhering to simple tenets in the face of complex and dynamic interacting factors as it may lead to ignoring the change processes that may be occurring and maintaining unwarranted commitment to ethnocentric beliefs. I look back on those early declarations and now perceive them as both right and wrong; each one could be (re)viewed through a different lens leading to agreement or disagreement.

The analysis that I have produced is, therefore, only one of many interpretations that could emerge from a study of black identity construction in contemporary South Africa and I accept that others may disagree with particular aspects of this interpretation. The exploration of the literature and the use of interviews were a form of triangulation, that of the use of different sources of data.

Peer debriefing

This involves exposing the work to a disinterested peer in order to illuminate aspects of the research that might otherwise remain implicit. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that this should not be undertaken by those in authority over the doctoral researcher such as members of the research committee. I would argue, however, that in this instance my supervisor and the professors in the School of Psychology were part of that process. During the PhD seminars they constantly spoke of me as the “expert” in this subject and their probing was for elucidation rather than dictates about what should and should not be included.

Peer debriefing was also ongoing through discussions with two other peers who were also engaged in similar PhD projects. My supervisor read the entire work as it progressed and provided written feedback, which gave an opportunity for reflection on the *honesty* and *accuracy* of what I was producing. This aspect of trustworthiness is consistent with Potter’s (1996)

criterion of reader's evaluations, in which readers are able to make their own evaluations and suggest alternative interpretations.

4.8.3 Transferability

Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) argue that it is not the responsibility of the researcher to “provide an *index* of transferability”. The responsibility of the researcher lies in providing sufficient contextual data, or “thick description”, such that the reader can make a judgement of transferability. Thus, Sandelowski (1986:27) proposes the notion of *fittingness*: A study meets the criteria of fittingness when its findings can ‘fit’ into contexts outside the study situation and when its audience views its findings as meaningful and applicable in terms of their own experiences. In the presentations held in PhD seminars I have received comments from other black people that they find this meaningful in the context of their own experience and provided an opportunity to view their experiences from the perspective of another. I have since the beginning of this project attended two conferences in South Africa and in Sweden. From the above it can be contended that this work meets the criterion of transferability.

4.8.4 Dependability

One way in which the study can be shown to be dependable is through an audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As Sandelowski (1995) notes, a study and its findings are auditable when another researcher is able to follow the decision trail used by the investigator in the study. This requires explicit discussion of the theoretical, methodological and analytic choices taken throughout the study. In the present study the findings from earlier writers in the field are contrasted with my findings in a critical way, while acknowledging multiple versions or readings of any text to consider the usefulness of one to the other. Finally, readers' evaluation is made possible as a result of the presentation of the transcripts alongside the interpretations being made. As skilful interactants, judgements can be made by the readers about cultural competencies and the wider claims made by the study.

4.8.5 Confirmability

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), confirmability can be achieved as part of the audit to determine dependability; a process that is supported by keeping a reflexive journal. I kept a diary as a reflective tool throughout the journey of this study. I posted insights, questions, issues to explore, matters to return to and so forth. The diary contained (i) *personal notes*, on which questions, emerging insights and new directions were posted; and (ii) *methodological issues* which signalled areas for further exploration. It was this process that helped further explore one of the questions in my interview schedule: the question asked respondents about a moment when they felt despair and human degradation. From the first four interviews conducted, I observed that when responding to this question respondents became tense. I then explored this question further and rephrased it so as to ask what that event said about who they were.

4.8.6 Authenticity

Lincoln and Guba (1989) proposed five authenticity criteria: fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity. As the authors themselves note, these criteria have not been received without challenge (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). It is difficult to assess to what extent this study has met the hallmark of authenticity, as the last four criteria focus on the ability of the study to have social and political impact. Ontological and educative authenticity respectively relate to the raised awareness of both the research respondents and those who surround them and the extent to which the research helps those involved become aware of one another's perspectives. Authenticities are concerned with the ability of an inquiry to prompt action on the part of the research respondents and the involvement of the researcher in training respondents in social and political action if wanted by the respondents. Responses such as "I had not thought about that" or "I want to get back to you about that" or "I wish you had more time to discuss these issues" from some of the respondents during the interviews could be read as the first steps in raising the level of awareness with respect to some of the issues. While it is to be hoped that this study has generated new awareness and action amongst the respondents; this would appear to be a response that is better evaluated

from a future perspective. For example, some of the young adults appreciated the fact that they were interviewed and perceived it as an opportunity to think and talk about who they are for the first time. As Bryman (2001) notes, the authenticity criteria have generally not been as influential as the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability and it may be that the criteria to determine authenticity are better associated with a specific form of naturalistic inquiry such as action research. According to Lincoln and Guba (2000:180) the criterion of *fairness* is about balance, that “all stakeholders’ views, perspectives, claims, concerns, and voices should be apparent in the text”. Thus, the evaluative focus is turned back on to the researcher as the key research instrument (Carpenter & Hammell, 2000). By my earlier declarations of my positioning, both biographical and philosophical, the reader has some measures with which to assess the extent to which my own positions have affected my engagement with the subject matter, data collection and analysis. The best I can argue is that through the reflexive process I have striven to ensure that the findings have emerged from the data and not from my own positioning.

Coherence

The final consideration with respect to rigour in this work is that of coherence. To what extent does this study draw upon previous work and provide a check of the adequacy of previous studies? Given the proviso that this work is only one of the possible readings or explanations of black identity construction in South Africa, I would argue that it demonstrates coherence by building on (and incorporating) the work of others in subject areas related to ambivalence and black identity. It has challenged the adequacy of previous explanations of the universality of black identity that do not account for the complexity of being black in South Africa today.

4.9 Summary

In the first part of this chapter I argued for discourse analysis as an appropriate social constructionist methodology for this study. McAdams’s autobiographical method of understanding how people make sense of themselves through narratives was also discussed.

Positioning theory was discussed as a tool to understand the nature of self through narratives in the autobiographies. These three theories complement each other and the way they relate to each other has been discussed above.

This chapter described the methodological processes involved in bringing this study to fruition, commencing with the audit trail for gaining approval for the project and arriving at the criteria used for one part of the text collection, that of respondent interviews. The chapter also provided an overview of the process of data analysis as well as the principles of ethics practised in this study. The chapter concluded by discussing the rigour in qualitative inquiry probing issues of trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability and authenticity.

In summary, this chapter mapped out the way the research paradigm, purpose and techniques fit together and how they complement each other. The following chapter will provide an analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

APARTHEID AND POST-APARTHEID ACCOUNTS OF RACISM STORIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This study is about blackness in South Africa today. I have reviewed two sets of literature, the literature on the psychology of black identity and that on postcolonial identity (cf. ch 2 & 3). The psychology literature sees black identity as troubling in a psychopathological frame, the trouble being self-hate. This suggests that the psychological literature is individualistic in that the individual must overcome such feelings or perceptions through stage development. Similarly, postcolonial literature is psychological but it is not about development nor does it anticipate that black individuals can overcome the struggle and the burden of being black. However, both literatures point us to the structure of racism and the perception of the struggle of being black as troubling and problematic because of the context of racism. My empirical work is framed in the light of both these chapters.

A starting point for any analysis of blackness is in the accounts of the experience of racism in the lives of black people. The central question which the data in this chapter answers is embedded in research question 1 (cf. section 1.4): What are the lived experiences of everyday racism of black people in South Africa? In other words, how are these experiences narrated autobiographically and how have they changed for black people in the light of the post-apartheid dispensation in South Africa? In this chapter I show that the encounter with whiteness and the encounter with racism has changed in some ways, but also that it has not changed in so many other ways.

Using broad brushstrokes, this chapter aims to present a description of the way in which racism permeates the experiences of black people in South Africa. As will be demonstrated, such experiences are an ongoing and hurtful feature of encounters and transactions with white people in South Africa. The analysis does not deal individually with each of the stories, but focuses on the types of stories presented. The analysis is about the nature of racism in black people's lives; the way in which racism in these stories affects black people's lives.

As a guide for discussion in this chapter, I use Philomena Essed's (1991) interdisciplinary theory of racism, an idea which proposes that racism is a social product. Furthermore, it proposes that the racist ideology governing our society is present in everyday activities.

Essed's (1991) theory of everyday racism seeks to explore this notion by examining real women's understanding of racism in everyday life. The use of Essed's (1991) perspective of everyday racism can help us to understand South African black people's accounts of racism in everyday life.

5.2 Philomena Essed's theory of everyday racism

Essed (1991:50) defines the notion of everyday racism as an "integration of racism into everyday situations through practices that activate underlying power relations". I take this to mean that the encounter with racism and the encounter with whiteness are everyday experiences of being black that are fixed and that are reproduced through power relations. Essed (1991) argues that everyday life always takes place in, and is in relation to, the environment of an individual. In addition, race, ethnicity, class and gender relations structure everyday life. Once situations of racist actions become part of everyday life, the system continues to reproduce everyday racism.

Essed (1991) defines three underlying themes within the definition of everyday racism that further explain the oppression of black people by white people. The first theme is found in Essed's (1991:52) definition that "socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable". Within this everyday world in which

Essed (1991) finds the existence of these practices, each member of society must learn to manoeuvre and handle situations accordingly. Based on the notion of everyday racism, it is understood that the knowledge used by black South Africans to navigate the everyday world, including language, norms and rules, is different to the knowledge used by the dominant white group.

The second theme in the definition is the notion that “practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive” (Essed, 1991:52). These racist practices enable the dominant white group to continue to exploit black people. Essed (1991) argues that within the racial ideology governing our society, racist practices are embedded in governmental policy, hiring practices, education, service organisations, and/or the formulation of academic theories.

The final theme in the definition describes the underlying racial and ethnic relations that are realised and reinforced through familiar practices in everyday situations. Essed (1991:50) explains that “everyday racism is locked into underlying dynamics of relations and forces of racial and ethnic domination and governed by the powers to which they give rise”. The interlocking forces include oppression and repression. Oppression is implemented in society through situated practices that create structures of racial and/or ethnic inequality. On the other hand, repression, in the form of prevention or management of the subordinate groups’ opposition, is implemented in society to maintain the existence of racial and/or ethnic inequality (Essed, 1991).

Essed’s interdisciplinary theory of everyday racism posits that the governing racist ideology becomes a routine in familiar practices that occur in the everyday situations of black people. The concept of everyday racism does not apply to uncommon or incidental acts of racism by the white dominant group but is seen in everyday situations that are impacted by the existing racist ideology. Finally, Essed (1991) claims that everyday racism has four distinguishing elements: (1) personal experiences in which racism is directed against oneself, (2) vicarious experiences in which racism is directed against other identified blacks, (3) mediated experiences in which racist events are directed at a larger subgroup of blacks, and usually depicted in the media, and (4) cognitive experiences in which the knowledge of racism impacts one’s perception of reality.

Evidence of the extent to which black people in South Africa experience this is presented in this chapter.

In other words, this chapter presents accounts of the lived experiences of racism of black people as recounted in their talk about living their everyday lives in post-apartheid South Africa. The stories are interpreted as descriptions of black people's experiences of everyday racism (Essed, 1991).

By focusing on the respondents' experiences one is able to better understand the range of concrete manifestations of "experienced racist behavioural expressions that may be relatively difficult to observe (Crosby, Bromely & Saxe, 1980). This approach is also beneficial because the respondents can be characterised as the true "experts" on racism since they have lived the experiences (Essed, 1991; Swim, Cohen & Heyers, 1998). While social psychologists have suggested that contemporary racism is subtler in nature than it was at the time of apartheid in South Africa, accounts by black people of subtle racism in their daily contact with whites suggest the contrary. This issue is highlighted in this chapter.

Essed (1991) provides me with a theoretical framework for everyday racism. This is important because I wish to examine the encounter with whiteness and the experiences of racism in the autobiographical encounter narratives. Within these stories there is a message that racism still prevails and, at the same time, there are differences in the way in which racism is being perceived today to the way it was perceived in the past.

This chapter is structured and presented as follows: methodology, data presentation and a discussion of the results.

5.3 Methodology

Both quantitative methods (content analysis) and qualitative methods (descriptive thematic analysis of stories) were used to analyse the narratives of racism presented in the participants'

autobiographical accounts. The content analysis was done by developing codes and testing the reliability of coding, as explained below.

5.3.1 Developing codes and categories

For the purpose of this chapter I have defined experiences of everyday racism as the recollection of events in autobiographical accounts of black racial identity. Racism as expounded by the respondents is everyday racism, which is defined as involving repetitive, continuing and familiar practices. Everyday racism is conceptualised in this study as being embedded in the culture and social order of everyday life.

The respondents were asked to tell the story of their lives, particularly aspects of their experiences with racism during the apartheid era and the post-apartheid period. In their autobiographies the respondents indicated whether the experiences were apartheid or post-apartheid, either by a direct mention of the period or by the year in which the incident occurred.

The accounts focused on two issues: the existence of everyday racism and an explanation for the racist behaviour. The responses to these issues were diverse, but many of them were made sense of in terms of the subject positions adopted and developed in different parts of the interview. Obviously, the subject positions varied and were not always consistent throughout the same interview. Hence, no one homogeneous story emerged but, as I will try to show, parts of the talk were structured by positioning the respondent within particular discourses, which had consequences for the way in which the racism experience was described and explained.

5.3.2 Definition of codes and categories

The procedure used for deriving and defining codes was as following: For each respondent a number of stories were coded and then marked accordingly. Each respondent was given a number from 1 to 35. The context was coded as 1 for apartheid stories and 2 for post-apartheid

stories. The respondent age was coded as 1 for adult (35–75) and 2 for young adult (22–34 years). The place in which the respondent lived was coded as 1 for rural and 2 for urban. I read the stories a number of times and worked out what the different kinds of stories were. Three features of the stories were studied, namely, micro-geography, manifestation and context. Micro-geography describes places where the incidents of racism occurred. Manifestation describes the forms of racism narrated, and context describes the era when the racial incident was experienced, that is, apartheid or post-apartheid.

Different subcategories of the manifestations and micro-geography features were identified and coded. The manifestations of racism were grouped into 17 categories, which are reported in Table 5.1. Manifestations were marked according to the number allocated in each category as shown in Table 5.1. For example, if the manifestation was categorised as segregation it was marked as 1. The story had to fit within the meaning assigned to that category. Each story was accordingly assigned a physical space in which the incident took place. Twelve micro-geography codes were identified. These are reported in Table 5.2.

Table 5.1: Name of categories and the meaning

Manifestation	
Category	Meaning
1. Segregation	The institutional policy or practice of separating people of different races or ethnic groups. This was used as a mechanism for protecting white privilege.
2. Physical violence	An act of being beaten by whites or police; the root causes lie in the assumption of superiority and dislike of other people who are deemed to be inferior because of their identity.
3. Economic inequality	This refers to the relational economic powers between blacks and whites. Whites are positioned as more powerful in economic terms compared to blacks.
4. Discrimination	This refers to racial discrimination. An uneven relationship; blacks rated as inferior compared to whites. This includes undermining black intellect.
5. Racial slurs	Using derogatory words towards blacks; using names with the intention to insult black people.

6. Lack of services	Intentional restriction to social amenities for black people.
7. Rejection and avoidance	A negative response to blacks to the extent of giving blacks the “cold shoulder”. The basis for this is mistrust and undermining black people and black people’s ideas because they are black.
8. Assimilation into whiteness	Integrating a certain kind of black people into whiteness.
9. Hidden racism	Ambiguous racist talk that could be misleading; saying something else and doing something else.
10. Police raid	Police forcing themselves into black homes causing unrest and discomfort.
11. Victimisation	Singling blacks out by way of unjust treatment. Exploitive exchange based on race.
12. Arrest and detention	Black confinement relating to political issues such as pass laws or political struggles.
13. Name changing	This is a pseudo-name given to a black person by whites for their convenience in a white environment.
14. Hardships and poverty	Experiences that relate to issues of social struggles rooted in racial identity.
15. Confrontational racism	Blacks being confronted by racist talk from whites.
16. Individualisation	To be singled out as an exception.
17. Omnipresence of racism	Omnipresence of racism in this study refers to a never-ending racist environment for black people. The omnipresence of racism was reported by respondents to manifest through cruelty and oppression from the police directed only at black people in the name of breaking the law.

Table 5.2 Categories of micro-geography

Category	Definitions
1. Sport	A place where black and white people engage in sports activity.
2. Club	A club is a place where groups of young people come together to socialise and to have fun. These spaces used to be segregated for white youth in urban areas.
3. University/school	University and school refer to institutions of higher education where teaching and learning take place.
4. Work	Work is a place where both blacks and whites provide their services.
5. Residence	A place of dwelling for black people; it could mean a house or an establishment where black people dwell with their families.
6. Shop	A business place for the retail sale of goods or services.
7. Hospital	A medical institution where sick or injured people are given medical or surgical care.
8. Public places	Any place, that is, the street, train stations, or any open space to which black people have access.
9. Police station/prison	A correctional institution where people are confined while on trial or for punishment; a place of political imprisonment.
10. Financial institution	Institutions of financial services.
11. Trains	Trains are modes of transport with racialised segregated apartments.
12. Media	A medium for circulation and publication of racist talks and experiences.

5.3.3 Reliability of coding

To ensure reliability in the coding I used two independent coders and Cohen's Kappa statistics of reliability. I, as the researcher, coded all 288 stories. I trained an external coder on the meaning of the codes: manifestations, micro-geography and contexts. The independent coder was supplied with a random selection of 71 stories to code. The reliability of the two main data codes, namely manifestation and micro-geography, was measured using Cohen Kappa to compute inter-rater reliability. The reliability between the researcher and the external coder for manifestation was 0.889, whereas for micro-geography it was 0.947. The p-value is < 0.001 . Since the p-value was significant and the Cohen Kappa value for each code reflects substantial agreement, then this confirms that the rating by the external coder and that of the researcher were consistent.

5.3.4 Description of the sample

The sample consisted of 35 black respondents who had reported experiences of racism. These respondents reported from a minimum of one to a maximum of 21 stories per interview. The total number of stories was 288 with a mean of 8.23 and a standard deviation of 3.7. These statistics show the pervasiveness of racism in the lives of the interviewees: an average of over eight stories of racism told in the context of a two-hour autobiographical interview.

The sample for each story was described by age, place, context, manifestation and micro-geography. I used tables to define the codes. The following Table 5.2.1 represents the code of the story by age. A total of 194 stories were reported by adults, with 148 of these stories being situated in the apartheid context whilst 46 were situated in the post-apartheid context. Young adults reported a total of 94 stories, with 76 stories being situated in the post-apartheid era and 18 in the apartheid context. It is worth noting that, among adults, the stories of racism situated in the apartheid era were far more in number than those of the post-apartheid era. On the other hand, among young adults, post-apartheid stories of racism were far more than apartheid stories of racism ($\chi^2 = 84.62$; $DF=1$; $p < .0001$ Cramer's $V = .54$). It would seem that this is because adults had far more to say about apartheid than post-apartheid times, whereas young adults had far

more to say about post-apartheid than apartheid times. This might have been because these two groups of respondents had different starting points regarding their experiences of racism: adults were reflecting on apartheid experiences whilst young adults were reflecting on post-apartheid experiences. In fact, many young adults started out by saying that they had no experience of racism even though as their stories unfolded they would actually report experiences of racism.

Table 5.2.1 Description of story sample by age

Context * Age Crosstabulation

			Age		Total
			Adults	Young adults	
Context	Apartheid	Count	148	18	166
		Adjusted Residual	9.2	-9.2	
	Post-apartheid	Count	46	76	122
		Adjusted Residual	-9.2	9.2	
Total		Count	194	94	288

Table 5.2.2 Description of story sample by place

Context * Place Crosstabulation

			Place		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Context	Apartheid	Count	115	51	166
		Adjusted Residual	6.8	-6.8	
	Post-apartheid	Count	35	87	122
		Adjusted Residual	-6.8	6.8	
Total		Count	150	138	288

Table 5.2.2 shows how the stories were coded by place ($\chi^2 = 46.41$; $DF=1$; $p < .0001$ Cramer's $V = .40$). From a 'rural place' there were a total of 115 stories under apartheid and 35 stories post-apartheid. This gives 'rural place' a total of 150 stories. 'Urban place' has a total of 51 stories under apartheid and 87 stories post-apartheid. This gives 'urban' a total of 138 stories. The total number of stories from both rural and urban was 288. The high number of reported stories in urban areas may reflect the impact of racism in areas where black and white interact at very close range.

5.3.5 Descriptive results for the manifestations and micro-geographies of racism

Table 5.3 and Figure 5.1 report the frequency of the different manifestations of racism in accounts of experiences of racism in the apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. The ‘Total’ column in the table shows that hardship and poverty was the most frequently narrated manifestation of racism, with a frequency of 43 stories and a percentage of 14.9. The second highest category of shared stories is economic inequality with 12.2% of the total stories. The third highest is discrimination with 11.5%. The three categories with the lowest reported occurrences are assimilation into whiteness and name change, both at 0.7%, and individualisation with 0.3%.

Table 5.3 also shows that the frequency of many of the manifestations differed across the two contexts. The chi-square test showed that overall types of racist manifestations during apartheid differed from those in the post-apartheid context ($\chi^2 = 122.16$; $DF = 16$; $p < .0001$ Cramer’s $V = .65$). The standardised residuals reported in Table 5.3 show that these differences across context were more pronounced for some manifestations (e.g. double talk, segregation) than others (e.g. economic inequality, omnipresence).

Table 5.3: Frequency of manifestations of racism in apartheid and post apartheid contexts

Manifestation * Context Crosstabulation

			Context		Total
			Apartheid	Post-apartheid	
Manifestation	Segregation	Count	19	4	23
		Adjusted Residual	2.5	-2.5	
	Physical Violence	Count	11	4	15
		Adjusted Residual	1.3	-1.3	
	Economic inequality	Count	21	14	35
		Adjusted Residual	.3	-.3	
	Discrimination	Count	10	23	33
		Adjusted Residual	-3.4	3.4	
	Racial slurs	Count	5	9	14
		Adjusted Residual	-1.7	1.7	
	Lack of services	Count	3	0	3
		Adjusted Residual	1.5	-1.5	
	Rejection/avoidance	Count	4	13	17
		Adjusted Residual	-2.9	2.9	
	Assimilation into whiteness	Count	0	2	2
		Adjusted Residual	-1.7	1.7	
	Double talk	Count	0	22	22
		Adjusted Residual	-5.7	5.7	
	Police raid	Count	11	1	12
		Adjusted Residual	2.4	-2.4	
	Victimization	Count	19	1	20
		Adjusted Residual	3.5	-3.5	
	Arrest and detention	Count	9	0	9
		Adjusted Residual	2.6	-2.6	
	Name change	Count	1	1	2
		Adjusted Residual	-.2	.2	
	Hardship and poverty	Count	40	3	43
		Adjusted Residual	5.1	-5.1	
	Confrontational racism	Count	2	12	14
		Adjusted Residual	-3.4	3.4	
	Individualization	Count	0	1	1
		Adjusted Residual	-1.2	1.2	
	Omnipresence	Count	11	12	23
		Adjusted Residual	-1.0	1.0	
Total		Count	166	122	288

Figure 5.1: Manifestation by context

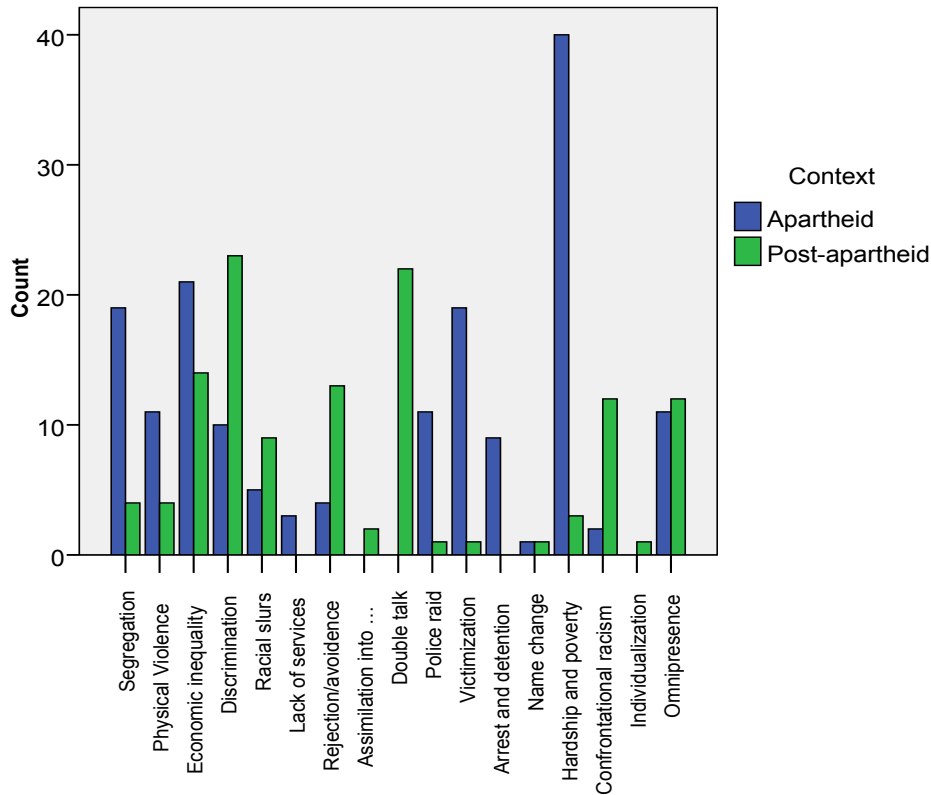


Table 5.4 reports the frequency of the different micro-geographical contexts of racism that were narrated by the participants in their accounts of racism in the apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. The total column shows that public places were reported to be the highest identified space for racism manifestation with 24%. This is followed by university/school with 23.6%. In the third place is work micro-geography with 16.7 %, whilst residence micro-geography takes fourth place with 16.3%. The five with the least reported occurrences in micro-geography were sport, police station/prison, financial institution, trains and media, which are all at 2.1%.

Most notably, the location of racist incidents has shifted from public places in the apartheid context to private places in the post-apartheid context. In the post-apartheid context experiences of racist discrimination happened privately compared to public happenings in the apartheid era. In the post-apartheid era black people’s experiences of discrimination, racial slurs, rejection and avoidance were reported to take place in private places like schools/universities, clubs and financial institutions. Post-apartheid racism seems to be a one-on-one encounter, with black

people experiencing racism in places where they do not expect it, in spaces that are suppose to be non-racial. In places like schools, universities and clubs, for instance, black people interact daily with white people experiencing them as colleagues and friends at times; however racism still prevails in such relationships. Racism is not happening in prisons like it used to in apartheid times.

Table 5.4 Frequency of micro-geography of racism in apartheid and post-apartheid contexts

Micro geography * Context Crosstabulation

			Context		Total
			Apartheid	Post-apartheid	
Micro geography	Sport	Count	2	4	6
		Adjusted Residual	-1.2	1.2	
	Club	Count	0	9	9
		Adjusted Residual	-3.6	3.6	
	University/School	Count	27	41	68
		Adjusted Residual	-3.4	3.4	
	Work	Count	24	24	48
		Adjusted Residual	-1.2	1.2	
	Residence	Count	40	7	47
		Adjusted Residual	4.2	-4.2	
	Shop	Count	5	7	12
		Adjusted Residual	-1.1	1.1	
	Hospital	Count	2	3	5
		Adjusted Residual	-.8	.8	
	Public places	Count	52	17	69
		Adjusted Residual	3.4	-3.4	
	Police station/prison	Count	6	0	6
		Adjusted Residual	2.1	-2.1	
	Financial institution	Count	0	6	6
		Adjusted Residual	-2.9	2.9	
	Trains	Count	6	0	6
		Adjusted Residual	2.1	-2.1	
	Media	Count	2	4	6
		Adjusted Residual	-1.2	1.2	
Total		Count	166	122	288

5.4 Manifestation of racism

The remainder of this chapter provides an analysis of the manifestations of racism narrated by the black participants of this study. The discussion is divided into three sections: (1) manifestations that were prominent under apartheid; (2) manifestations that are prominent post-apartheid; and (3) manifestations that are prominent in both the apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. This threefold division of manifestations was based on the standardised residuals reported in Table 5.3.

The highest number of reported stories is used to determine the sequence and context in which the categories are discussed. In so doing it has also been important to look at the internal structure of the autobiography to see whether there are any changes in the way post-apartheid stories of racism are constructed compared with apartheid stories of racism. The most important issue here is to see how the past knowledge of racism assists in the interpretation of experiences in post-apartheid encounters with racism.

5.4.2.1 Apartheid manifestations

Introduction

For many respondents, commentaries on experiences of racism during South Africa's apartheid era were accompanied by emotion. There were expressions of anger, sorrow and relief as respondents reflected on their experiences. Eight categories underlying the nature and scope of apartheid racism were identified from the stories shared by the respondents. These include hardship and poverty, economic inequality, victimisation, segregation, physical violence, police raids, arrests and detention and lack of services. The data in this section are discussed under these manifestation categories. The categories are discussed roughly in this order based on the residual value as shown in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.1.

- **Hardship and poverty**

From the respondents' narratives, hardship and poverty was the highest manifestation category in apartheid stories. The following extracts 1 to 3, are examples of apartheid stories of hardship and poverty. According to the narrators, experiences of manifestations of hardship and poverty relate to issues of social struggle, such as working very hard, and the experiences and extreme experiences of being poor.

Extracts 1

Mpongo: like any other black child my own life was not an easy one, going to school without shoes (*yes*) I think I had shoes when I was doing standard 6 (*yes*) we were also not in this fashion of carrying lunch pocket money we did not have that (*yes*) so if you eat your supper you would like to leave some portion so that during the break you can come and finish that would be your lunch.

Extract 2

Hadon: I have experience like going to school and not had a meal when you coming from school during break you don't know what to eat (*yes*) you eat herbs (*yes*) and that time was not a good time and it showed that I am a black person.

Extract 3

Sovuka: I was doing Standard 5 and still my father took me away when I was doing Standard 6 and Standard 7 Standard 8 Standard 9 (*yes*) I only went back home when I was doing my Matric (*mmhm*) and I went at the time I was struggling I had one pair of shoe one shirt (*yes*) because my father was marginalised could not be employed because of his involvement in politics is an ex Island Prisoner.

In extract 1 and 2 above, Mpongo and Hadon report high levels of hardship and poverty in their childhood, for example, they report being hungry at school and having no food at home. From both extracts, experiences of being black are constructed as static and exclusive to all black people. For example, Mpongo says "like any other black child" and Hadon says "it showed that I

am a black person”. The respondents see these conditions as characteristic of being black. Not only were they poor and but they also saw it as a condition for being black. This means that they were not only reporting experiences of being poor and of hardship, but were also assigning societal distinctions based on their race.

In extract 3, Sovuka also reports high poverty levels in childhood, but includes the hardship of being separated from his parents at an early age. Sovuka refers to experiences of hardship and poverty as a socio-political struggle and relates this to his father’s involvement in the political struggle. He uses “marginalised” and imprisonment as a juxtaposition of two conflicting actions, believing that the reason for his father not being employed was associated with the fact that he has been imprisoned on Robben Island (where most political activists during the apartheid era were imprisoned in South Africa). Sovuka constructs blackness as the tension between the socio-political struggle and the economic struggle.

- **Economic and social inequality**

The second highest reported category of shared stories of racism was the category of economic social inequality. These stories were mostly situated in the apartheid era with 60% as compared with 40% of stories reported under post-apartheid (see Table 5.3 and Figure 5.1). The following extracts, 4 to 6, are examples of apartheid stories of economic and social inequality.

Extract 4

Lani: from what I had received from the public school and so also we didn’t have choices ... whether or not you were brilliant in Mathematics you didn’t quite have as much choice as let’s say in your model C type schools (*yes*) so clearly it was an inferior type of education it was meant for black people it was meant for Bantu Education (*mhm*) it was meant to make you redundant or it wasn’t meant to make you think broader outside the box and be the best person that you can be where education is concerned.

Extract 5

Mbuli: uMlungu yena ndisebenza naye mna kumele andiphathe (*ja*) kufuneka abe kwi supervisory position noba uyiforeman noba utheni...phaya kukhona umfana womlungu esasisebenza naye lo mfana wayengakwazi ukubhala (*mhm*) mna ndisuka esikolweni ndiyokujopha kuba utata usebenza phaya (*yes*) kodwa ndaphawula into yokuba usiphethe sonke phaya .[a white that I work with has to be superior to me (*yes*) he must be in a superior position than me he must be my supervisor no matter what ... there was a white gentleman that I worked with, this gentleman could not even write (*mhhm*) I was from school but I realised that he was in charge of all of us].

Extract 6

Siyo: we were not allowed to go to the Zoo Park or to Gardens you name it all the beautiful beaches were not for us (*yes*) our beaches were rocky or sandy ones along the coast.

In extracts 4 to 6 the respondents are referring to the relational social economic power between black and white people. They are articulating experiences of being inferior in terms of economic relations and social relations compared to whites. For example, in extract 4, Lani states that the background to social inequality is rooted in the substandard education that was offered to black people during apartheid times, which was known as Bantu Education. In so doing he compares black education to the Model C School, which was meant for whites. Lani links black education to blacks' inferior socioeconomic position. According to Lani the experience of different systems of education justifies racial inequality. In constructing blackness as different and inferior compared to whiteness, he describes black education as being unable to produce critical thinkers. In so doing he translates the difference in the schooling system into economic and social inequality. He believes that not only was black education inferior but constructs it as a reproduction of inferior social and economic positions. This is clear in the way he uses terms like "redundant" and "not thinking out of the box" to show how black people were continually positioned as inferior economically and socially as opposed to whites.

In extract 5, Mbuli shares experiences of economic inequality. Similar to Lani, he links education and racial inequality together to position black people as inferior to white people. As an educated black person, Mbuli's experience of racism with his uneducated, illiterate white supervisor highlights the economic and social inequality. In addition, Mbuli seems to be critical of the system that subjugates black people because of "race", as he says "a white that I work with have to be superior to me". Fanon suggests (1986) that racism can be considered a form of systemic vertical violence aimed at (re)producing relations of racial domination. He argues that in contexts characterised by racism, the dominated "race" is kept in subjugation, not only by brute force but also through the latter's internalisation of the dominant group's racism.

In extract 6, Siyo refers to apartheid autobiographies: white privilege was marked by better homes, better quality education, privileges at work, and the best social and public facilities like beaches. In constructing blackness as economically disadvantaged, whiteness was is constructed as economically advantaged. Siyo highlights the way white privilege was apparent in whites' beautiful central beaches while black disadvantage was evident in blacks' poor quality resources.

- **Victimisation**

Victimisation is the third most manifested category with a total of 19 (95%) stories of racism during the apartheid era compared to the one reported story (5%) in the victimisation category that falls into the post-apartheid era. The victimisation category encompasses a variety of types of unjust treatment of black people. In this study, victimisation is used to mean singling black people out by way of unjust treatment. Respondents who reported having experienced victimisation believed that the racist action was perpetrated because they were black.

The following are examples of apartheid stories of victimisation.

Extract 7

Siyo: sometime in the 70's (*yes*) started experiencing racism when my son was four years attending a Pre-school here at Alice which was dominantly white (*yes*) and he was the only black person (*yes*) one day he started acting like a war king of a thing or scene and all of them had to pick a different tool or weapon that they would use in a war and so

naturally as a young boy he run and jumped for a gun (*yes*) the teacher [white] stopped him and said blacks do not use guns they used sticks (*mhhm*) my son was hurting from that experience that the white boys could play with the gun and he was only allowed a stick because he is black.

Extract 8

Mahoti: ngelo xesha kungeli xesha sibabona abantu bebanjwa ebusuku kube kukhatywa iingcango kufunwa amapasi (*ehe*) ndakhe ndiyibona ukuba le nto ayenzeki kwaba bamhlophe yenzeka kuthi bamnyama (*mhhm*) nale yokuba uthu xa ubethelwe ngu-nine use-Town ungenalo ipasi (*ehe*) zinto ezaye zavuka ukuba le nto ayenzeki kubantu abamhlophe yenzeka kuthi bantu (*mhm*) abamnyama [during that time a time that we were seeing black people being arrested in the night from their homes, police would be kicking doors asking for permits (*mhhm*) I realised that this was not done to white people but it is only done to us black people (*mhhm*) even this idea that if you are in town after nine without a permit we became aware that this also does not happen to white people it was only done to us black people.]

In extract 7 Siyo tells how her child was prevented by a white boy and a white teacher from choosing a gun as a toy because he was black, and instead he was offered a stick because this, he was told, is what black people use. Siyo perceives this as a racist action: that a white teacher could single out her child and refuse to let him play with a gun. Siyo's experience shows how blackness is constructed as culturally inferior in binary opposition to whiteness. In Said's (1993) terms, the construction of black identity as 'Other', as backward, is necessary for the construction of the white self as culturally superior. This is evident in how the white boy and the white teacher acted as referees of what was an appropriate toy for a black child.

In extract 8, Mahoti reflects on one-sided experiences of racism that black people have had to suffer, such as being arrested and having their homes raided by police. She perceives this as victimisation because this was only done to black people; white people reported no such incidents.

Both extracts show that the construction of black identity as ‘Other’ was accompanied by bias towards black people and determined by the will to dominate, as the relationship between black and white is unequal.

- **Segregation**

The segregation category ranks fourth in the reported apartheid stories. Segregation stories totalled 23, with 19 (83%) reported stories falling into the apartheid era compared to four (17%) reported stories of segregation that fall into the post-apartheid era. During apartheid, segregation was the institutional policy or practice of separating people of different races or ethnic groups. This involved restricting residential areas racially and creating racial barriers to social activities like sport and education by providing separate facilities (or not).

The following extracts are examples of stories of segregation in the apartheid times.

Extract 9

Bandla: when we go come from Nkandla and you go through Melmoth you can see the houses are different (*mhm*) and I would wonder why when you go to the toilets at Melmoth (*yes*) there were toilets there were toilets for Africans and then for baas.

Extract 10

Bhompfi: kudala sikhule singabantu abathi xana besiya ezikolweni bahambe ngee train (*ewe*) uyabona ke ezi treyinini kwakukho into ekwakuthiwa yi ‘blankes’ and ‘white’(e)h yayiyinto xa uyijonga ufumanise ukuba yayi discrimination [in the old days when we grew up we use to travel by train to school (*yes*) you see in trains there was a sign for non-whites and whites only (*mhhm*) when you interrogate this you would find that its is based on discrimination.]

Extract 11

Matele: ...apha ngase City Hall (*ewe*) yindawo endingasoze ndifane ndiyilibale leyo (*ewe*) andikhulelanga apha eMonti ke mnake apha ngase City Hall kwakukho izitulo

esingenakho ukuhlala kuzo thina bantu bamnyama (*mhm*) yayi zezabamhlophe qha so kulapho wawubona khona ukuba mkhulu umahluko [here near the City Hall (*yes*) it is a place that I will never forget (*yes*) I did not grow up here in East London here next to the City Hall there chairs that as a black person I was not suppose to use (*mhhm*) they were for whites only that is where you would see that there is a big difference]

Extract 12

Bhompi:nakwi Bottle Stores xa ungena nakwi-toilets kwakukho icala la bantu abamhlophe necala labantu abamnyama [even in bottle stores when you enter even in toilets there was a separate entry for whites and an entry for blacks only]

Extract 13

Matele:...ngexesha lethu ubuthi ukuba ubheka eshop ique zaseshop ziyi two kukho icala ongena kungena kulo [in my time, when you go to the shop there were two queues, there was an entry that you could not use as black person.].

In extracts 9, 10 and 11, Bandla, Bhompi and Matele seem to be troubled by experiences of segregation that positioned blackness as different and inferior compared to whiteness. These experiences of segregation were accompanied by a striking difference in the quality of life between black and white people. For example, Bandla highlights the quality of houses between a black rural area called Nkandla and a white segregated area, Melmoth.

The respondents reported experiences of segregation in public places including toilets and trains. The respondents' experiences of segregation translated into positioning blackness as inferior compared to whiteness. This is evident in Bandla's use of the two terms 'African' and 'baas' [master]. She is using the discourse of African/European, in which she associates whiteness with the position of a master and blackness as that of a slave.

In extract 11 and 12, Matele and Bhompi proclaim that segregation was a sign of racial difference. Bhompi gives an example of different service points categorised according to racial

groups. In constructing black identity as different from white identity, whiteness is positioned as all-powerful to create the concept of blackness through institutionalised racism.

In extract 13, Matele uses segregation to show how blackness has become a product of colonialism. She seems to be in agreement with Said (1995), who claims that Orientalism is not a free subject of thought or action. The experience of racial segregation is used in the history of racism as a marker of blackness. The experience of segregation and the perceptions of whiteness are used by Matele to construct a sense of her black identity.

- **Physical violence**

Physical violence is the fifth highest apartheid category of reported stories with a total of 15 stories; eleven (73%) of the reported stories fall into the apartheid period, compared with four (27%) that fall into the post-apartheid period. According to the respondents, as the category suggests the physical violence of racism involves being beaten and/or raped by whites or police officers on the assumption of superiority and dislike for those who are deemed to be inferior because they are black.

The following are stories of physical violence in apartheid times:

Extract14

Tai: whenever sisetown amabhulu ayasishaya siyazihambela nje asenzaga lutho kodwa amabhulu aze asishaye kuba esibona edolophini [whenever we are in town the white people would just beat us up we (black people) we would strolling in town doing nothing wrong but these white people would beat us up for being in town].

Extract 15

Bhombi: sathi sisemi njalo kwagityiselwa ezi zinto kuthiwa zithiya-gasi zasibetha sathi saa (*ewe*) then yayimipu sabaleka we left the place and we lost comrades apho abantu badutyulwa and some of the women esasihamba nabo were raped by amapolisa [whilst we were still awaiting they [police officers] threw tear gas at us and we were scattered all

around (*yes*) then they started shooting we ran and left the place of the incident our comrades died we lost our comrades and some of the women were raped by the police officers].

In extract 14 and 15 Tai and Bhompi show the extent to which black people experienced physical violence during the apartheid era. Tai uses the word “whenever” to indicate that this was done without reason; black people were physically violated by white people at any time. Similarly, in extract 15 Bhompi shares the experience of being physically violated by police officers when they (black people) had done nothing. This violence was associated with tear gas, shootings and rape. In both extracts the respondents are sharing experiences of the hostility of the colonial past.

- **Police raids**

In the sixth position was the police raid category of reported stories of apartheid racism with a total of 12 reported stories, 11 (92%) of which were based in the apartheid period and one (8%) in the post-apartheid period. Police raids in this study include police forcing their way into black people’s homes causing unrest and fear.

The following extract is an example of police raid apartheid stories:

Extract 16

Sma: The second experience is when I was sleeping with my family in Dimbaza. I was shot at by the Ciskei police (*yes*) raided our house and about two o’clock three o’clock in the morning my youngest son was about six months old (*yes*) he was attempting a kind of cry because of all this and there were younger ones who were in the bedroom (*mhhm*) they were screaming jumping up and down out of fear and I was calling on them to lie down (*yes*) flat until that thing subsided (*yes*) and eh I woke up in the morning then I watched the house completely filled with bullets all over.

In extract 16, Sma shares the experience of a police raid on his house. Similar to the experiences of physical violence discussed above, police raids were accompanied by violence and shootings

by the police. The difference is that the raids did not target a person or persons but rather were attacks on the person together with his or her family. Sma tells how the police raids directly affected his family, the shock of being raided in the early hours of the morning; and the fear instilled by the shots fired by the police.

- **Arrest and detention**

Arrest and detention was the seventh highest category of reported racism stories, with a total of nine. All the stories in this category are located in the apartheid era. The arrest and detention category refers to black confinement for contravening laws such as the pass laws or for involvement in the political struggle.

The following are examples of stories of arrest and detention:

Extract 17

Tai: le nto yokubanjwa ukungabi napasi yayibangela umsindo uthi ukuba ulishiyile ube sazi ukuba uzakulibanjelwa and at that time ukungabi napasi kwaku banjelwa (*ewe*) kufuneke u-believe ukuba waphule umthetho [this thing of being arrested because we did not carry the pass caused us anger and grief if you happen to leave it you knew that you were going to be arrested (yes) and at that time not carrying the pass was a cause for the arrest and we were forced to believe that you have broken the law].

Extract 18

Sida: when these white people used to detain us there was a security branch man called S [name of person] he was from X [name of town] very cruel, ruthless and he would say when you are being interviewed if he comes in they want to know about pamphlets, meetings then he would say do you know X [name of a political activists] then you would say yes I know him and then he would say look I took him to X [name of prison] he did not come back (*ja*) so if you want to play those tricks I will take you to X [name of prison] and you will not see your mother again.

In all nine stories in this category black people reported being arrested and detained for trespassing and for political activism. Arrests for trespassing were embedded in institutional racism, for example it was part of the apartheid laws that black people should carry a pass, an identity document that was legal proof that a black person had a job and therefore had the right to be in an urban area. In extract 17, Tai shares his experience of being arrested for not being in possession of an identity document. According to Tai, black people who wished to show commitment to the struggle against oppression did not on principle carry a pass. He uses terms like “anger and grief” to show the state of mind towards the laws of oppression. This also shows that the “force to believe that they have broken the law” that manifested through the arrests could not stop black people from positioning themselves in the politics of resistance for example.

Similarly, in extract 18, Sida’s experience of being detained is rooted in the politics of resistance against the racial laws. He says “when these white people used to detain us”. This suggests the animosity and conflict in black/white relationships. The use of “us” as a reference to black people shows that Sida sees the experiences of detention as a common feature of being black. These experiences of detention were to a large extent life threatening, as is evident in Sida’s experience of being detained and threatened with death by the police who asked him if he knew a certain individual that had died in police custody and promised him the same fate.

- **Lack of service**

The lack of services category is the eighth highest category of reported stories of racism with all of these stories falling into the apartheid era. The category of lack of services is similar to the category of economic inequality but it refers to the intentional restriction of access to social amenities like adequate housing, sewerage and water.

The following is an example of an experience of lack of services:

Extract 19

Mon: even at school we didn’t have toilets (*mhm*) we used to relieve ourselves in the bushes that shows the squally conditions (*mhm*) which were in the township.

In this extract, Mon shares his experiences of lack of services which include the experience of having no toilets. To Mon this dehumanising experience of having to go into the bushes to relieve oneself is associated with the economic deprivation of blackness in the colonial relationship. He uses a township and his experiences of lack of services to position black identity as deprived and disadvantaged.

For black people, the experience of racism under apartheid meant insecurity, violence, threat to family, bodily harm and deprivation in daily life.

5.4.2.2. Post-apartheid racism experiences

Table 5.3 and Figure 5.1 show that hidden racism (double talk), rejection and avoidance, as well as confrontational racism, were respectively the highest reported categories in experiences of racism in post-apartheid racism.

- **Hidden racism (double talk)**

Hidden racism, which I have also called double talk, was the first highest reported category in experiences of post-apartheid racism. The experiences in this category were all post-apartheid experiences. Hidden racism refers the ambiguous and hidden nature of post-apartheid racism, and is the direct opposite of confrontational racism. This form of racism is embedded in language that sounds politically correct whilst in fact still being experienced as racism.

The following extracts give evidence of post-apartheid experiences of hidden racism:

Extract 20

Mpongo: here was this chairperson of Human Rights Commission Mr X [name of a person] I think he had a case were he was turned away from a hair salon where he was told his hair could not be done (*yes*) ... he goes to a salon they cannot cut his hair because he is black (*yes*) he went to court to challenge that (*mhhm*) and this guy had to agree that

I think my policy is really discriminatory its racist and his justification was that there is nobody who is trained to cut hair that is not white.

Extract 21

Mon: now ehh that's another issue another issue is a question of managers ... the management level in South Africa today is very minimal you know (*mhh*) the appointment of black managers (*ok*) ja you find most of the managers who are there have no powers no decision-making powers some of them are there for window dressing purposes that's where now racism you'll find it (*yes*) but it's very subtle you'll never make it especially in the upper ecclesia.

In extracts 20 and 21, Mpongo and Mon report experiences of racism that fall between racist actions and politically correct images. Both Mpongo and Mon experienced hidden racism directed against other black people. According to Mpongo a black person was turned away from a salon on the grounds that there was no one trained to cut hair that was not white. This differs from the past in that under apartheid a sign that announced that the salon was for white patrons only would be hung or posted in the salon (cf. extracts 13 and 14 above). In this instance, instead of stating that the salon was for whites only the excuse was given that no one was trained to cut black hair. In other words, in turning the black person away from the salon, the racist policy of was revealed.

In extract 21, Mon reports that today black people are appointed as managers but they do not have decision-making powers in their jobs. He uses the words “window dressing” to show that the image that one sees is that of transformation, that is, black people are in management positions, which is a politically correct affirmative action. However, Mon states, these managers do not have decision-making powers. Mon claims that inside these organisations racist practices are still occurring because power is still in white hands.

In essence, with such experiences of hidden racism black people continue to experience oppression positioned in a practice that create structures of racial inequality. However, this time round racism is hidden behind white double speak.

- **Rejection and avoidance**

Rejection and avoidance is the second highest category in post-apartheid experiences of racism. In this category there was a total of 17 reported stories, 13 (76%) of which fall into the post-apartheid period compared to four (24%) that fall into the apartheid period. Rejection and avoidance in this study refers to a negative response towards black people to the extent of giving them the “cold shoulder” even if a place is supposed to be interracial or desegregated.

The following is an example of rejection and avoidance experiences in the post-apartheid period.

Extract 22

Nontaba: because even if you go to your Sandton we have black people white people are moving out we should not be living like that we should be able to live in one area the table should not be turned whenever black people move into white areas (*mhmm*) white people are going to decide to move out which is not right.

Nontaba’s experience of rejection and avoidance is a racist experience directed at a large subgroup of black people who live in desegregated and interracial spaces. Nontaba claims that in the absence of institutional policies that divide spaces between blacks and whites, black people seem to be pushing whites out of previously segregated areas. In essence, she draws our attention to the threat presented by the collapse of the segregation laws. She uses terms like “tables should not be turned” to suggest that the movement of black people to white designated spaces may translate into reverse racism and can be a reproduction of segregation laws. Hence, the experience of white people leaving an area as black people move into an area are interpreted by Nontaba as racist and as rejection and avoidance from white people. According to her this experience signifies segregation in places where there should be interracial integration.

Confrontational racism

Confrontational racism is the third highest category, with 86% of post-apartheid stories. In this category respondents reported being confronted by racist talk from whites.

The following is an example of confrontational racism.

Extract 23

Zifiki: I know this one time we were walking back from Heifer Square (*yes*) we were here at the corner and these boys across (*yes*) and stuff and they started saying funny things in Afrikaans (*ja*) you know so we were thinking there is no way we can stand for this and we also started talking back to them (*yes*) and stuff and then like basically they were just going on about how if they wanted to have us now they can have us (*mhhm*) they can just use black people for anything like for sex or whatever if they wanted to have us they could have us now and they did not care about us (*ja*) whatever and the one was actually approaching us cause he wanted to hit us or whatever .

Extract 24

Sana: her neighbour is a white guy so we came back from the party one time and we were loud the excitement is still there and then he is like *uyasithuka* [cursed us] in Afrikaans ... that day we were like so encouraged that we were like we are so sick and tired of these white boers that they are going to walk all over us we walked knocked at his door and told him *ukuthi* we are tired *yhaazi* [you know] we never cursed *umlungu* [a white] we never said *uyazi bayadika la belungu* [we are sick and tired of whites] we never but *bona* [they] everyday on campus in restaurants *emapatini* [social gatherings] and now *nase flatini?* [in the residence?]. . . and we all went together nobody said *ehh* guys lets leave it like the good black people we are suppose to be *masithuleni* [let us be quite] you know that black people always do that even if they are hurting *asi shout* (i) we just say sorry but this time we were like shouting *nathi* [too].

Zifiki associates the sex talks and aggressive signals from the white boys as race related rather than gender related. From this relationship blackness is constructed as a sex object. She uses “just” to show that in white eyes blackness can be turned into a sex object at any time. In spite of this experience of being confronted by racism she constructs blackness as psychologically fit to resist and confront racism. Essed (1991) advocates that the existence of racist practices in everyday life provides members of the society with some lessons to manoeuvre and handle situations accordingly. This is evident in the way Zifiki and her friends talk back and confront the white boys. Similarly, in extract 24 Sana shares her experience of confronting a white boy who was swearing at them. According to Bulhan’s (1980) stage models the respondents are in the radicalisation stage. Both respondents express resistance towards the oppressor’s mechanisms of social control and exercise their agency in the unacceptable and dehumanising situation created by the oppressor. In both extracts blackness is constructed as a political identity, an identity that forges solidarity against oppression. However, both respondents speak of this opposition of confronting whiteness as being alien and unexpected from black people. Sana uses “good black we were supposed to be”. She regards the stereotypes of blackness as bad for standing up to white confrontational racism.

- **Individualisation to assimilation into whiteness**

The following extracts show how black identity as individualisation precedes assimilation into whiteness.

Extract 25

Zifiki: when I got to X [name of school] I befriended a lot of white people (*mhhm*) and I still have a lot of very good white friends right now (*mhm*) so what used to happen is whenever we used to talk to the white people they would be like to us I know I am friends with you because you are like a clean black you know (*yeah*) you are one of those clean blacks and stuff and you do not speak with an accent you know (*mhhm*) you have that accent that black people have in common they say and stuff you know and you have got money as well you know so yeah you are like better you are a cultured black you know.

Extract 26

Sana: I had a white friend her name is Amy like we would walk to school together ... this one time we are walking together to our classroom and there is a 'riot'[noise] you know (*yes*) as girls walk kuyakhulunywa kudiscuswa amasopizi ayizolo [girls are chatting and discussing previous day's 'soapiest'] and then we in and the she says "yhoo black people are loud" and I looked at her and then she realised that she is talking to me she has a black friend u Sana and then she says to me but you are not like them you know then I told her then but I don't want you to be my friend because its scary because I am black what's wrong with being black and being loud ? (*jaaa*) I think I felt she has been racist and I was angry to know that side of her actually very disappointed because she could have said but girls are so loud why black? (*mhhm*) but the fact that she said black people are loud (*mhhm*) I noticed that she is being racist she did not even see who she was talking to (*mhhm*) there were probably coloureds and Indians in the discussion or white people or white girls .

In extract 25 and 26, Zifiki and Sana make claims to be friends with white people. Zifiki reports that her friendship with white people differentiated her from other black people. In her talks with her friends the other blacks were generally constructed as deficient in comparison to her as an individual black. She reports she has been told that she is able to be friends with white people because she is a clean black, she speaks good English and she has money. In essence she understands her inclusion in whiteness as based on her ability to manage to shed race-typical characteristics and become like whites. Not only is black identity individualised and treated as an exception, but in extract 26 Sana is invited to and expected by a white friend to criticise other black people. She is required to substitute her black culture for a white culture. Whilst the white friend criticises black people for being loud, she is expected to be a different civilised black who does not shout whilst other black students are criticised for failing to adapt to the civilised white culture.

This shows that even inclusion is experienced as racism. These reported stories of post-apartheid show that people who are familiar with racism are sensitive to the experiences of everyday racism. They understand when they are victims of racism.

5.4.2.4 Summary and analysis

To summarise, thus far the experiences of racism in the apartheid and post-apartheid periods show that a change has taken place. In an apartheid context of racism there are two characteristics of this experience. The first one is that the experience was a collective condition for all black people. This means that these experiences of black people were constructed as being static and inclusive of all black people. Respondents shared experiences that were conditions of being black. For example, in the experience of hardship and poverty, respondents used expressions like “like any other black child my own life was not easy”, “it showed that I was black”. Such expressions echo what Said (1978) and Pickering (2001) state about being black in a racist society. They both attest to the fact that othering blackness has devalued black people in comparison to the white norm. Assigning blackness a societal distinction also marked inequality, deprivation and poverty and hardship.

The second characteristic of apartheid racism experiences refers to Fanon’s (1986) notion of systematic vertical violence as a collective social condition. This means that black people’s experiences of apartheid racism were common, in that they suffered together as black people. For example the experiences of physical violence were common to all blacks. Respondents claimed that whenever they encountered racist white people they were beaten up without being given any particular reason.

The post-apartheid experiences of racism are more complex because of the more complex relationships caused by desegregation, and black people attending the same schools as white people, working together and being friends. Unlike in the apartheid era, relations in the post-apartheid era were vertical; this was not expected in the new South Africa and therefore it is alarming for these people to realise and recognise racist actions from their white counterparts.

The changes in racism in the post-apartheid period have taken place within the structure, which is no longer vertical, and all black people no longer suffer together as they did in apartheid times. For example, we witness black people being friends with white people. However, from these experiences desegregation does not necessarily translate into improved racial relations; instead

we find certain black people being individualised and invited to be racists like white people. The experiences shared by Zifiki and Sana in extracts 25 and 26. In both instances the cultural discourse allows for a much more fluid and non-essentialist positioning of black identity. Rather than being fixed in the stereotypical characteristics of being black, interviewees were offered white cultural elements such as language usage and accent, wealth and sophistication. The complexity of this relationship between black and white echoes Bhabha (1994). He sees the positioning of the culture as an offspring of history. In this analysis even the very white elements offered to individual black people show that blackness is inscribed in and on the body, in how you speak, what you do, or what you have. As suggested in postcolonial literature (cf. cha3) blackness is unable to escape white racism. This is evident in the cognitive elements of recognising individualism and assimilation into whiteness as racism.

Post-apartheid experiences differ in the sense that a monolithic structure no longer exists. This is evident in the events that are experienced by black people as racism: in private corners like institutions, banks, schools, clubs and universities. In all these places racism occurs in areas where blacks are supposed to be integrated as clients, neighbours, friends and colleagues.

There is also evidence from the analysis of racism stories that racism has not changed. For example post-apartheid racism shows old forms of exclusion although favouritism is shown to black people who are perceived to have equal qualities. In such relations black people are expected to mimic white people in experiences of double talk. However, part of the expectation is not only to conformity to being white but also an inclusion of racist attitudes. For example, it shows that only black people familiar with racism can detect the nuances of racism and understand when they are victims of racism.

The following section includes a discussion on the similarities in the stories of apartheid and post-apartheid experiences of racism.

5.5 Apartheid and post-apartheid manifestations

In this section I contrast apartheid and post-apartheid experiences in the autobiographical encounters. I do so by looking at the residual values that are closest to each other in the apartheid and post-apartheid context as shown in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.1. In other words, the frequency of these incidents is similar in apartheid and post-apartheid narratives.

The following categories are discussed: racism omnipresence, racial slurs and discrimination, segregation and economic inequality.

- **Racism omnipresence in apartheid and post-apartheid contexts**

The highest frequency in apartheid and post-apartheid stories is in the category of omnipresence. The following are examples of stories of racism omnipresence in the apartheid and post-apartheid periods.

Extract 27 [apartheid context]

Bhompi: ngela xesha umntu omnyama wayengakwazi uku expresser I point yakhe (*mhhm*) ukuba umnyama uwrongo when you drive a car and ufunwe ilasenisi uthi awunayo ungumntu omnyama kwakubakho indlela ethile owucinezelwa ngayo wena kodwa abantu abamhlophe banemvume youkuqhuba bengenayo ilasenisi okanye bathi bayilibele bangabanjwa [at that time black people could not express their point through (*mhhm*) if you are black you are always found to be at fault if you are driving a car you are always suspected to be guilty (*mmhm*) the police stop you and ask for a driver's license (*mhhm*) and you tell them that you do not have the license because you are a black person there was a certain manner in which the police would suppress you but white people were allowed to drive without or make claims that they forgot to carry the licence and they would not be arrested].

Extract 28 [post-apartheid context]

Yonda: X town [name of place] is still a very much a racist town but I feel like these little comments little back chatting and how we still have to bow down to the white man sometimes when especially it comes to the police here cause I drive and I feel like with the white police they do not even want to listen to you because automatically if you black they just do not want to hear your story (*mhhm*) if they believe you are wrong because you are black you remain wrong no matter what.

The above extracts show us that in the apartheid and post-apartheid context, racism has been pervasive and a way of life for black people. For example, both respondents show that racism is ingrained in blackness. What is revealed by these two extracts is that racism has always permeated black people's lives. In fact both Bhompi and Yonda make reference to how black people are always suspected of crime. From both respondents we learn that in the apartheid and post-apartheid period racism omnipresence, the experience of racism, is the backcloth of their lives as black people. What these respondents testify to is that as a black person one is always encountering racism, and that racism is the narrative of what is happening backstage. For example, Bhompi claims that if you are black and are found to be driving without a driver's licence you are arrested immediately, whereas whites are allowed to explain why they are not in possession of a licence.

Both respondents seem to suggest that racism omnipresence constructs ethnic differenced between black people and white people; at the same time there is an indisputable difference between the social, economic and historical dimensions. For example, Yonda uses "we" to refer to black people and contrasts that with "white man". Bhompi says "as a black person". This means that they are making a case for all black people; this is what Gilroy (1993) refers to as cultural insiderism. Cultural insiderism illuminates the importance of "otherness", which is evident in the way a binary opposition is used as advocacy for blackness whilst it stereotypes black identity. For example, Yonda uses expressions such as "we bow down to the white man" authoritatively as a cultural member of the oppressed, but at the same time she devalues blackness as inferior as opposed to whiteness. To bow down is a sign of reverence, which means Yonda constructs blackness in terms of slavery.

- **Racial slurs in the apartheid and post-apartheid contexts**

The following are extracts depicting the experience of racial slurs. Extracts 29 and 30 are examples of apartheid stories and extracts 31 and 32 are examples of post-apartheid stories.

Extract 29 [apartheid context]

Sida: it was in the 90s where whites then they started to say the Kaffirs are making noise they need to be sent out and it started how can you call us kaffirs but anyway who are you can you imagine this is whites and this is a policeman.

Extract 30 [apartheid context]

Nono: I was scared that he [white police] was gonna hit me with the gun or something ... so I was like retaliating towards that and he [white police officer] said you black kaffir and bla bla bla bla... but I never thought that they would actually kill me or anything but now the farm driver was petrified (*ja*) he was aware of the extent of the damage that these guys could cause you know I was not because I was a child.

Extract 31 [post-apartheid context]

Sana: for instance because I have this incident I was first year and I overheard these boers because X [name of university] is 70% white and I overheard them referring to black people as kaffirs like they feel very strong that we are amakafula [kaffirs].

Extract 32 [post-apartheid context]

Zifiki: the elections the SRC elections (*ehe*) they are ridiculous things when they [white students] are advertising their parties like I read something like how come there are so many smarties in the milky bar those were the posters that because we are smarties because we are the kind of people that are at the varsity (*yes*) so basically being here is very out of the racism I'm aware of it very much.

Racial slurs continue to be part of black people's experiences of racism across the apartheid and post-apartheid eras in South Africa. In extracts 29 to 32, "kaffir" is the derogatory term used

consistently across apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. In extract 35, we see the introduction of the term “smarties”, which according to the respondents is also derogatory when to refer to black people. This shows the standing of racial terms in post-apartheid times. However, in the post-apartheid period racial slurs tend to be indirect. For example, Sana claims that she overheard white people referring to black people as kaffirs. Similarly, Zifiki testifies hearing people refer to black people as smarties in a milky bar. Symbolically “smarties”, which positions blackness as people of colour, is contrasted to the milky bar “whiteness” The question posed here problematises black encounter with whiteness, and questions the presence of black students in a university that some regard as supposed to be white. These incidents were perceived by the respondents as being an indirect means of continuing racial slurs in post-apartheid times.

In contrast to these indirect means is the direct use of racial slurs in the experiences of apartheid racism. This is evident from extracts 32 and 33 in which Sida and Nono recall being called kaffirs to their faces. During the apartheid period the word “kaffir” was used as a general nomenclature for blacks, in addition to being a racial slur. We witness, for example, Sida recalling being called a kaffir by white police, which suggests that kaffir is a collective name for black people. In contrast, Nono as an individual was referred to as a “black affirm”, which suggests that she was directly insulted by the police. However, this distinction in the use of kaffir does not signify that kaffir has ever been used without applying the discourse of blackness in reversal in order to position whiteness as the “other” who is enlightened.

- **Discrimination in apartheid and post apartheid contexts**

The following extracts illustrate apartheid and post-apartheid experiences of discrimination:

Extracts 33 [apartheid context]

Siyo: in the old South Africa you sort of knew your place you were made to know and having grown up in a rural area the excitement of going to the City (*mhm*) but you know in the city you could get saturated because whatever you wanted to buy it was brought to you (*yes*) for instance in Bloemfontein if you wanted whatever they would decide for you (*yes*) they would hand it to you and decide which colour suits you would never be

allowed to shop freely (*mhm*) you never given an opportunity of looking through what is available and trying them on because you are black.

Extract 34 [post-apartheid context]

Nontaba: there is only one in a counter when I was at school we were on like a camp so to say and we have gone somewhere and we walked into this shops to buy some things we walked in as a group mixed group (*yes*) they looked at us in weird way like how can they hang around with white girls they were just very very confused (*mhm*) and they treated us with less respect than they did to the white people and that made me feel bad that there are still people like that around (*mhmm*) why should I be treated less why should I be made to feel less because of the colour of my skin

I: please explain how you were treated

Nontaba: we were there first but they decided to help the white people before us and even when they were helping the customer service was very bad it was like they are doing because they have to do it.

Extract 35 [post-apartheid context]

Kasong: Last year I applied for a job I was doing my internship last year and I applied to do my interim at the Gauteng boardroom X Club [name of rugby club] and because I was a woman and I was black (*yes*) I was judged because they said that black people do not have that kind of knowledge yet and they also said that I still have to learn about the job (*mmhm*) and because of that I could not do my internship and I think at that point I felt angry because it was sexist and discriminatory.

Extract 36 [post-apartheid context]

Sifiso: the University itself you find that when you get to the University there are still these courses and degrees which were previously eeh not opened to the black guys like the Civil Engineering Electrical Engineering and I recognised that the University especially the previously predominantly white and Afrikaans institution (*yes*) after 1994

to enter Engineering Degree you will need say 75% and considering where we come from eeh as black students eeh you will find that eeh it is difficult for you to achieve that 75% which means these were reserved for white people so in my view that was also eeh racism in a special type which was eeh carefully and cautiously eeh constructed by the university (*yes*) itself.

In extract 33 above, Siyo reports her story of apartheid discrimination racism. This experience of discrimination is similar to Nontaba's direct post-apartheid experience of discrimination in extract 34. Siyo also shares discrimination experiences that occurred in shops which were directed at black people: an exclusion from social activities, such as shopping, accompanied by ill treatment by white people. Siyo constructs black identity from the perspective of whiteness as she justifies discrimination against blackness when she says "because you are black". To a very larger extent it shows that if you were black discrimination came as no surprise; it was natural for black people to be discriminated against. In fact Siyo sees blackness through colonial eyes, as she says "you knew your place". In a post-apartheid context the situations are new and the relations are more complex because of desegregation. Classical examples are to be found in extracts 34 and 35. For example in extract 35, Kasong's story tells of being discriminated against in an interview for a rugby internship position. In apartheid times this could have never happened – a black woman applying for a rugby post. In extract 34, Nontaba also reports her experience of being treated differently from white people, even though they walked into shops as black and white friends. This shows that discrimination in post-apartheid times requires desegregation because in the past you would not find black and white people in the same school, camping together, being friends, or walking together to the shop. Clearly this contact between black people and white people is a post-apartheid experience which is contrary to segregation experiences of apartheid (cf. Extracts 10–13 of this chapter).

In an example of discrimination in an apartheid context, Siyo claims that as a black person you knew your place. This is because discrimination under apartheid was a public affair and it did not come as a surprise. In contrast, under post-apartheid discrimination, respondents show signs of being alarmed when they find themselves being discriminated against. For example, Nontaba claims that she felt that people were questioning why as black girls they were walking together

with white girls. She interprets this as discrimination because, according to her, the eyes were not questioning the white girls but rather questioning why they were hanging out with white girls. She uses the term “weird” to describe the curiosity in people’s eyes with regard to the girls’ relationship. In addition, the service rendered to them as black girls was poor. Unlike Siyo, Nontaba is surprised that they were discriminated against and she also questions why she should be treated as inferior to white people. Clearly Nontaba interprets the racist treatment that she received from white people as being situating her as inferior and white people as superior.

Kasong’s experience is also an example of desegregation because in the past a black woman would not even attempt to apply for job in the rugby world. The fact that she is discriminated against because of her black identity as well as being a woman seems to be an unexpected racist act. Kasong claims that she was given the excuse that she did not have the knowledge to do the job. She uses terms like “judge” to help herself understand and interpret the why she could not be appointed by the interview panel.

The discrimination that Kasong experienced was done privately by white panel members and an excuse is offered, unlike Nontaba in extract 22, whose experience occurred in a public place, and was directed at all other black people in that space, in addition no excuse was given as to why black people are treated as such. From black people’s experiences it seems that the element of knowledge as a basis for discriminating against black people is very common in post-apartheid stories. For example in extract 36, Sifiso reports having to work harder in order to resist discrimination and prove that he is worthy and able to compete and match white standards. Sifiso reports on discrimination against black people at predominantly white institutions. He claims that the requirements for access to certain degrees and courses are high in order to limit black people’s access to them. This differs from the direct discrimination; it is kept silent by the university itself and one only finds out about it when one wants access to the university. In addition, the fact that no one says directly that black people are not allowed in that university, or that there is no public announcement that only a certain number of black people is allowed in that particular university, makes it an indirect means of discrimination. As Sifiso explains, the denial of access to black students is directed at the entry requirements for the degree or course.

From these stories this kind of discrimination is seen as surreptitious and alarming, as it appears to happen even though black people do not expect racism in the new South Africa.

- **Segregation in apartheid and post-apartheid contexts.**

Stories reported about apartheid segregation have already been discussed under the apartheid racism experiences section above (cf. extract 9–13). Here I compare the inside stories of segregation in the apartheid context and segregation in post-apartheid times. I provide examples of post-apartheid racism and compare them with the above-mentioned examples of apartheid experiences.

Extract 37 [post-apartheid context]

Mon: I have said that we still find pockets of racism (*yes*) yes ja now I will tell you something let's go to churches (*ja*) you know in my church in Methodist you still find in the morning it is divided into periods the morning period well it is declared for everybody to attend (*ja*) but you will find out most people who are there are white people (*mhh*) then at 11 o'clock (*mhhm*) when the black service starts there is not even a single white only the black people you know (*mhh*) this is the trend alright.

Extract 38 [post-apartheid context]

Zifiki: so its very hard for us to mingle at the end of the day as much as we try be friends with white people and Afrikaans people but at the end of the day put us all in one room you will see black people sitting together and white people sitting together (*yeah*) like in the context of the school.

Extract 39 [post-apartheid context]

Mon: if we have a Christmas party ja just small things as they are you know but they mean a lot you will find some of the whites staying away saying we are not used to mix or to big parties you know like the one that is going to occur (*mhh*) or else now as we know we blacks what we used to do in fact what we normally do (*mhh*) in our place of

work we collect money and we buy all the requirements its either for the Christmas party or birthday party but it's different with white you bring your own you bring your own drinks and you bring your own meat ja we find that lots of whites could not come into grips with this kind of practice the togetherness (*yes*) be together all of us.

Extract 40 [post-apartheid context]

Sifiso: within the university of X personally I was staying in a hostel (*yes*) you understand in the environment of hostel and you will find that eeh there the majority are Afrikaans-speaking students (*yes*).when you get to the hostel you will find out that the equation is 75/25 and eeh in that regard they [whites] will want to retain their culture and most of this people come from the farms (*mhm*) and their mind set they have been thought to treat eeh black person as a black person (*mhhm*) you will see such kind of tendencies in the dining hall that is where we eat they are categories of tables even if eeh is not a rule of the University (*yes*) or the hostel but is an written rule which says that table is for a certain block called B-3 and when you check that B-3 which is eeh black a B-3 belongs only to certain group of Afrikaans speaking people who are from the farms (*mhm*) so my view on that one was that eeh you will find out that there is segregation which is carefully eeh constructed.

Segregation in the apartheid context was characterised by structural racial differentiation. In the post-apartheid context, there are respondents who suggest that segregation continues in South Africa today. However, the stories of segregation in post-apartheid times seem to suggest that segregation has taken on a new form. The following are examples of stories that demonstrate the new forms in segregation racism in post-apartheid times.

These experiences can be categorised into three forms. Firstly, although segregation is no longer a policy white people and black people choose to self-segregate by associating racially with other white people or black people only. This differs from the experiences of apartheid racism where respondents constructed segregation as a public affair. Nowadays places are no longer racialised or segregated, as indicated in extracts 9 to 13. According to Mon in extract 39, segregation racism continues, as he says “we still find pockets of racism”. By pockets of racism Mon sees

racism as being hidden and found in certain corners. He gives an example of the members of his congregation who continue to have segregated services even though anybody can attend any service. It seems that manifestations of segregation racism are still alive today and permanently engraved on the colonial discourse of otherness.

Secondly, respondents regard this continuing segregation as relating to differences in culture, for example, in extracts 38 and 39 Zifiki and Mon testify to this. Zifiki makes reference to her own experience of being friends with white people but still emotionally segregated. She shares her experience of an attempt to form friendships with whites; however the attempts failed as the reality of segregation persists. She cites an example of schools where black and white learners share one school but are not necessarily desegregated. She seems to suggest that desegregation is more than making friends and being in the same space; it should take the form of mixing together.

The third form is articulated by Sifiso. In extract 40, he seems to be referring to the “pockets” of racism experiences that Mon in extract 35 was referring to. He claims that racism at this university is not a written rule but appears in the guise of non-racial criteria that block blacks’ entry. To portray the way racism sneaks into the system he says “a certain block called B-3 and when you check that B-3, which B-3 belongs only to certain group of Afrikaans-speaking people who are from the farms”. This differs from apartheid segregation in that positions for black people and white people were then clearly demarcated; instead Sifiso claims today there is a pretence of unity in one dining hall while still being methodologically segregated.

From these experiences it would appear that segregation in the post-apartheid period continues but is disguised as non-racial criteria and cultural differences. Gone are the pronouncements of the apartheid times when facilities were clearly marked “black only” or “white only”; nevertheless segregation continues.

- **Economic inequality in apartheid and post-apartheid contexts**

The following extracts are examples of stories of economic inequality in the post-apartheid context. I compare the inside of these post-apartheid experiences of racism in this category with the apartheid experiences already discussed above (cf Extracts 4–6).

Extract 41 [post-apartheid context]

Nono: I would call it new racism (*yes*) its very subtle (*yes*) and they do it so diplomatically (*yes*) you know a lot of diplomacy is used but its as though there's this certain secret of these white people you know and ehmm they are taught how to do it (*yeah*) you know for instance I worked for a company called X Technologies [name of the business] in Pretoria (*mhm*) okay and that is where you find that we are still underpaid and you find yourself treated as a true black person (*yes*) at this place I found that ehm the two white boys who recently joined the company were earning more than I do and yet I have been working for the company for a year and a half (*mhm*) this happens right under your nose but you can hardly detect it because it is diplomatic.

Extract 42 [post-apartheid context]

Jeri ... recently again the (*ehe*) so the white people has accepted that apartheid it's gone (*yes*) now what is needed is the social integration at bars it's open at crèches it's open children are learning at schools together (*yes*) but now the issue that has arise is the issue of financial problem which they are making use of that opportunity they know that financially we don't have a strong financial power (*yes*) although we are integrating to the level also like in the residential property (*yes*) there are areas where black people they can't afford and those who are privileged to be there they normally buy so they so they don't have a chance (*yes*) but most of the suburbs are only for black people that are rich (*ok* the practices are still there).

The post-apartheid stories of economic inequality are different from the apartheid stories. For example, Nono in extract 41, reports on the way economic inequality is the subtlety of new racism. This differs from the apartheid stories, where economic inequality was understood to be

part of the law; therefore it was not necessarily tactful. To show how the diplomacy works in the post-apartheid period and to construct economic inequality racism, Nono narrates a story about her job situation where the white boys were earning better salaries than her even though she was better qualified than them. Another such situation is also expressed by Mbuli in extract 6, under reported stories of economic inequality in the apartheid context. Nono's autobiography on economic inequality seems to be constructed on past experiences of black disadvantage/white advantage apartheid racism discourse. Similarly, these experiences continue to position black people in an inferior position compared to their white counterparts. Both Nono and Jeri seem to be using the relational economic inequality experience of apartheid racism to construct the present perception of economic inequality in post-apartheid racism. For example, Nono refers to herself as being underpaid in comparison with the white boys. The experience of being underpaid, Nono claims, is the way in which "a true black person" is treated. In so doing Nono sees blackness not a condition of being the "other" of whiteness but as being central to the dynamics of economic colonialism.

In extract 42, Jeri reports the subtlety of economic inequality in post-apartheid racism. He constructs economics as the medium of continuing exclusion and inequality. Jeri is of the view that even though white people in terms of policy are no more privileged in resources compared to black people; black people continue to be unequal to whites in terms of finances. Jeri refers to black economic deprivation and says that black people are not financially sound enough to afford schools and residences in what used to be white-only areas.

In terms of policy, Jeri acknowledges that economic inequality in post-apartheid racism is not monolithic in that some black people can afford to pay the price thus becoming economically equal to white people; however, many black people continue to experience economic inequality racism. Jeri seems to be constructing economic inequality in post-apartheid racism as a continuation of apartheid economic inequality racism that has constructed black people in relation to other black people as well. In so doing he confers on black people who can afford to buy houses in the suburbs and pay expensive school fees in desegregated schools a white status in relation to black people who cannot afford to pay. In his autobiography he seems to suggest that the past knowledge and experience of black people as poor continues to position blacks in

inferior positions. In post-apartheid South Africa this is not lawful but it is the reality for black people. In essence, Jeri constructs black people as poor in relation to white people, who are rich

5.6 Discussion

The concept of everyday racism provided by Essed (1991) was helpful as a means of illuminating what the black respondents were narrating as experiences of racism in their daily lives in both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. In linking ideological dimensions of racism to individual attitudes, everyday racism seems to become part of expected (ordinary), unquestioned and normal practice. In this regard, Essed (1991) claims that the concept of everyday racism does not apply to uncommon or accidental racist acts but rather to everyday situations that are impacted on by existing racist ideology. An example from this study is the autobiographical narratives that show that everyday racism has changed in some ways, but in so many others has not changed at all.

South African black people's experiences of everyday racism are still constructed as a racist ideology governing our society and being present in everyday lives. From black people's stories name calling, confrontational racism, discrimination, physical violence are still ongoing forms of racism. In considering the content of these stories, one realises that there are indeed some differences and that there are also common trends that run across apartheid and post-apartheid times. What is common is that racism is still pervasive and a way of life for black people in South Africa. The difference is the complexity of racism in South Africa today because of desegregation.

In apartheid times the experiences of racism were a collective suffering by all black people who had been reduced together to social struggles, political and economic struggles. This is evident in the way in which the respondents narrated stories of being the victims of hardship and poverty, being treated as less human compared to white people and being victims of imprisonment. These experiences were seen as black people's way of life that could happen at anytime and anywhere. It did not matter who you were; you could be publicly violated and threatened, detained or

arrested without reason; in addition there was extensive and widespread inequality and deprivation. In post-apartheid times we have witnessed racism being experienced in different situations. For example, in the post-apartheid era, racism is practised in private places, universities, bank institutions, clubs and so on. These are spaces where people are supposed to be equally treated and that are supposed to be integrated.

From the autobiographies it is evident that black people in South Africa have a cognitive framework that they bring to a situation. The stories of everyday racism were stories that came from events that are happening in the world. My understanding of these narratives is that they are the outcome of the experiences and ideas that people attach to them. They show us that the kinds of structures have changed and that the most important thing that has changed is the contact. There is far more contact in the new South Africa than was the case in the past. The new forms are duplicitous; there is an element of being racist towards black people but at the same time they are invited by white people to criticise other black people. This type of contact did not occur in the past. The kinds of experiences have changed. In another sense the kinds of experiences have not changed because there are still racist stereotypes at play; there are still racist encounters with racist whites, who of course no longer rule South Africa.

Everyday experiences of racism are ingrained and black people expect and anticipate them through their cognitive frames. According to Essed (1991), in cognitive experiences the knowledge about racism impacts one's perception of reality. For example, respondents claim that racism is still to a very large extent alive and kicking in South Africa. In so doing, they make reference to the way in which racism is still part of black people's lives. From the stories of post-apartheid racism it is evident that racism is ongoing in spite of the fact that it is no longer part of the law.

Racism as an everyday experience is part of everyday life which continues to reproduce racism. These experiences were more prominent in the segregation category in an apartheid context. Segregation laws created a striking contrast in the quality of life between black and white people, therefore these experiences act as a marker of the oppression that continues to reproduce racism. Not only did black respondents narrate experiences of segregation, but they also constructed

segregation as a cognitive experience in which the knowledge of racism impacts on one's perception of reality. From the experiences of segregation in the apartheid context blackness is reproduced as a product of colonialism.

Some of the post-apartheid experiences of everyday racism show how black experiences of racism have changed in some ways. In the double talk, individualisation and assimilation into whiteness categories, stories are all based in the post-apartheid context. This shows that new forms exist in black people's encounter with racism. Instead of using discriminatory language like "blacks are not allowed", as was the case in the past, today non-racial criteria are used and the discrimination is hidden beneath double talk. In the individualisation and assimilation into whiteness categories, for example, respondents did not use racial stereotypes like black people are dirty, or they speak poor English. Instead, the cultural difference "speaking with an accent" is being emphasised. The racist stereotype that blacks are dirty is hidden by being nice to a specific individual portraying the individual as a "clean black".

Everyday experiences of racism are still perceived as power relations and perceive blackness as dominated and a contestation of the dominant position. This is evident in both apartheid and post-apartheid stories of racism. For example the stereotypes associated with blackness are still intact post-apartheid. In post-apartheid times black people have reporting stories of being appointed as manager with no decision-making powers. The respondents claim that transformation in South Africa is "window dressing" for a politically correct image of affirmative action and does not translate to power sharing; instead power continues to be in white hands. This suggests that the repetition of racist actions in South Africa has become part of black experiences of everyday life, which implies that racism continues to be reproduced.

Post-apartheid experiences of everyday racism to a large extent show that black people based their experiences on pre-existing ideas of blackness, the existing ideas in a racist society. Although racism is not "the rule", it is still hurtful and troubling in black people's everyday lives. Not only was it once the norm for the respondents to have experienced racism in their daily lives, but much of the racism experienced was one-on-one, blatant, old fashioned (apartheid) racism.

This suggests that experiences of everyday racism are repetitive rather than unique (Essed, 1991).

This common feature in apartheid and post-apartheid experiences of everyday racism shows that racism is still alive in South Africa in spite of the fact that it is not part of the law. Everyday racism experiences were and still are the background against which black people live their lives in South Africa.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has shown that the experiences of everyday racism remain a current reality in black people's narrated autobiographies. This suggests that the legacy of apartheid racism continues to have a significant impact on black people, despite the fact that it is forbidden by law. In examining these experiences and autobiographical accounts, one feature emerges here, that of an overwhelming and persistent sense of racism. This is similar to the light in which blackness in the psychology of black identity and postcolonial black identity has been constructed as troubling because of racism (cf. ch 2 & ch 3).

In this empirical chapter, the psychology of black identity literature has been useful for understanding the relationship between the individual "everyday" experiences of racism. In the autobiographical accounts experiences of being black as such have been remobilised and the experiences of a racialised race and racism experiences have formulated the psyche of black identity as inferior. In common with the stage models, individuals have had to deal with internalisation effects of racism that are provoked by the wounds of racism rather than what was happening in their surroundings. This is evident in way in which respondents constructed blackness as being rooted in the frame of whiteness, hence the knowledge of racism has been shown to impact on one's perception of reality. Another feature of the psychology of black identity is that experiences of being black are constructed as static and exclusive to all black people. Respondents' experiences of everyday racism are interpreted as symbols of blackness as well as anticipated inferiority.

Similarly, black identity has been constructed as troubling because of racism being, in post-colonial black identity, in terms of the other and othering. The notion of the “other” and the process of othering have also been noticeable features of racist discourses: the “other” and “othering” can be seen as located in the intersection of black identity and everyday racism. The condition of being black and the fundamental aspects of the dynamics of political and economic colonialism have been suggested through the process of othering (Said, 1978).

Not only were experiences of being poor reported but they were also assigned societal distinctions. The apartheid conditions of being black assigned blackness with the discourses of poverty, dirty, poor English, and backwardness as a binary opposition to whiteness. From the autobiographies, viewing someone as the ‘other’ has become the fundamental part of the process of creating black self-awareness and ideas on what it means to be black. At the same time, the process of differentiating oneself from the ‘other’ is shaped by cultural, political and economic differences. For example, in defining blackness as ‘we’ when used as a basis for authoritising exclusion and/or subordination, the dialectical process between ‘self’ and the ‘other’ becomes part of the racist discourse.

The analysis in this chapter highlights the continuity and discontinuity of experiences of everyday racism, as well as highlighting the alternative and new ways in which racism seems to manifest in post-apartheid times. In essence, this chapter introduced us to how black identity positions that were created in the past through the language of racism have become a reproduction of racism experience in post-apartheid South Africa. What this means is that blackness has an ongoing struggle against racism as suggested by the post-colonial literature. This forms the backdrop for putting your life together in an autobiographical sense of who you are. What this chapter did not address is the nature of the struggle in shaping black people’s identity. The next chapter, chapter 6, deals with this issue.

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF ISSUES OF IDENTITIES, DIFFERENCES AND OTHERNESS IN BLACK IDENTITY

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown us that the autobiographical sense of whom you are as a black person is based on experiences of racism. The focus of this chapter is the nature of struggle and conflict in black identity construction in encounter with racism and encounter with whiteness. The aim is to see how the dialogue between the literature on the psychology of black identity and post-colonial identity literature contributes to the understanding of the tensions and struggles in black identity construction (cf. ch 2 and ch 3). In reviewing the psychology of black identity and postcolonial identity literatures in chapter 2 and chapter 3, black identity construction is implicitly problematic in its encounter with racism.

The psychology of black identity literature's proposition is that identity development is characterised by movement across a series of sequential stages and that it is influenced by an individual's reaction to social environmental events. From this literature the unit of analysis is the individual black person in her or his development through tensions and progress. This literature also anticipates that, given the right conditions, black people will eventually shake off the psychology of oppression through psychological maturation. The hope that an individual can develop and become a fully rounded psychologically free person is contrary to the postcolonial literature. This literature contains the notion of and an emphasis on ambivalence and hybridity, according to which it is impossible for black people to overcome the tensions and struggles in identity construction. Consequently, in this literature black identity construction is portrayed as being

locked inside whiteness from which it cannot escape. The main focus of this empirical chapter is taken from the postcolonial literature discussed in chapter 3, which argues that within the tensions and struggles in black identity construction is the spectre of whiteness.

I would like to study the relational aspect of blackness, ambivalence and hybridity in processing the nature of the struggles and tensions in black identity construction. The central questions which the data in this chapter address are embedded in the research questions 2 and 3 (cf. section 1.4) namely: What are the discourses that frame black people's talk about being black in contemporary South Africa? How do black people's narration of self contribute to the construction of their identity in accounts of self in relation to others? Discourse analysis is used as an analytical framework for guiding the analysis of this chapter. I show how discourses are positioned to construct an emerging black identity in contemporary South Africa. I also examine what language is central to the construction of identity and in mediating the relationship between the individual and society. In this chapter I show that in black identity construction today there is a variation in the meaning of being black. This chapter also suggests that black identity is being defined through whiteness as well as through other forms of blackness, which are also appreciated in whiteness.

6.2 Blackness as relational to whiteness

In this section I highlight different ways in which black identity is positioned in relation to whiteness. As highlighted in chapters 2 and 3, the ambivalence of black identity construction emerges from its encounter with whiteness and encounter with racism. In constructing black identity in relation to whiteness, blackness becomes the binary opposite of whiteness.

In this binary opposition the relationship of dependency is explicit in two ways: one as a black/white dichotomy of societal positioning, and the other as fixed by stereotypes in black identity construction. The following is the presentation and a discussion of the data to show how black/white binary oppositions are constructed in black identity construction.

6.2.1 Black white binary oppositions as black markers

The following four extracts illustrate three different ways in which blackness was constructed in relation to whiteness in the interviews with respondents.

Extract 1

Notyholi: I did my Secondary School at X [name of school] a Girls' School I went to a boarding school and the school was a good school that time.

I: explain why you say good school that time, is it not a good school now?

Notyholi: no no because at that time the principal was white and some of the teachers were also white it was good but now that its all black it has lost that good reputation.

Extract 2

Sida: when I was taking the chair and I could see that everybody was losing hope ukuba [wondering reasoning] what is it that we are going to discuss because she does not know a thing.

I: just tell me who was losing hope?

Sida: these white people (*mhhm*) ... then they [whites] came and said chairperson you are so good in this meeting and you are learning fast and I thought oh God! they noticed that I was a mampara in terms of finances you know (*mhhm*) so for the first time they [whites] were shocked in this meeting.

Extract 3

Sana: it was horrible not that it was horrible but it was such a drastic change because I was in a black Christian school... when I had to move to a white school I was excited but ... my first day was so horrible I couldn't speak English so well and all the other kids were there I could not swim like them (*mhhm*) their advantages they had like tennis

courts they were exposed to so many things that we never had in black schools (*mhhm*) I did not think then I would be able to fit ... It was very drastic for the first six months I did not like it because it was clear ukuthi [that] I was an outcast mina because ndivela eTownship [I come from the Township] and these people were already looking at me funny (*yes*) like I can't really communicate with them ... even though the teachers had to welcome me and nurse me like take extra care to look after me like I had to take extra classes to learn how to speak English it was horrible so I did not like it that much.

From the three extracts above the relationship between black and white has been constructed in the following three binary ways: 1) black failure/white excellence, 2) black irrational/white rational, and 3) black disadvantage/white advantage.

In extract 1, Notyholi uses a white excellence/black failure discourse as proposed by Robus and Macleod (2006). She explicitly claims that the school she went to was good at the time because it was led by white people, but now that it is led by black people it has lost its reputation as a good school. Notyholi associates whiteness with excellence and black identity with failure. Notyholi is treating it as a given that the school was good because the leadership and teachers of the school were white and now that it is led by black people it is bad. She is uncritically positioning black identity with the poor reputation of the school by contrasting it with the good reputation that it had under the whites. As a strategy to overcome "crisis" she disassociates herself from black identity which she has constructed as a 'failure' and associates herself with whiteness which she perceives as excellent. Notyholi subscribes to negative stereotypes about black people in contrast to herself who she has positioned in a Eurocentric perspective. This subject position supports the pre-encounter stage as proposed by stage theorists like Cross (1971, 1995) and Helms (1993,1995). Similarly, Nothyoli at this stage shows appreciation of whiteness and anti-black attitudes. She uses a black failure/white success discourse.

In extract 2, Sida echoes Said's (1991) theory of Orientalism that sees blackness as entwined in whiteness. Similarly, Sida problematises her black subject position as she constructs her identity according to what she perceives to be the white people's perception of her. In so doing, Sida uses a black irrational/white rational discourse. She judges herself negatively as she imagines how

white people judge her performance. Based on this opinion blackness becomes a production of binary opposition to whiteness. Sida constructs herself as irrational, a person who is foolish and who does not know what she is doing in order to position whiteness as rational, empowered to educate, modernise and to develop her as an inferior black object.

We witness her saying that the whites were losing hope because “she does not know a thing”, but the claim is made by her not by the white people. Also the praise she received from the white people that she has done well is received in a negative interpretation of her as a “mampara” [fool]. In using the term “mampara” she shows how she doubted herself and her ability to make sense of the financial matters.

Similarly, Sana in extract 3 recognises herself as disadvantaged and she constructs her black identity in relation to whiteness. Sana uses a discourse of white advantage/black disadvantage. In so doing she claims that her experience in the school was horrible because she could not speak English, could not swim, and had not been unexposed to privileges like tennis courts. Like Sida above, Sana imagines herself as unfit in the white context. She uses terms like “outcast” to show the extent to which she does not belong to the social class as she comes from the township (a black-only environment). Her inability to speak English is linked to the position of her blackness as a stigmatised inferior “Other”. Black identity is constructed as an assessment of Sana’s socio-political condition in encounter with whiteness.

In all three stories, there is evidence of hierarchical thinking about black and white; it is blackness that is racially qualified. This has been done in two different ways. The first entails offering no critical judgement of the inferior construction of the position of blackness in relation to whiteness, as in extract 1. The second entails self-assessment: in extract 2 and in extract 3, respondents use the discourse of blackness as failure, as foolish and as disadvantaged in order to position whiteness as successful, clever and advantaged.

From this discussion the images of blackness are products of a racist society, thus “fixing” difference between races as attributable to nature. This is evident in the way in which black people must know themselves in the white eyes, thus objectifying themselves in terms of the

discourse of white supremacy (Fanon, 1986). It is in this light that the meaning of blackness is constructed through difference with whiteness, fixed and underpinned in discourses of black failure that positions black people as foolish, bad, dirty, uneducated, corrupt and lazy.

The following extracts show how the white gaze makes it impossible for blackness to shake off the stigma

6.2.2 Stereotyping and otherness as markers of black identity

From an identity point of view, the key questions concern the way stereotypes are constructed, how power is distributed in the stereotype and how stereotypes can be discerned. In this section, analysing stereotypically through the lens of the “Other” allows a fuller understanding of how stereotypes as identity aspects reflect blackness and whiteness relations.

The following extracts show how respondents use established stereotypes in their construction of black identity. Black identity is defined as a racial identity, historically embedded in stigma. In the construction of black identity, the contemporary discourses continue the repetition of stereotypical images as a feature of difference.

Extract 4

Zifiki: then the old ones roll out to in South Africa relationships and clubs also certain clubs where its only for white people you know (*mhhm*) in a way that gives you negative thoughts on who they are I mean you can actually turn around instead of appreciating who you are you look down on yourself (*yes*) and you think wow I’m not good enough you know (*mhhm*) that’s just what it is I’m not good enough (*mhhm*) how do I fit (*mhm*) how do I become part of that thing you know that exclusive club how do I (*mhhm*) cause you wanna be a part of it (*yeah*) and therefore I think at the end of the day it’s up to me to make the right choice or you can just end up making the wrong choice or want to do anything if it will give you the power to get there and that corrupts our system that corrupts us as black people (*yeah*) because in all honesty I think that black people are

people who have humanity, strength and inner peace and we are very peaceful people (yeah) you know things like that actually corrupts us.

Extract 5

Sida: on the other hand I turn to think into yokubana [something like] maybe I was smelly because I am black that is why they gave me Panache [perfume] (*mhhm*) because there were vases (*mhhm*) there was everything why was I not given something else? (yeah) so that is why my attitudes went back to Panache [perfume] ... so I have got that thing that maybe because I am black maybe I was smelly I don't know (*mhhm*) but I always think around those things when I see and smell that perfume I just do not like it (*mhhm*) it reminds me of that gift (*mhhm*) that is why I don't like it.

In common with extracts 2 and 3 above, in extracts 4 and 5 participants construct blackness as glued, fixed objects that are constructed through white eyes. This is significant in the way they speak about themselves, the words they prefer to use to show their own perceptions of self. For example, Zifiki says “gives you negative thoughts ... you can actually turn around instead of appreciating who you are, you look down on yourself and you think wow I'm not good enough”. The white people did not confront her and say she was not good enough. In this regard, Fanon says (1986: 109) “... the movements, the attitudes, the glances of the other fixed me there, in the sense in which a chemical is fixed with dye”. Similarly, Zifiki confesses to being immobilised and permanently fixed by the white eyes that construct her as a “misfit”. Zifiki is locating her space in relation to whiteness, thus constructing herself as culturally inferior in a white context; hence she chooses words like “negative thoughts”, “look down at yourself”, and “not good enough” in constructing her identity as inferior in the white context. The paradox is that Zifiki seems to resent the whiteness on one hand but on the other hand she admires the privilege of whiteness, as she says “how do I cause I wanna be part of it”. The encounter with whiteness positions her as a misfit.

Sida, in extract 5, also shows signs of being fixed in the language of the stereotype that black people are dirty, as she says “maybe because I am black maybe I was smelly”. Sida uses

“maybe” twice, emphasising the level of doubt about her self-image. She is troubled about what she smells like to white noses. Sida turns the black skin into a discourse in which the stereotype is engraved by associating her black identity with being smelly; she says “maybe I was smelly because I am black”. She seems to be troubled by this stereotype and wonders if perhaps there is a grain of truth in it, that she might really smell because she is black.

What extracts 4 and 5 really show us is that images of blackness and the stereotypes work hand in hand to reproduce blackness as a historically grounded identity. This is evident in the way respondents show the persistence of stigmatised black identity without being framed by whiteness as such. They both show signs of being defeated by the stigma associated with being black and hence unable to transcend the stigmatised identity positions. There is therefore a repetition of a stigmatised black identity subject position.

The following extracts show that stereotypes are omnipresent and the respondents are critical of the stereotypes.

Extract 6

Kasong: it’s how we think as black people and white people (*mhm*) as soon as a white person sees a black person (*mhhm*) he/she is probably not educated if educated probably has a diploma (*mhm*) but no one has ever thought a black person can be the doctor as soon as a black person has a doctorate it is like she studying that much.

Extract 7

Mpongo: I think it goes back to what we were discussing earlier that psychological treatment because black is always associated with bad in terms of time black people will always come late in terms of this and this (*mhhm*) Africa black people cannot manage corruption and all of that.

In extract 6 Kasong claims that the stigmatised black identity precedes interaction as a frame of interpretation. She says “... as soon as a white person sees a black person ... he/she is probably not educated if educated probably has a diploma”. This suggests that an encounter with

whiteness predicts a stereotypical positioning of black identity. Kasong uses “as soon” to show that it is without doubt and that clearly the racial order does not change; the black identity is fixed as the inferior other. She is using a discourse of black people as uneducated and white people as educated. She further claims that even if a black person is educated the assumption in the encounter with whiteness is that she/he has a lesser education compared to a white person, like a diploma rather than a degree. She is indicating that this is unlikely and must be attributable to exceptional effort. This is evident when she says “as soon as a black person has a doctorate is like she is studying that much”. This second use of “as soon”, unlike the first one, shows the perpetuation and repetition of a stereotypical position of blackness that runs across political change. For example, in this extract black identity is offered a higher education level, a doctorate, compared to whites: the image of blackness as a stigmatised identity endures. In this way, the stereotype potentially has a grain of truth.

In extract 7 Mpongo is critically articulating stereotypes as a frame of reference for her personal life. Mpongo uses “always” to show the omnipresence of stereotyping in an encounter with whiteness and in black identity construction. He seems to be troubled by the damage caused by the stereotypes used in relation to black people that construct an image of being bad and corrupt. He refers to this negative characterisation of black identity as something that is always there, engraved on the psyche of a black person, and which gives stereotypes the power to continue haunting black people in their encounter with whiteness.

Both Mpongo and Kasong are critical of the stereotypes associated with black people’s identity. From a black identity construction, stereotypes are omnipresent and are assumptions about the nature of social categories that colour perceptions and shape out-group behaviour.

The following extracts show how the use of stereotypes splits black identity and ambivalently fixes identity as a feature of difference.

Extract 8

Lani: at a personal level to be honest with you there’s absolutely no difference for my society (yes) I want to be a dignified human being (*mhhm*) a black person that is able to

give direction where possible (yes) able to help other black people where possible not necessarily financially because people immediately you say help they think that (yes) ability to help in acting as a drive (*mhhm*) as a societal inspiration to help black people re-channel their thoughts you know move away from the sort of a situation where we have where you think black you think crime where you think black you think unhealthy where you think black you think all those kind of negative things you know (yes) you know so I mean I suppose at a personal level I would really only like and only and I'm saying only (yes) because obviously one has been able to go up into until this point (yes) the only addition would be to help.

Extract 9

Yonda: My main message is that black people are not inferior to the white person (*mhm*) black people can get to any place where they wish to get to and AIDS is not going anywhere but you know abstinence and everything the government is telling us things can work out but you know everybody must just be careful of AIDS especially black people but besides that you know black people can really make it big up there (yes) they can really make it big up there I'm not just talking about South Africa alone but this African continent you know there's a lot of black people out there which can really do amazing things for this world (*yes yes*) you know and I just I honestly wish that every black person knew that (*yes*) and not that they put up this black face and to just stand around the streets and beg for money cause that's not the case (*yes*) ja so that's how I feel

I: please explain what you mean about putting up black face

Yonda: ja this mentality that shame I am black poor I deserve handouts from others I just hate it because black people have got more to offer than that but sometimes people don't want to think.

Extract 10

Njinga: Well there are those moments maar [but] especially when one looks at the behaviours of some of our people (yes) and they can embarrass you (yes) I mean you see

we have a responsibility toward this country (yes) and ehh like eh respecting what we call the community of life (yes) I felt otherwise you know about being black yourself (*mhhm*) ja like you see there are these other tendencies that people [black people] always find excuses for I mean like people urinating in public against buildings and all that kind of you only find out its our own people (*mhm*) I feel that this is embarrassing to us you see (yes) so I try to influence them (*mhm*) that is what we call public leadership (yes) I mean to carry yourself well in public and the like you see (*mhhm*) so that really make me feel bad I mean like spitting on the floor and all those kind of things (*mhm*) so ja [yes] sometimes our people can embarrass us.

In the above extracts respondents seem to expel the stereotypical way of being black and project it onto other black people in order to deal with the anxiety of the stigma that is engraved on black identity. In so doing these black respondents construct themselves as different from other black people who are embedded in the stereotypes. The respondents seem to recognise that the stereotype has some grain of truth and want to challenge it. For example, Lani uses words like “inspiration”, “re-channel” and “move away” from the stereotypical positions of being black. He also claims that he wants to help other people who are mired in the stereotypical way of thinking about their black identity. He talks of black identity as being associated with crime, being unhealthy and being negative. Similarly, Yonda in extract 9 seems to echo Lani when she constructs black identity as unhealthy and associated with AIDS, poverty and low work ethic. She also uses the binary of Africa/Europe. When articulating the negative stereotypes associated with black people she attempts to replace them with positive images and she says black people can make it up there. This raises a stereotypical view that black people are inferior to whites, which she hopes will change if black identity can be constructed around positions normally occupied by white people. In addition to this negative image of being black, Yonda constructs black identity around begging when she says “they put up this black face and to just stand around the streets and beg for money”. She takes it as a given that a “black face” means being poor. Blackness is constructed as wanting and whiteness as privileged.

In extract 10, Njinga argues that the stereotypes used in relation to black people are truthful. He distances himself from the kinds of black people associated with the stigma of “urinating in

public” and “spitting on the floor”. Njinga shows ambivalence towards this kind of identity, he says it embarrasses one and gives one a feeling of not wanting to be black. Njinga is using a form of empiricist accounting (Edwards & Porter, 1992) to construct the truths of negative stereotypes. Njinga is troubled by the stereotypes associated with blackness that seem to be producing the truth.

All three respondents look at the behaviour of black people and see stereotypes as producing the truth. The grain of truth in a construction it is not really a social characteristic but one believes that it is true. In recognising that the stereotype might have a grain of truth, the respondents want to do something to help other black people as mechanism for challenging the stereotype. What these extracts clearly show is that black identity associated with stereotypes is ambivalent and struggles with a kernel of truth.

This way of constructing black identity through association with stereotypes is no different from the dichotomy of the binary oppositions painted in the previous section. As respondents construct a black identity they seem to be interpolated by the racist discourses that construct black people as the inferior other relative to whiteness. All three respondents, Lani, Yonda and Njinga, project stereotypical images of other black people. They show signs of ambivalence about the position of black people in the way they are continually fixated on stereotypes and continually in binary opposition to whiteness.

The following extract differs from the above extracts because it shows that stereotypes can be both an advantage as well as a disadvantage.

Extract 11

Sana: the stigma of being black ... I think it's a curse at the same time a blessing being black anywhere you go because you are black you get told you only getting there because you are black (*mhhm*) you are treated like this because you are black its amazing that I can be employed tomorrow because I am black I get the preference but at the same time I can be so discriminated against because I am a black its strange it's a funny thing really.

In extract 11, Sana shows ambivalence about the hybrid state of a black identity of being when she says it is neither a “blessing” nor a “curse”. Sana proposes that the stigma of being black today provides a dilemmatic black identity. She positions black identity between the two poles: the binary oppositions of being a preferential employee via positive discrimination as she says “because I am black I get the preference”; however at the same time she claims she gets discriminated against because she is black. It is this unyielding tension between the opposing forces that continually produces a repetition of black identity as stigmatised and inferior in an encounter with whiteness.

Extract 11 is a little different to the others in that it shows both positive and negative associations with stereotypes of black people. It shows how these stereotypes are inextricably intertwined. The negative stereotypes of black people are that they are only getting where they are because of their skin colour. Affirmative action, as alluded to by Kasong is also regarded as a source of advantage.

In this section, the encounter with whiteness combined with stereotypes has shown that stereotypes are interesting psychologically; they portray the negative features as a reality in three ways: 1) the stereotype fixes the dichotomy of inferior/superior binary oppositions of black/white relations; 2) the stereotype complicates the relational aspect of black identity in its encounter with whiteness as it precedes and predicts the inferior black identity; and (3) the stereotype complicates this relationship as stereotypes are a place of struggle between the recognition of the stereotype and wanting to challenge the stereotype as it is shown to have a grain of truth.

The following section shows how these discourses are deployed to construct other forms of black identity.

6.3 *Qaba-tshu* [deep darkness in people of ochre] versus white-black (diversity in blackness): the authenticity, multiplicity and the struggles of blackness

This section shows how black identity has been constructed as a site for struggle and contestation within blackness in the new South Africa. In this section, the emphasis is on the recognition of

difference within black identity itself; on black identity as fluid and contingent, with many possible varieties of black identity available to draw on. The multiplicity of versions of blackness in quest for authenticity takes two forms, that is, the vertical and horizontal form. Here I look at these forms and show how, in both forms, blackness is defined in reference to whiteness.

The following is a discussion on the vertical form of blackness in quest for authenticity. In this form of conflict the content is oppression, poverty and wealth.

6.3.1.1 *Umzabalazo* [struggle] is being black

The first part of this analysis considers black identity as consistent with a singular, shared culture, which Hall (1992:223) describes as a “sort of collective ‘one’ true self”. In the following extracts black identity is characterised as a collective form of selfhood based on the central characteristics of culture, history and ancestry (Hall, 1997). In this analysis this essentialism of black identity results in two ways of constructing black identity as ambivalent.

Here I show how multiplicity of blackness in quest of authenticity is rooted in the history of oppression.

In the following extracts, 12, 13 and 14, black identity is constructed within the discourse of the political struggle and the discourse of social struggle. In other words to be black is to be racially oppressed and poor.

Extract 12

Sida: I would not like to see South Africa if I am talking about other people [black] to go that route.

I: can you please explain what route you are referring to?

Sida: where we forget our history such that we want to believe there was never a cause for the struggle (*mhhm*) hayi [no] I would not like to see us going that route myself included anyway (*mhhm*) but I am saying other people because I don't want to believe that I will never forget (*mhhm*) which then says I am worried about our own children who want to believe that the environment is ok (*mhhm*) which is not ok if they can forget ngathi [about us] where we come from we are doomed as a nation of black people .

I: explain your fear about other black people

Sida: they [black children] are starting to ask questions even now ukuba why mama are you still busy with umzabalazo? [political struggle] (*mhhm*) mama [mother] why do you still go to meetings my teacher told me that we are free (*mhhm*) why do we still have to fight? (*mhhm*) she does not understand and some of us we don't take time to tell them exactly what is going on (*mhhm*) so that is the reason we are losing it somewhere (*mhhm*) we are losing it we need to make sure that our kids know the history of where we come from and that must always be in their minds.

Extract 13

Mpongo: imagine if we can have a president in years to come who never imagined himself or herself or who does not bother to know where this country comes from then how he is going to take it forward (*yes*) he or she can't take it forward because he might have a skill of reading political science and all those things (*mhhm*) but there will be no understanding of the struggle by then only freedom some might have forgotten that we were oppressed (*yes*) and writers like yourself might not have written enough books (*mhhm*) or by that time they [youth] might say let's not talk about racism don't talk about oppression it's not there (*mhhm*) and then you get a president who doesn't know where he comes from (*mhhm*) I think he or she might not lead this country for direction (*mhhm*) so let us invest in our children (*mhhm*) tell them where we come from prepare them for the future and I think if we do that the life of a black person would be bright .

I: please give me an explanation of the kind of preparation we need for our children.

Mpongo: black children should be taught the history of this country not the lies of Jan Van Riebeeck and such they should be taught to have pride in their blackness and that people died to liberate them from the oppression of the white people.

Extract 14

Mpongo: I will give an example in 2000 we were campaigning for local government elections so it was an ANC convoy of cars (*mhhm*) posters cars were going poo pooo we went over to Vincent (*mhhm*) we were going to park there at Vincent take our pamphlets giving to those who have come to buy (*mhhm*) so we going there whooo goes the hooter (*mhhm*) one young student was saying they are making noise (*mhhm*) a black child and I asked myself what is this all about? I was worried that she feels that we are making noise we are not welcome (*mhhm*) therefore how many of them are saying that? then I am saying therefore that really the fear about this generation who live a luxurious type of life is to me going to be problematic (*mhhm*) I am thinking about my own kids when they say we don't want to eat this we ate this thing on Monday why not change they have the option of going to the refrigerator and saying I don't want this rather I would make some eggs (*mhhm*) but I would say to them when I grew up I had no option there was time when you eat what we call mielie-papomqa akukho masi [maize meal porridge with no sour milk] if there is no sour milk sometimes you just fold up the thing and you make it look like a rubber and that looks like bread and you bite and there is no tea then your mother when she finishes will leave something for you and say drink (*mhhm*) now just when ever they feel they are watching a movie they just go to the kitchen switch on the kettle make tea at night make coffee so I am saying parents must play a vital role to try and say to these kids know where you come from so that you can be able to live like that.

In extracts 12 and 13, both Sida and Mpongo express the view that the collapse of apartheid has created significant repercussions for young people who do not understand the history of the political struggle and black difficulties. The extracts reveal a form of implicit tension between the older and younger generation. In this regard Sida, who defines her blackness in terms of political struggle, complains about her child who questions why she is still busy with

umzabalazo [political struggle]. In so doing the parent criticises the youth and other black people who might forget the struggle as part of being a black person. Sida explicitly constructs black identity as a struggle against oppression and articulates a belief that forgetting the struggle is a sign of the perishing of black identity and an indicator that we are “doomed as a nation of black people”.

Mpongo also says “there will be no struggle but then in freedom only some might have forgotten that we were oppressed”. Both respondents express the fear of losing the meaning of blackness as a political struggle in contemporary South Africa. Mpongo is concerned that now that there is no struggle some of the black people might forget that black people were oppressed. He is eager for the struggle against oppression to be remembered in order to maintain a black identity. In a way this view can be seen as an experience of the elders being trapped in the past and discontent with a lack of reproduction of the past in the present. In this sense the outcry against and criticism of the youth is out of fear of losing an aspect of the past to which the older generation is able to identify the self with.

In a sense both respondents are mobilising other people to continue to engage in political work. Both respondents express a need for adults to preserve the history of struggle as part of black identity. Mpongo also encourages writers like me to record the struggle of being black.

Based on the above, respondents seem to be using what Spivak (1993) terms strategic essentialism, as discussed in chapter 3. In common with Spivak, the respondents use struggle as a slogan to mobilise black identity. Therefore, the struggle is used as a discourse for being black. In the above extracts respondents use the past construction of black identity as solidarity against oppression to protect against the fluidity of black identity in this transitional post-apartheid period. From this perspective the demise of apartheid is a threat to black identity. There is an erosion of identity as the younger generation ‘forget’ about racist oppression; in so doing they use the moment of change and democracy in South Africa to emphasise the tension between ‘freedom’ and the ‘struggle’. However, the youth are not in agreement with elders in this respect. This results in an ambivalent black identity that is striving for a secure sense of self and which valorises the racism it tries to problematise. This conflict seems to be caused by reflecting on the

predicament of colonisation in the time of change. Thus constructing an ambivalent black identity located in the past, that is, in the ‘struggle’ at a time when it should be moving forward to the other available ways of being black offered by postcolonial possibilities. In a sense, the respondents are using the struggle and freedom as oppositions in constructing black identity. This produces a negotiation between the two supposedly contradictory moments and produces a hybrid black identity that is neither oppressed nor free. The outcome of hybrid blackness is a result of the involvement of the respondents in positioning themselves in the milieu of similarities and differences.

Similarly, in extract 14, Mpongo constructs blackness with the struggle and oppression. In so doing he constructs blackness as a struggle between “economic abundance” and “poverty”. Mpongo articulates a stereotypical view of black identity as being associated with poverty. He is concerned about economic change, and about how poverty as a strategy reminds black people of their black identity. He seems to believe that the change from poverty to a more affluent way of life has the potential to “take away” the memories of the history of being black. In so doing he narrates a story of the past by relating it to a life of poverty, including contrasting with what he used to eat to his children’s abundant life style in which they take the presence of luxury foods for granted. He seems to fear that the luxury has the potential to blur the boundaries of black identity.

Both Sida and Mpongo plead that parents should convey the black history of political and economic struggle to their children in this time of affluence, thus maintaining the association between political and social struggles and blackness. This shows that elderly black people seem to have ascribed a certain stereotypical social identity to themselves. This social identity is that of seeing self as “the poor”. What seems to be happening is that the youth today have not internalised this identity as their social marker whilst the elderly people have internalised it. The symbol of poverty is used by adults as a product of black image, but at the same time a symbol of difference from youth.

This is what Spivak (1993) refers to as “strategic essentialism”, which is a useful way of constructing cultural identity as a strategy for mobilising people to engage in political work.

From this analysis the strategy is to identify blackness with oppression and struggle at a time when it is under threat with socio-political and economic transformation.

This way of constructing black identity also shows signs of criticising young people. Criticism has also been unfixed and unpredictable in that there have been criticisms within generations.

Extract 15

Kasong: there's those black people that says its two thousand now its modern times everything else can stop now (ja) I mean they say gone are the days we don't want lobola which put restrictions that we don't want this we don't want that and there are those blacks whereby completely they want nothing to do with being black just their skin colour and that's it even their parents because their parents are so much in high positions you can't do this you can't be seen as this you can't do that and to me you can't put down where you coming from (*mhhm*) if you are black you will die black you cannot really wake up one day and say I want to live like a white person and I'm gonna follow the white person's culture (*mhhm*) ilobola anything stuff that is done before marriage and stuff that is done for endlini istuff [my family culture] that we have to follow (*mhhm*) if you have a child and an animal slaughtered its not its tradition it has been there for generations and ancestors is something not all of us were raised with that but I'm sure most black people were raised with (*mhhm*) but because they don't wanna look at it they just wanna tell their parents that that's how you were raised in your days and this is now that is how I wanna be raised and my kids are not gonna do that and these actually have an impact on other people (*mhhm*) as time goes by they will know some other.

The criticism of the "other" is across generations and some young black respondents criticise other blacks for being trapped in their black skin. This view was also expressed by the youth in relation to their peers as is evident in extract 15 (above) where Kasong expresses this view, saying "there are those blacks whereby completely they want nothing to do with being black just their skin colour". Kasong criticises the youth who in modern times aspire to live their lives according to "white standards". Kasong constructs a black identity in the cultural past. She sees blackness as natural, 'tattooed' onto one's

skin and bound by tradition. In an attempt to construct black identity as different from whiteness she turns to a cultural discourse, in distinguishing white-black cultures as incompatible. She says if you are born in black culture you will die black you can never be white. She then uses ilobola, traditions like cow slaughter and ancestors to construct black identity as different from white identity. In so doing she criticises other young people who seem to turn their backs on black culture and traditional practices. She gives an example of the youth who do not believe in lobola. However, the very distinction she tries to construct between black and white does show that black identity construction cannot run away from the spectre of whiteness. She uses modern times and contrasts modern times with the past which is embedded in colonial times.

In extract 16, whiteness continues to be the standard against which blackness is judged. However, in this instance, instead of being used to find blacks deficient in comparison to whites, it is used to find blacks who share white characteristics deficient.

The following extract 16 is an example youth criticising adults. It shows that the basis of older generations is in the terms of the context of unfreedom (struggle) which produced pathology.

Extract 16

Zifiki: I mean yeah its in a way it is a black conscious movement and stuff and its (*mhhm*) yeah eh more than anything and I think (*yes*) one of the Africans we were suppressed for so long (*yes*) suppressed from being the people that we are and finding freedom to explore what you know (*yes*) for a very long time so now you've got the youth who look at their parents and they talk to their parents (*mhhm*) a lot of parents you know and grandparents would be like hayi umlungu [no show respect to white people] you know they' so afraid and stuff (*yes*) you know and they want you to do things by the books of the white people (*mhhm*) and a lot of our parents still think like that so now you have this ehm emerging market of young people (*mhm*) coming up and saying you know let us be different (*yeah*) let us be ourselves because now we have the freedom to do anything I think it has come with the recognition of we have the freedom of being the people that we want to be (*yes*) so therefore more than anything lets enforce what they

[parents] did not have (*yes*) what they [whites] didn't want us to have before you know (*mhhm*) who we are our Africanism (*yes*) so therefore that's what I think (*mhhm*) that's one of the reasons why people are driving people right now you know to want to do that thinking ukuthi [that] back in the days my mother my father my grandparents couldn't embrace who they are (*yes*) can I now do that and at the same time em I can benefit from it (*yes*) you understand (*yes*) you know so I think that's definitely one of the reasons that drives people now to actually really experience what true Africanism is you know (*yes*) we want to acknowledge that we are black (*mmhm*) we are not going to live by white standards.

Contrary to the views of adults that the struggle is associated with 'true' black identity, Zifiki in extract 16 criticises the very idea of struggle as a source of black power; instead adults are seen as knowing the black self through white eyes. Zifiki criticises traditional blackness and defines it as a product of suppression. She constructs the identity of a young black person through their resistance to the suppression of an identity independent from whiteness. For her, blackness today entails freedom of expression; whilst in the past blackness was associated with suppression. She uses a discourse of subservience and fear to construct adult identity in relation to whiteness. She presents this fear as a production of the individual psychopathology that parents have to deal with. She constructs young people's identity as confrontational towards white people. Here Zifiki asserts a new and reclaimed black identity by giving a new meaning to the struggle against oppression; in so doing criticising the old version of struggle against oppression. She uses "African" as a consequence of struggles to show a feeling of belonging to a community.

There appears to be a rupture between adults and young people, with the youth criticising their parents for being pathological, which is displayed as fear of white people as they position themselves as confrontational to whites.

The following extracts show how these black subject positions come into play.

Extract 17

Mpongo. there are those we said its a white person in black skin you know (*mhhm*) I remember during the struggle that some of the impimpis they said yes they are blacks but inside they are white (*mhm*) so they were categorised as that they are not black (*mhhm*) so sometimes even if you say black people others would say no-no- no look at the system you have got the homeland system we have got the impimpis you have got the security police.

Extract 18

Zifki: yeah I know my brother is a very white black you know (*mhhm*) he'd say ag I'm black but I never took him seriously when he says that and I would say you are black just on the outside otherwise 'ag please you're always with your white friends or whatever you only have two black friends' or whatever and he says I'm black (*yeah*) you know and stuff but at the end of the day I also understand that at his school there aren't a lot of black people (*mhhm*) as a matter of fact you know there're more white people so therefore they're more induced to become more white (*yes, yes*) kind of people (*mhhm*) my brother I used to just I used to look at him and say ah please(*mhhm*) you probably-I used to think he was very shallow.

I: please explain what you mean when you say he is shallow.

Zifki: when I say shallow as in he never gives thought to things or he doesn't appreciate the witty of the person he is as black as he is (*yes*) you know or he doesn't appreciate you know just an ordinary black person walking by him.

Extract 19

Xhobani: as a black person I'm not a victim of apartheid I know myself even if I've come to any environment I want to move on without that sense of not knowing who you are (*alright*) strong in terms of knowing for example who am I (*ok*) and that knowledge that sense of identity (*hya*) depending on my other environment for example coming to UCT I know who I am and what I want (*yes*) It's not like you know there's this plant called

ikhakhasi (*mhm*) when the wind blows in that direction it blows that direction and when the wind blows the other direction it takes that direction too (*ok*) there are people who don't know who they are (*ok*) with this environment these people they don't know who they are (*ok*) yes but I'd say mna I'm totally opposite of what they are.

In extracts 17 and 18 above, Mpongo and Zifiki construct black identity in conflicting categories: blacks and blacks that are white. Mpongo says “those that we said it's a white person in black skin” and Zifiki says “my brother is a very white black”. The respondents provide black identity of the ‘other’ with two images, a black image and a white image. This black person in a white skin seems to be the basis for exclusion and criticism in an attempt to police the cultural boundaries and authenticity of the meaning of black identity. I assume therefore that those who construct ‘white-blacks’ position themselves as ‘blacks’, hence I use the term ‘black-blacks’ to distinguish them from the ‘white-blacks’.

Similar to black-black, white-black also refers to a range of subject positions and ways of talking about blackness. Self-black construction in this category is regarded as a place of pride because of the white characteristics associated with this subject position; while being constructed as a white-black by other black people becomes a point of criticism. A white-black is positioned stereotypically with white identity and in opposition to black culture.

The respondents seem to construct ‘white-blacks’ as black people who are inauthentic, who show symptoms of being ‘impure’ in terms of black identity, therefore they could not be categorised as black people. For example, Mpongo, in extract 15, uses the pronoun “we” to construct a black category against the devalued black other that is a white in a black skin. Mpongo's construction of a black in a white skin is an *impimpi* [political informer] and or black police. Zifiki, in extract 18, constructs herself as black whilst she constructs her brother as a “white-black”. This categorisation of black identity becomes the basis for the terms black-black and white-black in this study.

Similar to the construction of young black people as ignorant of the historical political struggle, the position of ‘white-blacks’ is a criticised and stigmatised subject position. Black police

officers and *impimpi* in Mpongo's construction of 'white-blacks' are constructed as people who did not take part in the struggle against oppression but sided with the oppressors. In an historical context *impimpis* were 'white-blacks'. In essence *impimpi* was not part of the solidarity movement which contributed to the construction of black identity, hence they were not regarded as 'black'. This code of blackness is a political view which differs from the economic and cultural views that Zifiki and Xhobani express. For example, Zifiki, in criticising her brother's position of being a white-black, accuses him of rejecting black identity in favour of whiteness. This differs from Mpongo's construction because this construction of white-black is more of a racial preference than a political affiliation. She reports that her brother has developed contempt for being black and seeks to be white.

Like Zifiki, Xhobani in extract 19 uses a different view to paint white-blacks' admiration of whiteness. He says such a white-black becomes "*ikhakhasi*" [sunflower]. Sunflowers are known to turn and position themselves according to the light from the sun. So this metaphor suggests that black people in an environment dominated by whites develop contempt for being black and seek out whiteness. To elaborate on this picture, he contrasts it with his own identity as a 'true' black. He uses his experience at UCT [University of Cape Town], a predominantly white environment, to testify to the possibility of remaining black, as he has. As he vows that he is not one of those who do not know their black identity, he positions himself as a black-black who resists the calling to whiteness unlike those he criticises as being sunflowers.

In essence, the other black people (black with a white identity) are constructed as despising black identity and exchanging it for a 'white mask'. The extracts below demonstrate how ordinary black people criticise mimicry, aiming to restore the purity of black identity.

This section shows how self-hate is an everyday discourse in black identity construction and how it is criticised. We have witnessed respondents criticising other versions of being black because they are perceived as disassociating themselves with the discourse of political and social struggles. The most commonly used feature to construct this version of blackness is self-hate. This construction differentiates black people as us and them in a vertical appreciation of the oppressed and the struggle against oppression.

The following differentiation is at cultural level which shows ambivalence, struggles and conflict as being positioned next to each other. The argument here is that black people contest the notion of a hybrid subject position. In so doing, the respondents in talking of their lived experiences, place self outside blackness and criticise the other version of blackness using discourses of black authenticity.

The following is a discussion on two conflicting ideas of black authenticity, the defence and criticism of hybrid blackness as an authentic black subject position.

6.3.1.2 Defence of a coconut (white-black positioning)

The following extracts show how the positions of coconuts have been defended by laying a claim to roots and authentic blackness.

Extract 20

Nono: it showed me that in spite of the fact that you know I've so often been called a coconut (*yes*) ok fine so I am a coconut big deal but you know what I'm a coconut that is proud of being black that's perfectly aware of my roots and where I come from (*yes*) but on top of being that I also have need to be proud of South Africa (*mhm*) you know because there needs to be a time where in spite of that we've been so oppressed and suppressed (*yes*) we need to grow up step out of those shoes slightly (*mhm*) sort of like the legendary verb of queens that rose from the ashes (*yes*) ok we need to raise the fact that there's a new South Africa as well (*mhm*) and not everybody is racist (*ja*) you understand (*yes*) and eh at the same time never stop being proud of the fact that we're black.

Extract 21

Nomtha: I am a complicated black I think I live two lives that is uYvonne no Nomthandazo abantu ababini nje abangafani uYvonne unabangani abaninzi abaMhlophe [two human beings that are different Yvonne has many white friends] she goes to white parties and clubs (*yes*) uYvonne uhamba nebeLungu aye le nale [Yvonne goes there and

there with whites] you know (*mhhm*) kodwa uNomtha usenabangane abafana naye abamnyama and I ehm and wenza zonke ezi zinto zenziwa ngu ma ndingayibeka kanjalo (but Nomtha has black friends that are like her and she does all the things my mom does, that is how I can put it] ... inkinga ngo Yvonne kukuthi ngesinye isikhathi isiZulu siyemhlula and kakhulu xa ndikwatile ndithi ndizamela ukuchazela uma something ndikhuluma isiNgesi nje [problem with Yvonne is that at times Zulu becomes difficult for her and especially when I am upset and I would try to explain something to my mom I find myself speaking English] ...ehm the difference between uNomtha no Yvonne kakhulu kukuthi [more especially is to say] u Nomtha lo I feel uNomtha is more me than Yvonne (*yes*) Yvonne is just a person who kakhulu [most of the time] who just tries to fit in with these people because I had to get along with them because of the sport that I do because of where I work and I work kakhulu nabo [most of the time] (*mhm*) Nomtha is where I feel comfortable ekhaya abantu bakithi [at home with my people] or even noma isiganga siganga [when we play games] as this little children blah (*mhm*) you know that's more of uNomtha noma siya emapatini senza loku naloku [when we go to parties we do this and that] the difference will be ma uye [when you go to] the black parties umculo like wethu ngingathini [like our music what can I say] black people turn to listen to Kwaito oomafikizolo there you know (*yes*) enegeze ndimamele loko xa ngihamba nabanye abangani bam babeLungu [I would not listen to that when I am with my white friends]

I: explain to me how you are dealing with these two personalities?

Nomtha: it's amazing that it comes like breathing its amazing at the beginning bebesho nabo ukuthi wena unabeLungu [blacks used to say I have white friends] you know but its just natural to me now to say now I am on Yvonne zone and now I am in Nomtha zone kakhulu kakhulu ekhaya uyazi ndiyazi ukuthi uNomtha qha [more especially at home she knows and I know that Nomtha only] (*yes*) I had to learn ngoba I had to try and balance the two different worlds cause its two different worlds both work for me they benefit me at the end of the day ngishiye ele inye ngibambe elinye [I leave this one and hold onto

this one] (*mhm*) I am not completely I can't say I am completely white or coconut or I am completely black.

In extract 20 Nono is defending her position as a 'white-black'. She is a 'coconut' laying claim to black roots and an authentic black identity based on the fact that she has suffered oppression like other black people. She transformed herself into a 'white-black' and criticises other black people for being unable to shake off the stigma of being oppressed. She uses the term "roots" in order to position herself as an authentic black person. She constructs a hybrid black identity for herself by, on the one hand, claiming to be an authentic black person by implying that she is aware of her roots while, on the other hand, subscribing to a hybrid in-between identity – an identity that allows her to use terms like "legendary proverb" and "queen", but she is constantly reminded of being oppressed and suppressed. In this position of concern she finds the courage to confront and challenge the hegemony in black identity. She bases this position on the changing demands of the social context and expects change in ways of thinking about black identity in society. She acknowledges that black people have been oppressed in the past but within the changing socio-political background in the new South Africa, she calls for black identity to move beyond the position constructed by the colonial past.

In a way Nono is driving black people to produce the characteristics and ideals of the dominant culture (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha defines this kind of moment as mimicry. She seems to undermine the power of racism by blurring the boundaries between black and white. As she offers black identity some characteristics of whiteness, at the same time she announces that a pride in black identity should be retained. Nono is ambivalent about the construction of black identity and the construction of self.

In extract 21 Nomtha seems to be negotiating the tensions of being both inside and outside black identity. She is struggling between the two cultures, hence constructing an incomplete, fragmented identity that is neither white nor black, finding herself in unidentified circumstances. On the one hand, she abandons all that constitutes her "language for English", because after being deculturated she is left with no choice but to emulate the coloniser as the sole model available to her. In this regard Fanon (1986:17) says "to speak is to exist absolutely for the

other". Fanon (1986) refers to language as a cultural tool, which suggests that to speak English, as Nomtha claims, is to take on a particular culture. According to Fanon (1986), this citizenship is never more than "honorary" insofar as a racialist discourse of unchangeable biological difference ceaselessly works to seal whiteness in its whiteness and blackness in its blackness. Nomtha makes claims of being neither a Zulu speaker nor an English speaker, as she claims to be good at neither of the two.

In this construction one sees the ambivalence Nomtha manifests as she is torn between her desire to assimilate into whiteness and her rejection of black culture, which nonetheless maintains a strong hold on her through the ties of the family primarily her mother. Her identity seems to be derived from a social context and implies fluidity and hybridity. Nomtha's identity is positioned somewhere between blackness and whiteness, so, instead of her former 'black' identity in this new space, she is offered nothing: she will neither be white nor black (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha terms this position the "third space". Nomtha, in the third space as defined by Bhabha, constructs and reconstructs her identity as fluid not static. In the third space she is unable to claim blackness nor can she claim whiteness; she says "I leave this one and hold onto this one". Nomtha's construction of her identity is contradictory and ambivalent, constructed between being a Zulu and being white.

In these positioning/constructions, the mobility and flexibility of blackness is a response to a demand of context. Openness to ambivalence and contingency is even an acknowledged virtue.

6.3.1.3 Coconuts criticised

The following extracts reveal the opposite, that is, the development of hybrid black identity as unplanned and undesirable.

Extract 22

Nono: this is so tragic (*yes*) to say that there are coconuts out there that one does not want to be black secondly they would have preferred to be black but don't want to

acknowledge it (*yes*) they act so wild and inside ok and they look down on the townships (*yes*) and they don't want anything to do with the townships they don't want to learn a black language (*mhm*) even though they know a black language they act as though they don't ... and instead of being angry with them you need to sort of like feel sorry for them (*mhhm*) they have an identity crisis I personally regard them as having an identity crisis (*yes*) and I believe that if you have an identity crisis ok like that (*mhm*) you don't know your identity or you denounce your identity (*ok*) how do you expect the next white man to respect you as a person (*mhm*) how do you respect yourself number one because you don't even know who you are (*mhm*) so therefore how can you proudly walk down the street (*mhm*) you know.

Extract 23

Kasog: my biggest fear for our black people is (*mhhm*) we have lost who we are (*mhhm*) our identity is gone and its very few people that you find that a s a woman I speak to being black I'm proud to be black they say they are black and I am proud to be black but when you sit down and ask them what is being black to them being black is being westernized and that's my biggest fear and it is already happening because you never hear a white person saying I want to be black (*mhhm*) and you never see a white person trying to be black (*mhhm*) but you see a black person trying to be white (*mhhm*) and you see a black person trying to be American (*mhhm*) and you can't just be a happy normal Zulu or Sotho person (*mhhm*) that to me is an identity crisis in black people in this country and because of that it's gonna have impact also on how this country's black (*mhhm*) people are groomed and brought up. and until that is the case (*mhhm*) because we are so westernized (*mhhm*) its either we are going to be very Americanized or we are gonna be very more British and those are two popular trends and how can you proudly defend the colour that you don't want (*mhm*) you hate yourself you have to hate yourself in the colour that you are (*ja*) there is no way that you can love yourself because you look in the mirror and then what do you see?

In extract 22 and 23, Nono and Kasong deny 'coconuts' the status of being black. The issue here is the problematisation of hybridity in black identity in a self-production of black identity as

essential and as different from whiteness as possible. I use Nono and Kasong to highlight the ambiguity of the construction of black identity as essential in spite of its hybrid moments.

In extract 22, Nono, contrary to her earlier view (cf. Extract 20) of claiming her status as an authentic black ‘coconut’, criticises the other version of ‘coconuts’. We can attempt to locate Nono’s different arguments within Cross’s stages. For example, there is reason to suggest that extract 20 as Cross’s (1971) internalisation stage. This is because she seems to have positioned herself as a person who accepts the existence of bad and good qualities in her blackness. This is evident in her increased confidence in embracing her pluralistic perspective of being an “authentic black” and being a coconut. In extract 22 she contests the position of coconuts as an authentic black position. In this case she seems to be in Cross’s (1971) pre-encounter stage. Echoing Cross, she positions the coconuts as people who consider themselves to be neutral, and who see blackness as unimportant. She offers them characteristics of not wishing to be black. She says “don’t want to be black secondly they would prefer to be black but don’t want to acknowledge it”. As such she constructs them as people who experience ambivalence in the way they construct their hybridity status: She constructs this ambivalent position of coconuts as being a result of the desire to be white. She offers them the qualities of a spilt identity characterised by ambivalence: both a rejection of black identity and a desire for ‘authentic’ rootedness in blackness. In extract 20 above she has positioned herself as a coconut who is authentic by preserving herself as fitting into black culture. In positioning the other coconuts as inauthentic she denies them this fit. She constructs blackness in the individualising language of Cross. For example, she portrays such blacks as being in identity crises and as being psychopathological and sees the problem as self-hate. This is evident in that she says “you denounce your identity”. She positions black identity as a product of a psychological “complex” that black people encounter as a by-product of colonialism, embarrassed by its blackness (Fanon, 1986). She, like Fanon (1986), constructs identification as a pathological condition produced by colonial relations in the construction of white-black. She claims that these coconuts hate and reject blackness and prefer to be associated with whiteness. According to her this identity is in crisis marked by self-hatred and the ignorance of not knowing who you are. She mentions that these coconuts pretend not to know their indigenous languages, look down on underprivileged black people, have no respect for their black identity and hate their blackness.

Similarly, in extract 23, Kasong's criticism of white-blacks reflects his criticism of black subject positioning. Kasong sees the relationship between black and white as lopsided. For example, coconuts are criticised for distancing themselves from blackness and allowing themselves to be integrated into white society. Kasong uses the term 'westernised' as a contrast to "being proud of being black" to illustrate the ambiguity of black identity as constructed in the discourse of wanting to be white. She says "you never see a white person trying to be black". Kasong constructs blackness as gradually developing white cultural values. On the other hand, she sees whiteness as not moving towards developing black cultural values. The same hierarchical structure used by coconuts to construct their identity is used here. This happens in one way only: it is always blackness and not whiteness that thinks of cultural difference in hierarchical ways. The fact that coconuts are criticised for 'looking down' on black culture in contrast with 'being westernised' signals that the white pole is constructed as superior and the black pole as inferior and wanting.

This way of constructing black identity uses the same discourses that were used in constructing white-black differences which aim to essentialise black identity. This becomes a source of conflict, a construction of complexity in black identity, desired by some and rejected by others. This point of essentialism is a product of colonialism; thinking about what it means to be black is based on differentiation which develops through the encounter with whiteness.

This argument shows how black identity becomes dilemmatic. As demonstrated above the position of black-white is a congratulatory one but at the same time it is a place of ambivalence and undesirability.

6.3.2.4 Authenticity as a commodity

The following extracts show how black identity is constructed as a commodity in a strategy to reclaim authenticity and to reclaim the black consciousness movement.

Extract 24

Zifiki: right now while we're in varsity during this time there's a whole movement going on its called consciousness of black you are there (*mhhm*) and therefore you need to go back to your roots and stuff ... people these days now everybody's got dread locks (*yes*) and stuff and everybody's wearing green and brown and all these earth colours and there are certain things that they're not doing that were considered resting that they're not doing now because they feel that that's the only way they can truly be black (*yeah*) ... but personally I don't think that the way I'm dressed or the way I look needs to reflect who I am inside my thoughts and my beliefs (*yes*) you know eh the mere fact that okay I also don't have relaxed hair you know I've got African hair (*yes*) and earthly coloured clothes and stuff but the mere fact I have extensions on my hair doesn't mean I'm not black enough you understand you know it shouldn't define the person ... sometimes I look at these people and I think to myself oh they're happy that way you know is it really worth it going out to the world to try to prove to the world who you are and what you are and sometimes I don't think its really worth it because I don't know I just don't see it that way (*mhhm*) like em it is an identity thing you know we are actually (*mhhm*) we conscious people tend to like call them as conscious sisters and conscious brothers (*ok*) that's the name you know but its not a way of really going out there and trying to say: 'I am African and telling the world its fine to be proud of who you are and telling the world but they take it overboard (*mhhm*) with them it becomes the whole image thing if you're not dressed the way that they dress you if do not do the things that they do then you are not cool that's the sad part its not that you're not African anymore but you're just not cool it's all about its all about being cool being African now is about being cool.

Extract 25

Namfi: you can see these conscious sisters and brothers (*yes*) they all have Afros or Bongo Dreads or whatever and they wear these Rastafarian colours you know (*oh*) they smoke and they are so cool to be there really that is the new craze and if you not that then you really don't know what black is all about (*wow*) and these are the people who went private schools really they are the cream of the crop and they all went to private schools mostly I think it is a sign of being bored (*mhm*) it's alright to actually express yourself no

you can't be handsome I've got this relaxed hair and just this cool girl from Sandton who cannot wait to go to the shopping mall you know that's just me I wear high shoes and I am very glamorous and with it you know (*mhhm*) I'm the Sandton cool girl and because I'm that and you are this conscious sister now you have forgotten how to be black you express yourself as you wish and inform the people who don't know (*yes*) don't think that because I'm different from you I'm not what you are inside really I'm not lying to you know.

Extract 26

Zifiki: yes yeah let me tell you yeah okay its just a whole big movement and another thing is what these deep people do as well is they write a lot you know what I mean (*mhhm*) they call it a movement its conscious the movement of recognising who they are and basically they just have a lot of things where they write a lot of things that they write on basic kind of these issues but more than anything they concentrate on writing about being black (*mhm*) to write about our Africa to write about how we feel but I think sometimes with this movement its taken a habit too far where it becomes an image conscious thing and it is not about a true image (*mhhm*) yeah everybody is going back to the roots no the thing is people are trying to get back to that background the one that has been taken away by the white culture you know they are almost my age group we were so westernized that we are hungry to be black (*okay, okay*) and stuff if you'll see if you notice now you get young girls or young people wearing top shirt and Steve Biko in a fashionable way you know and then Steve Biko's face or they have a map of Africa or whatever you know it's a whole thing of I am connecting with Africa I am connecting with who I am what used to happen during the apartheid regime and stuff you know ehm but basically that's its I mean yeah its in a way it is a movement.

In extract 24, 25 and 26 Zifiki and Namfi construct a version of black people who have a desire to go back to what it means to be black. Respondents construct this new identity version of black consciousness as being motivated by a choice of cultural restitution instead of new cultural hybrid formation. In this regard Zifiki says “you are there and therefore you need to go back to your roots”. Namfi gives background on the “conscious blacks” and describes them particularly

as people who have been to private schools and she calls them “cream of the crop” to construct them as almost white and with better status than other black people. Both respondents construct these “conscious blacks” as people who have forgotten how to be black; in this analysis this shows a shift from “black consciousness” to “conscious blacks”, constructing the latter as a return to or reclaiming the past to get to a present identity. This return to the past is also evident in the name “conscious sisters and conscious brothers” and has connotations of the black consciousness movement and ‘a political identity’ for solidarity against oppression in the encounter with racism. The similarities with the black consciousness movement also bear resemblance to how the “conscious blacks” wear clothing with Steve Biko’s face on it, the face of Africa. Respondents also call it a movement.

In these extracts both Zifiki and Namfi construct this version of “conscious blackness” as coconuts struggling to retain blackness, except for making blackness into a consumer product that can be put on and paraded. Zifiki says “these days now everybody’s got dreadlocks ... and everybody’s wearing green and brown and all these earth colours...” Conscious blacks are constructed as being influenced by whiteness and now want to stand out as different by having braids and clothes that have an ‘African’ theme. In an attempt to return to blackness these conscious blacks translate blackness as a dress code. Both Zifiki and Namfi claim that in the construction of this identity, conscious blacks are using the colours, brown, gold, green and the face of Steve Biko to represent their identity as African.

Hair styles like Afros and Bongo Dreadlocks and clothing with a map of Africa and Steve Biko’s face can also be translated as symbols of Africans; thus symbols of culture translated and rehistoricised anew (Bhabha, 1994). This black conscious movement the second time around is a reconstruction of black identity that entails the rewriting of past history. The encounter with whiteness in this reconstruction of blackness seems to be constructed as a result of insistence on black authenticity, using a change of focus from political identity to a commodity. At this point, whiteness becomes the background of how blackness is constructed and given the meaning.

The idea that whiteness is in the background of black identity construction is clearly articulated by both respondents as identity that is constructed in an encounter with whiteness. The consumer

products used in this reconstruction are meant to create the difference between this newly constructed identity and the past hybrid identity. It can also be argued that the act of reclaiming black identity becomes a way of being different but does not give black identity the authenticity it claims. Respondents claim that these are black people who have been assimilated into whiteness and who have forgotten how to be black and now want to go back to their roots. In essence Zifiki is constructing a new political consciousness, which is not traditional, but which is a way to reclaim blackness.

A further suggestion from these extracts is that whiteness is inescapable and omnipresent in black identity construction. For example, in the process of constructing an authentic image of black identity, it is haunted by the white ghost. This is evident in Zifiki's way of talking about being black, when in extract 26 she says "we were so westernized that we are hungry to be black". "Westernised" is a white term which implies being assimilated into whiteness and moving away from traditional ways of being black. It is in this space that the white-blacks find themselves negotiating their identity that is not fixed but occupies a contradictory and ambivalent space. This leaves an ambivalent black identity that was once loved and celebrated in its hybrid status and is now resented and returns to reclaim the 'past' historically embedded and once rejected black identity. This way of constructing black others as hybrid is similar to the way the coconuts above defend their position as authentic black people. Similarly, the conscious blacks are constructed as black people who resist the hybrid position created by their association with whiteness. In claiming authentic blackness, they are critical of commodification as taking off very easily and involving mimicry of whites and consumerism.

Similarly to the white-black construction, 'conscious blacks' are in a contradictory and ambivalent space in which 'supplementary' discourses about make up, dress styles and hair styles preserve their peculiarity. As they were assimilated into white culture and have returned to being imbricated in discourses of the black same, this becomes a space in which blackness as a category is constantly regained, transformed and reformed.

The following show features of the construction of a rural and urban black identity. This construction is no different from the construction of the black other, the criticism of other

versions of blackness continues. However, this time the difference is marked by place therefore one becomes a certain kind of black on the basis of where you live.

6.3.2.5 Rural versus urban blackness

Whilst the construction of the black other is framed in whiteness there is also a frame for constructing a black or a black who is considered to be white, depending on where you are. The following is a discussion of criticism of urban black identity by rural black people. The following extracts show the ambivalence inherent in black identity and a continuation of conflicting black subject positions.

Extract 27

Kasong: most of the girls I know who are deep in the culture are those who were raised in the rural areas like KwaZulu-Natal naseSwazini (*mhhm*) they believe in the reed dance they still believe in the virginity testing (*mhm*) till today I know of girls here at varsity who go home to do that because to them culture is important (*yes*) and its how you were raised how your parents raised you (*mhhm*) and just because I can speak English does not mean someone else who cannot speak English makes him lower or higher than who I am (*yes, yes*) we are all equal in terms of race (*mhm*) if you are black I have to treat you like my sister or my brother (*yes*) because a white person does not but with blacks it's different just because I am um-Sotho I'm gonna treat umZulu lower (*mhmm*) or just because ungum-Zulu you gonna say what does um-Sotho know that's the problem with black people we judge each other so much (*yes*) that we actually loose focus of who we are and where we come from.

Extract 28

Njinga: Ehh well you know as a group conscious people you know the African communities we are always group conscious I mean and ehh my defining moment is when I mean that would actually mean being make me emotional you know it is the missionary and communal spirit of the African people (*yes*) black people when they are

together so during holidays when I would go to the villages and visit my people I mean you know spiritually nourished just (*yes*) to be among your own people unlike the cold environment of what the existential philosophers normally refer to as the lonely crowd you know (*ja*) in the urban centres you are a crowd but lonely (*yes*) you are not talking to each other you have to get an appointment to talk to your neighbour and then going back to the villages I mean as a little boy I knew that going to where I'm going to find the meaning of life (*yes*) a meaning in life that experience you know of being with relatives and that group environment where people respect you which is inherent in the black people's way of doing things (*yes*) black people do respect and being respected and then with my praise poem being read out to me I mean I felt spiritually enlarged (*yes*) I felt that I was growing too (*yes*) *ja* so those were some of my great moments that I still love it every time I go on a journey to the villages I know it's a spiritual journey (*yes*) yes reconnect with my people and the land and the like you know that environment in itself is spiritually uplifting and you feel fulfilled.

In extract 27 (above) Kasong constructs the meaning of blackness in rural roots and authenticity. Kasong also shows pride in the construction of rural blackness, but she seems to struggle with the stereotypes associated with rural blacks as uneducated and unable to speak English. She talks about how some rural university students are embedded in their culture, are educated but do not escape the meaning of black identity.

Similarly, Njinga in extract 28 discovers and affirms his black identity as a collective and confirms that his identity offers him a source of knowledge and pride in rural blackness. Njinga resists marginalisation within white society by vigorously asserting his blackness of origin. He discovers and affirms his blackness as a collective identity only when he is in the rural environment as he says "reconnect with my people and the land and the like you know that environment in itself is spiritually uplifting and you feel fulfilled". In constructing blackness he makes reference to the tradition and history of race in South Africa where black people were allocated rural living spaces and urban spaces were for whites only. In a desegregated society Njinga is replacing the negative stereotypes associated with blackness by giving rural life

positive characteristics whilst associating urban life with negativity. He marks rural life with warmth, spiritual nourishment and self-fulfilment.

Njinga expresses his experience of urban life as being “the lonely crowd”. In a way, he constructs rural blackness as relating to a sense of connection, commitment and neighbourliness. He criticises urban black people for being trapped in a lonely, cold, private individualism of whiteness. This is similar to the view of “false identity” as proposed by Manganyi (1973). Like Njinga, Manganyi sees the assimilation of white culture as providing a black person with a false identity because it requires the substitution of his/her African culture for a white culture. According to Manganyi (1973) the substitution is unequal because black people become trapped in the white culture and in return the white culture assigns blackness an inferior status. Njinga, in constructing black identity as trapped as well as rejected by whiteness in urban areas, uses terms like “cold environment” in contrast to the “warm that is in rural areas”. The affirmation of his identity offers him a source of knowledge and pride in the tradition of being communal. By using totalising and essentialising concepts such as “black people’s way of doing things” he seeks to award blackness a place of origin through cultural exclusivity. By constructing a conflict between rural and urban he seems to be desperate to produce a unified, homogenous black culture that corresponds with place, that is, the black territory or homeland.

The forgoing construction and criticism of an urban black identity is what Bulhan (1980) terms “Moving Away Identification”. This view of black identity positions black identity as dilemmatic because the respondents are staying in urban areas and are criticising the white culture as alienating, corrupting and capable of losing black identity, whilst rural blackness is perceived as a place of reproducing a black identity. It seems that the respondents have come to realise the white frame as inappropriate and now want to turn to what would make black identity different, hence bringing the rural identity as an identity that is far from whiteness. Njinga in the following extract shows why and how the rural space is the best environment to shape his son’s identity.

Extract 29

Njinga: even in our own youth like its happening to our kids in the suburbs (*yes*) I mean they bring more individualistic ways because of their life experiences and the environment in which they are operating in (*yes*) that I actually dislike (*yes*) so that's why when I travel to the villages I take my son along (*yes*) and I know he never refuse when I drive there he jumps into the car before I could even say he's already herding cattle with the other boys (*yes*) I want him to imbibe this spirit (*yes*) of the community and the respect of the elderly and the respect of any elderly person in the village as a parent (*yes*) so that's what I do so I discourage negative energies I'd rather inculcate positive energy.

Njinga (above) is concerned about the individualistic nature of urban black experiences and the impact of those experiences in shaping young black people. In contrast to this urban-shaped blackness, Njinga uses herding cattle and respect for elderly people as distinctive characteristics of rural black identity. He is shaping his son's identity by using the rural experience. He says "I want him to imbibe this spirit". Njinga is using a strategy to preserve his son's identity through rural experiences. This view is similar to the assertions of Sida and Mpongo in extracts 12 and 13 pleading that adults should be the carriers of black identity. In this construction Njinga is constructing a new identity for a young person who is living in an urban area by giving him a glimpse of what it means to be black from the rural experience. This new shape of Njinga's son's identity becomes neither an urban nor a rural blackness.

The following extract illustrates criticism of rural black identity by urban black people to continue with the process of constructing black identity as dilemmatic.

Extract 30

Zifiki: you know em I'm gonna be very honest I'll give an example I have this friend so we are having a conversation (*mhm*) and we are talking about this girl you know so then my friend is like, "em is she like one of us, you know?" (*mhm*) so I'm like, "huh" she's like, "you know what I mean, you know" is she like us, is she speak like us, she speaks

like us (*mhm*) is she us and stuff “oh no, not really you know” because I understand it because in all honesty I hear what you are saying (*yes*) in different sort of situations you treat things differently you know what I’m saying (*mhm*) to your mother to you are different people (*yes*) to your friends you’re different person (*yes*) so therefore I think as well with that if a rural girl had to come I’d find it very hard to live with her (*mhm*) like to live properly with her I mean *engasazi isiNgesi* [not understanding English] you understand a person who does not speak English (*mmhm*) who does not know how to speak English who cannot or who doesn’t know English well you know what I’m saying like a rural *qaba-tshu* type of thing you know I’d find it very hard to live with her because we come from different backgrounds so therefore there’re certain things that we will not agree on there’re certain things that we will see eye-to-eye about (*mhm*) you know and sometimes in all honesty sometimes I get moments when I find it very hard to express myself in Zulu and then there are also times when I find it hard to express myself in English you know but now a rural person is totally totally black if you understand what I’m saying you know (*mhm*) I don’t think I’m putting it the right way but they are totally very deep within the culture and the roots therefore it would be very hard for me I’m not going to lie to you in all honesty.

The construction of the rural black as culturally rooted and authentic as previously discussed is quite different from Zifiki’s construction of rural blackness here (extract 30). According to Zifiki a rural identity is associated with an unsophisticated image of naïve blackness. Rural blackness is constructed as a stigmatised identity compared with educated sophisticated urban black identity. The difference between this ‘too’ black rural blackness and the urban ‘lighter’ identity is measured against the hierarchy of whites being superior and blacks inferior. In this case being “very deep with culture and roots” is a less valuable event than being close to whiteness. Black-black then becomes a troubled subject position devalued because of an inability to speak English. To illustrate this; she uses words like “*qaba-tshu*”. *Qaba* is a term with colonial associations used to denigrate blacks as people of ochre, implying that blacks are uneducated and heathen. This word has a similar meaning to kaffir. In linking *qaba* with *tshu*, she is emphasising the high density of darkness in fixing rural blackness as naïve and stupid compared to urban blacks. Contrary to this view of rural blackness, urban blackness is constructed as white-black; blackness

that has managed to shun the ochre. This kind of blackness is portrayed as superior, moving towards whiteness; as she says, “moments where I find it very hard to express myself in Zulu then there are also times when I find it hard to express myself in English but now a rural person is totally, totally black”. Zifiki seems to have distorted her own historical and communal values and standards and the imposition of white standards. She feels that if she can speak English well enough, there is a chance of being white. Her rural cousin, who cannot speak English, is positioned as a ‘black black’, an embarrassing subject position.

The following two extracts take the difference between rural blackness and urban blackness even further

Extract 31

Zifiki: ... we're just that but that's the truth and reality of it I honestly do believe that I don't think that I really be able to live with that person (*mhhm*) [rural] but as I said because we different people in different situations ... but if you had to take me now and take me home you know I've got aunts and cousins who live a rural life (*yes*) but when I'm with them I'm very comfortable it is fine for me to be there (*mhm*) because I'm within that environment you know but if you take them out of that and bring them into this environment it can be very hard but it's fine for me to go to that environment (*yes*) or whatever its just basically em if I'm within city if I'm within city in city whatsoever you know and I'm living a normal life of a teenager (*mhhm*) because a lot of teenagers in the cities know English and are like English (*yeah*) and stuff within the city you going to shopping malls you going for lunch you going coffee and all that its fine for me to do (*mhm*) but I don't think that a rural person would not take that in well and therefore and the way view relationships as well you know we also different in that you know which is fine because everybody has different beliefs and therefore we must learn from each other (*yes, yes*) but its more difficult because now its not just the em conversational difference its actually a whole cultural difference because in all honesty rural people are truly black in culture (*mhm*) us yes we are black in culture but we also have the spice of wisdom within us therefore its fine for me if ngintshile [I have changed] you know with my cousins my rural cousins (*mhm*) you know ngale [there] and stuff like in Natal its fine I

can sort of adapt in there but then I also get like you know I don't wanna go back to what I'm used to be.

Extract 32

Yonda: mhm what would be difficult about living with rural person maybe the communication (*mhm*) I know my rural Zulu speaking has definitely deteriorated (*mhm*) I speak the township or I don't know but you know I don't know and maybe their living conditions as well (*mhm*) because I mean rural people do things much more differently because of lack of resources (*ja*) and I do things more differently as well because of my amount of resources (*mhm*) you know so I don't know like things they wear (*yes*) ehm how they look after themselves (*mhm*) you know like they could be happy using a sunlight washing dingy (*yes*) and I want my Lux soap and my Dove soap and you know my whatever (*yes*) you know and ehm and just maybe their social life (*mhhm*) the way they do things are different maybe they prefer going to someone's house and just drinking I don't know (*yes*) and maybe I prefer to go to club scenes and I have a cellphone and I put on make-up and you know (*mhhm*) looking good and poshy whatever (*yes yes*) you know so something like that.

In extracts 31 and 32 above, Zifiki and Yonda make further claims of difference between urban and rural blackness by creating a hierarchy of blackness based on three grounds: moral, economic and cultural differences. Zifiki claims to be comfortable with both urban and rural life; however she raises the concern that a rural person could experience hardship with urban life. She embraces the economic life and city sophistication associated with whiteness, like going to shopping malls, going out for lunch and so on, as she distances herself from the rural as blackness associated with economic deprivation. She also makes claims of cultural differences between her urban self and rural self. She criticises her rural cousins for being naïve and “truly black”. Yonda defends her position of being a coconut. For her, the variable that separates her from the black rural group is a lack of black knowledge experience. She says “my rural Zulu speaking has definitely deteriorated”. She highlights cultural and economic discourses to defend her claim to a white-black position. She adopts white culture as a life style, like she uses Lux and Dove, she goes to clubs and put on make-up. Accordingly to her, rural blacks are “lacking

resources”, are naïve and backward. She thus positions herself as white-black and as superior to them. The same stereotypes used to separate white-blacks from black-blacks in constructing an authentic blackness have been used to make urban blackness different in relation to rural blackness. Cultural and economic discourses are used to contrast rural and urban blackness.

6.4 Discussion

The empirical work in this chapter shows that today being black is more complex and difficult because of the availability of various other ways of being black. Emerging black identity has been presented as a reproduction of the past; in addition it was shown that despite the availability of new possibilities, these still show the spectre of whiteness.

In this empirical chapter, black identity has been constructed in binary opposition to whiteness. In this historical encounter black identity discourses of the past have been used to construct black identity as inferior in relation to white identity. For example discourses of black as poor, lazy, dirty, failure, and so forth have been used. These discourses create an inferior black subject positioning in relation to a white superior subject positioning.

This dichotomy of black/white has also been carried through by the use of stereotypes in black identity construction. The stereotypes in this analysis played a major role in maintaining dependency and inferiority in black identity construction. From the analysis conducted in this chapter, it is apparent that stereotypes are significant in positioning black identity as fixed and as stigmatised. The stereotypes have been identified as being capable of 1) fixing the dichotomy of inferior/superior binary oppositions of black/white relations; 2) complicating the relational aspect of black identity in its encounter with whiteness as it precedes and predicts the inferior black identity; and (3) complicating this relationship as has been shown and qualified in their positioning of black identity.

Black identity has also been considered a reproduction of the past through the cultural reconstruction of blackness reflecting shared historical and cultural experiences of what

constitutes blackness. In this chapter respondents used the interviews to illustrate the history of the struggle against political and social oppression as being a characteristic of blackness. The possibility of constructing a postcolonial identity is interrupted by the colonial discourse of political and social struggles. This construction of black identity differs from the past construction of blackness as a struggle against apartheid; the new position is marked by ambivalence and insecurity about what it means to be black now that one is no longer oppressed. It seems that black respondents have a desire to secure black identity with the political and social struggle being used as markers and a frame of reference to give meaning to blackness.

In this analysis, the experience of being trapped in the past in changing times has resulted in tension between the conflicted and contested cultural positions of black people. Blackness has become two opposing views: those that strive to maintain the black 'traditional' view and those that challenge and transform the dominant view of blackness. In this new position, on the one hand, we learn that a new black consciousness is reproduced. On the other hand, a transformed black identity is constructed through the claims made by those who identify themselves with 'white', but who also claim to be conscious and authentic black people.

These new subject positions actually challenge the validity and possibilities of an essential black identity. The challenge is to construct a black identity with stable unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning beneath the shifting divisions in the black history of South Africa today.

The empirical work has shown that the availability of new possibilities in black identity cannot escape whiteness. This is evident in the way in which the elements of whiteness and blackness have been interwoven in the emerging new hybrid subject position. From the analysis it becomes evident that black identity has been constructed as a multifaceted concept which signifies states of becoming; signposts guiding individuals on their route to identity. Hyphenated identities such as black-white offer some of my respondents a sense of belonging by constituting hybrid identities.

It is also evident that, in other forms of blackness, black identity has been constructed as criticism of other black versions in which a background of whiteness has been found. Respondents were constructing self as the other black. In so doing, black identity construction has involved drawing and invoking particular kinds of distinctions as well as contracts between the supposed 'us' and 'them'. Thus the black self is placed outside black identity and criticises discourses of blackness. The main issue is the challenge of this new subject position as being either a place of pride or at times a place of shame, thus black identity becomes ideological.

The respondents construct this hybridity position by positioning blackness as whiteness, educated and sophisticated. From this analysis they at times want to construct an authentic black identity that is different from a white identity: black traditions like *lobola* and the reed dance and rituals like cow slaughtering are redeployed to preserve black peculiarity. In this empirical work we have witnessed black people defending a hybrid (termed in this study a white-black) position by criticising other black people who are perceived to be outside this hybrid position. This is a new position where hybridisation in blackness is to be congratulated in contrast to being a rejected and undesirable position in the past. In the past being a hybridised black was never portrayed as a strength but always as a weakness, such as the *impimpi* position which was constructed as the hated and despised other. In this new hybrid position, gains for black identity are evident in the way black people can brush off their position as oppressed in exchange for whiteness. Black people in this position have made claims to forgetting about oppression and introducing an understanding that not all white people are racist but at the same time calls not to forget one's roots are made. Blackness in this instance is constructed as neither a black identity that is oppressed nor that can trace an image of a black identity that is not oppressed. This way of constructing black identity has a background of whiteness because the 'struggle' that is a point of reference in this new construction of black identities is about resistance of racist powers against black people.

In relation to other various forms of blackness, black identity has been constructed as criticism of other black versions in which the background of whiteness has been found. Respondents constructed self as the 'other' black. In so doing, black identity construction has involved drawing on and invoking particular kinds of distinctions as well as contracts between the

supposed 'us' and 'them'. Thus the black self is placed outside black identity and critiques discourses of blackness. In constructing a difference within blackness, whiteness becomes a hierarchical standard for measuring the black identity. For example, from the analysis we have witnessed urban black people constructing rural black identity as naïve, traditional and uneducated, whilst constructing their own identity as clever, educated and sophisticated. In this way they construct urban blackness as being closer to whiteness whilst rural blackness is constructed as being as far away from whiteness as possible. This proves that the difference in blackness is marked by thinking about blackness as being different from whiteness.

The essence of this discussion is that black identity has been a site of struggle in relation to whiteness and this struggle has two features. The first feature is the stereotype that cannot be totally shaken off, which has clearly been the case even when the interviewees have been critical of the stereotypes. The reason for this may be that stereotypes intrude into our lives as black people because seeing other black people is seeing yourself in those terms and starts one thinking in a stereotypical way about blackness. Blackness becomes a struggle because of issues of race.

The second feature of struggle in blackness is the multiplicity of versions of blackness in quest for authenticity. There are two versions of this multiplicity that I looked at. The first one is the vertical one, for example being rich versus poor. The second version is the horizontal one, for example western versus African. What is common to both versions is that blackness is defined in reference to whiteness. Both blackness and whiteness are relational to each other.

This is, to some extent, a lose-lose situation because on authenticity is associated with the deep culture or deep struggle or deep poverty and deep rural. In this space the struggle to be an authentic black is rural but rural is subject to be intertwined with strings of stereotypes like being naive, unsophisticated, uneducated and poverty. The images of being an authentic black are read in stereotypical views that imply that you are not part of the new thing; you are rural, stuck in the past. This is where the struggle is: even though you want to embrace authenticity you also want to reject it because of the stereotype associated with it.

On the other hand, in the struggle to be authentically black, you can be westernised, educated, a coconut which defines your blackness as rooted in blackness and therefore claim the status of authentic blackness. Such authenticity is rooted in knowing the traditions and township life for example, unlike those who despise township life and reject anything to do with being black.

This a twofold structure and the operational stereotype and economy is the same; however, as a black person you are drawn towards authentic blackness at the same time as you are pushed away from it because it is associated with stereotypes: the continuing negotiation and renegotiation of the meaning of blackness which must be appreciated in whiteness in the context of racism. In the light of this analysis how is it possible to reach psychological maturity? How is it possible to transcend the conflict? This conflict is definitive of black people's experiences of being black in South Africa.

6.5 Summary

The findings of this chapter relate to how blackness is seen as a troubling identity because of racism. Similar to the psychology of black identity (cf. ch 2) blackness has been found to have a psychological dimension. In this empirical work, this was clearly the case when black respondents showed signs of internalised oppression, for example blackness has been constructed in a stereotypical view. Similar to the developmental stages, respondents were pushing towards and pulling away from whiteness. For example, black people were making claims of authentic status as being rooted in deep culture, but at the same time the rootedness in cultural blackness has been denigrated by other black people. This is contrary to the psychological dimension suggested by the postcolonial literature (cf. ch 3). The latter maintains that blackness cannot overcome the burden of whiteness. This is evident in the black/white dichotomy of societal positioning. Blackness has been permanently positioned as inferior to whiteness and always found to be wanting. The literature on postcolonial identity (ch 3) has helped us to understand the tensions and struggles in this empirical work and suggests that blackness cannot overcome the burden of whiteness.

In this analysis, in the construction of the 'black' subject, it has been seen as impossible to avoid the relational approach, in other words, the construction has been found to be inherently relational and ambivalent.

The binary opposition to whiteness has continued to be treated as a natural way of constructing black identity. The implications for this continuing way of constructing black identity have been the stereotypical images of blackness inhabiting the imaginary realm of the black self in contact with the white other. From a psychological perspective, this can be seen as individuals struggling with and stigmatising the position of blackness. In terms of postcolonial literature, the politics and the history of being black make it impossible for blackness to overcome the burden of being black.

There is a clear relationship between the construction of black identity in opposition to white identity and the construction of black identity through its association with stereotypes. In constructing black identity the stereotypes were not only found to be fixing black identity in an inferior position in relation to whiteness, but were also found to be complicating and fixing black identity in its encounter with whiteness and the encounter with racism as ongoing. In this chapter I dealt with how black identity becomes critical of other versions of blackness.

Different contexts in which blackness has shown to be a site of struggle have been discussed. For example, the completion and conflict in terms of authenticity, social and political positioning have shown that blackness is mobile and flexible compared to the first stereotypical way of constructing black identity. In the discussion offered in this chapter whiteness is shown to be inescapable in black identity construction.

The following chapter concludes the study by drawing conclusions, making recommendations and examining the limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 7

“I SAW MYSELF IN SO MANY BLACK PEOPLE THAT I INTERVIEWED”

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the overall conclusions of this research. I also highlight the limitations and make recommendations for this study. This study has been concerned with emerging black identity in the new South Africa. It has been a study of the impact of the historical, political and economic change on black people's identity as presented by black people's way of constructing the meaning of blackness. To do so, I reflect on the empirical work in the light of the two literature review chapters (cf. ch 2 & ch 3), which see black identity as problematic.

The psychology literature constructs blackness as a process during which the individual has to go through various stages. The burden of blackness means the individual has to grow up and come to terms with themselves so as to achieve psychological wellbeing and to function at an optimal level. In regarding the individual focus as a problem, it brings the troubling feature of blackness, of politics and the political gaze into view. In this problem, the individual and the politics work hand in hand. What the postcolonial literature does is to focus primarily on structures: historical structure, economic structure and political structure. It presents the struggle not as developmental, but as political. Both review chapters point us to the struggle and the tensions inherent in being black. My work clearly shows these are brought on by desegregation, integration, political change and economic upliftment. These very conditions are the basis for new forms of ambivalence and hybridity.

As such, this thesis provides us with the possibility of dealing with the colonial trauma that is silenced in the public sphere, especially now that black people are supposed to be in power. As I reflect on what the empirical work of this study has taught us, I reiterate the aim and research questions of the thesis (cf. ch 1). The aim of the thesis is to understand how black South Africans

are shaping a sense of self in the changing socio-historical context of post-apartheid South Africa.

A succinct response to each of the research questions follows. This provides us with a platform to amplify and reflect on the meaning of blackness rather than to advocate or publicise a particular conception of black identity.

In order to address the aims of this study the following research questions were explored:

1. What are the lived experiences of everyday racism of black people in South Africa?
2. What are the discourses that frame black people's talk about being black in contemporary South Africa?
3. How do black people's narration of self contribute to the construction of their identity in accounts of self in relation to others?
4. What impact does the historical, political and economic change in South Africa have on black identification?

7.2.1 The lived experiences of everyday racism of black people in South Africa today

The reviewed literature on the psychology of black identity during the postcolonial era points us to black identity as being problematic because of its encounter with racism. Similarly, the findings of this study find black South Africans' experiences of racism as being imbued with an overwhelming and persistent sense of racism. In other words, the legacy of apartheid racism continues to have a significant impact on black people in the post-apartheid period, despite the fact that it is forbidden by law. This is evident in the experiences of everyday racism in black people's autobiographical accounts of being black in South Africa.

From the experiences of black people, racism has been constructed as something that is deeply embedded in the psychology of the individual. This is similar to various stage models, according to which individuals have to deal with the internalisation effects of racism that are provoked by the wounds of racism rather than by what was happening in their surroundings. Essed (1991) refers to experiences of racism as cognitive experience in which experiences of racism drive black people's perceptions of what it means to be black.

From postcolonial identity literature this psychological perspective of blackness is demonstrated by black people's autobiographical encounters of increasing levels of hostility and intolerance towards them as preserved through the political ethics of racism. Another defining feature of this literature is that it anticipates that the psychological experiences of racism cannot be overcome; instead it suggests that socioeconomic conditions have an impact on cultural values and identifications that produce blackness as otherness. From the autobiographies, viewing someone as the 'other' has become a fundamental part of the process of creating black self-awareness of and ideas on what it means to be black. At the same time the process of differentiating oneself from the 'other' is shaped by cultural, political and economic differences. This suggests that in this transitional era of post-apartheid, blackness involves an insistent psychological, socioeconomic and political struggle against racism.

The empirical work of this project supports two propositions about black experiences of everyday racism. Firstly, an understanding of blackness in encounter with racism is a combination of social structures and psychical consequences. From the psychological literature point of view, an understanding of what sustains experiences of everyday racism is a provision for individuals to overcome in construction of a free black identity. Secondly, from a postcolonial point of view, racism experiences are simply constructed as psychological, and individual black individuals can never overcome racism. It is in this light that experiences of racism were seen as embedded in the historical, economic and political conditions of being black. From a historical condition, discourses that assign blackness to inferior positioning, as well as the binary opposition of whiteness, remain unchanged in post-apartheid South Africa. From the empirical work, viewing someone as the 'other' has become a fundamental part of the

process of creating black self-awareness and ideas on what it means to be black. This process is shown to be deeply embedded in the cultural, political and economic differences.

All the same, from the empirical work, post-apartheid experiences of racism are seen as both repetitive everyday experiences of racism and uniquely post-apartheid experiences of everyday racism. The paradox in this notion of post-apartheid experiences in constructing black identity has been a source of tension and ambivalence in black identity construction.

7.2.2 Discourses that frame ways of talking about black identity and blackness in South Africa today

From the empirical work, blackness has been constructed as a site where shared images of the past are actively produced and circulated: a site where a collective engagement with the past is both reflected and constructed. This view relates to the postcolonial literature reviewed that proposes that blackness is a singular, collective identity that is positioned as inferior. Secondly, it proposes that blackness is not static but is fluid and multiple which problematises blackness as culturally homogeneous.

From the empirical work, black identity has firstly been constructed in binary opposition to whiteness. In this historical encounter black identity discourses of the past have been used to construct black identity as inferior to white identity. For example, discourses of blacks as poor, lazy, dirty, failures, and so on have been used. These discourses create an inferior black subject positioning in relation to the superior white subject positioning. This dichotomy of black/white has also been carried through by the use of stereotypes in black identity construction. The stereotypes in this analysis play a major role in maintaining this dependency and inferiority in black identity construction.

From the empirical work it is apparent that stereotypes are significant in positioning black identity as fixed and stigmatised. The stereotypes have been identified as capable of 1) fixing the dichotomy of inferior/superior binary oppositions of black/white relations; 2) complicating the

relational aspect of black identity in its encounter with whiteness as it precedes and predicts the inferior black identity; and (3) the struggle with stereotypes is in the recognition the stereotypes and realisation that it might have a grain of truth.

7.2.3 Black self construction as a contribution to the construction of the other

The positioning of self as an ordinary black is rooted in the milieu of similarities and differences. We have witnessed the black self as constructed within the discourse of political and social struggle in order to position the different black other as competing and conflictual to self. The struggle is constructed as different versions of authenticity: firstly, political, economic, oppression hierarchy; and secondly, culture, west, African, rural, urban and so on. For example, parents were critical of youth who might forget the struggle because of the experiences of black economic freedom. To view the self as poor, parents construct an image that is a symbol of difference for youth from well-off backgrounds. In contrast, the youth construct the black self as progressive and confrontational to sources of oppression, whilst constructing adults as the other who is subservient to oppression.

In terms of the black self as the other of whiteness, blackness was constantly reinvented and reactivated in pre-colonial myths and traditions in order to reconstruct an essentialist identity which can be opposed to the coloniser. For example, people use *lobola*, rituals, symbols of being Africanto reinvent and reactivate the past meanings of black identity in order to be different from whiteness.

7.2.4 The impact on black identity of the historical, political and economic changes in South Africa

In the new South Africa there are new forms of identity and the structure and conditions for these new forms is socioeconomic change. The last 15 years have seen the transition from the apartheid era to the post-apartheid era. During this time new forms of struggle have emerged in South Africa and the conditions conducive for this are clearly integration, black economic

empowerment and the emerging black middle class. However, these things, which have occurred on quite a large scale, do not necessarily translate into everything about blackness is well, but have shown that blackness is continually troubling; it is troubling because the hopes to attain a fully liberated black identity and to become a fully rounded black person seem to be failing.

What it means to be black today is no easier than it was prior to the new democratic order. This is largely because the structures of racism remain and discrimination as well as the stereotypes are still intact. From the empirical work it becomes clear that stereotypes are deployed to uncover and recover the past meaning of black identity. This is evident in the way the encounter with whiteness combined with stereotypes has shown the inability of black respondents to transcend the negative stereotypes associated with black identity. These conditions explain why black identity is shaped by a continuation of colonial discourses or by the advancement of its plurality through its movement between past and present, thus complicating black identity.

As much as the movement between the past and the present in black identity construction has opened up possibilities of new black identity, blackness has been unable to shake off the struggle of being black. In fact the availability of other ways of being black is both positive and negative. The positive aspect of it is that it opens opportunities for going beyond the way blackness is being framed. For example, you hear black people in this study making claims that the time for them to be the elite who live in Sandton (previously segregated for rich white people) and to be the cream of the crop in white universities and schools has come. Such claims are creations and inventions of new forms of being black. What is negative about this is that these very forms are stuck in the frame of racism and therefore blackness continues to be a moral minefield today. It becomes evident that in all these socioeconomic developments, what is authentic versus inauthentic is a mimicry and loss of authenticity. This is why blackness has the inability to escape whiteness; it complicates the very forms of the emerging new black identity.

I further argue that another possibility for the new identity is glossed mimicry that subsequently takes place as black people constantly shift between black and white cultures. For example, black people made claims of being unable to speak their indigenous languages but claim fluency in English.

The emerging blackness has also shown aspirations of an authentic black identity. However, authentic blackness has also not been a trouble-free subject position. Authenticity has been characterised by being deep in traditions, political and social struggles. Because the association with such characteristics also means being linked to strings of stereotypes, such as being poor, naive, uneducated and unsophisticated, authenticity becomes an ambivalent subject position. The struggle is that images of being authentically black are read from a stereotypical perspective, this implies that you are not part of the new thing – you are rural, stuck in the past. The existence of the stereotype is a racist view, which as black people you want to join with and to reject because of the stereotype.

On the other hand, the struggle to be authentically black can mean is to be with it, you can be westernised, educated, a coconut which defines your blackness as rooted in blackness therefore claiming the status of authentic blackness. Such authenticity is rooted in knowing the traditions and township life, unlike those who despise township life and reject anything to do with being black. This suggests that the forming of a black identity is an ongoing struggle.

In fact, from doing this study I saw myself in many of the black people I interviewed. It was clear that each person I interviewed deals with stereotypes in one or another way. The unresolved tension in blackness is the experience present in my daily life. From my earliest involvement with Black Consciousness Movement I challenged and resisted the racism portrayed who I was and who I should be. I still find that the very struggle with racism continues to haunt me, I still wonder if the presence of racism is not a product of my imagination. If this is how I feel about being black in South Africa today, who then have I become? Without doubt, the struggle to define my own identity is ongoing. I struggle to define myself in the midst of other ways of what it means to be black in South Africa today. At times I find myself criticising other ways of being black as I continue to defend my position as a political activist. This struggle is associated with the encounter with racism and the encounter with whiteness; it is indicative of black identification. This is why I see myself in all these lives.

The question is: Is it something I can change? Or is it a matter of adjustment? Is it simply a question of developing to maturity? Perhaps in some sense the psychological literature wants us

to look at overcoming the problem of the encounter with racism and encounter with whiteness. There does however seem to be a denigration of blackness; there is some sense that one can overcome but simultaneously that these issues are not resolvable. It would seem that you cannot come to a point of universalism, resolve these issues and then come to a stage of maturity where you just live a free life. The reason why the postcolonial literature is so critically important is because it draws attention to the importance of structures that reproduce the sense of ambivalence in all these narratives.

7.3 Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is that the findings cannot be generalised because of the social constructionist approach that was used to construct this study. I cannot claim that all black people in South Africa are involved in an identity struggle and are ambivalent.

My lack of understanding of other indigenous languages is a limitation of this study. The fact that the speakers of other indigenous languages could not use their own language made me aware that for such groups of people I had to choose urban respondents who could converse in English. This limited the drawing of my sample to Johannesburg for example, and I was unable to consider respondents living in rural areas. I then tried to balance this by having a bigger sample from the Eastern Cape rural areas where the indigenous language is IsiXhosa. Even though I could not interview respondents in isiZulu, the advantage was that at least the Zulu-speaking respondents were able to code switch to their own language, as isiZulu is a sister language to IsiXhosa.

The gender-neutral approach taken in this study is a limitation of this study. To a large extent this study is silent on women's voices and their multiple stigmas and realities of poverty, prostitution and racism that weave a bleak story of women's lives in South Africa today.

The fact that I did not anticipate that some respondents might be emotional about sharing their experiences everyday racism limited my readiness to put mechanisms in place to address them.

In view of this, the consent form (see appendix 2.1) did not address the issue of sensitivity of the topic. Neither did I verbally caution the participants of the likelihood of being hurt as they dug into their past or recent racism experiences during the interview. If I had anticipated that participants might be emotionally disturbed as a result of the interview, I would have prepared a referral network.

7.4 Recommendations

An attempt to find out what it means to be black in contemporary South Africa raised some interesting questions. The meanings and definitions of blackness obtained from the empirical work raised the following set of questions: Who is really black in South Africa? Is it a black person who grew up under the economic and political struggle of racism? Is it a black person who participated in fighting against the struggle against oppression? Is a black person who grows up in a desegregated environment and feels no natural connection with black culture still black? What about the multitude of youths who embrace and identify with black culture and use it as means of self-expression? This study has shown that cultural appropriation and assimilation defy the social category of blackness and confound those who would limit blackness to discrete cultural boundaries. I recommend a further study that would look at internal cultural differences of blackness as a source of cultural tolerance and acceptance of blackness rather than as a source of conflict and a stumbling block to social integration. A further study should look at the benefits of the fluid nature of blackness in South Africa today and move away from the idea of blackness as troubling.

I also recommend that a further study on blackness should take more cognisance of the contribution made by Africentric scholars to an understanding of African identities as an enquiry to becoming. There is a need for a contribution that critiques the essentialist nature of identity, taking into consideration the heterogeneity of positions in Africentric studies.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Ethical Clearance Certificate

*APPENDIX 1
Doctonal studies Psychology
P.M.B.*



RESEARCH OFFICE (GOVAN MBEKI CENTRE)
WESTVILLE CAMPUS
TELEPHONE NO.: 031 - 2603587
EMAIL: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

16 MAY 2006

MRS. C MTOSE (203520419)
PSYCHOLOGY

Dear Mrs. Mtose

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/06249A

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been granted for the following project:

"An emerging black identity in the contemporary South Africa"

Yours faithfully

Phumelele Ximba
MS. PHUMELELE XIMBA
RESEARCH OFFICE

PS: The following general condition is applicable to all projects that have been granted ethical clearance:

THE RELEVANT AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE CONTACTED IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY APPROVAL SHOULD THE RESEARCH INVOLVE UTILIZATION OF SPACE AND/OR FACILITIES AT OTHER INSTITUTIONS/ORGANISATIONS. WHERE QUESTIONNAIRES ARE USED IN THE PROJECT, THE RESEARCHER SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE QUESTIONNAIRE INCLUDES A SECTION AT THE END WHICH SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE PARTICIPANT (PRIOR TO THE COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE) INDICATING THAT HE/SHE WAS INFORMED OF THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

→ cc. Post-Graduate Office for your info.
cc. Supervisor (Prof. K Durrheim)

Appendix 2.1: Consent Form

This letter invites you are invited to participate in a PhD study conducted by Xoliswa Mtose, a student at University of KwaZulu- Natal.

The purpose of the study is to understand how Black South Africans are making sense of self in the changing socio-historical context of post-apartheid South Africa.

This interview is about the story of your life as black South African I am collecting, analysing autobiographies of black people wanting to discover what the radical transformation of the political and social system has had on black identity. I am asking you to play the role of a storyteller about your own life- to construct for me the story of your past, present and what you see as your own future as a black South African.

In telling me your story, you do not have to tell me everything, a story is selective. It may focus on few key events during apartheid and post apartheid, a few key relationships, and a few key themes which recur in the narrative. In telling your own life story share information about your life which says something significant about you and how you have come to be whom you are. Your story should tell how you are similar to other black people as well as how you are unique. As you tell your story you might discover yourself as you construct your story. However this interview is for research purposes only and its sole purpose is the collection of data concerning black South African autobiographies with specific reference to how black people make sense of

themselves within this post apartheid period. The information will be treated as confidential; your name will not be used for publication purposes. After completion of this study I will also send a newsletter to you informing you of the results.

The interview is divided into a number of sections. The interview will be completed within two hours. You are free to withdraw from this study anytime you wish to. If you have any questions after I have left this site you can contact my self at 0835265835/(043) 704 7062 or the Research Committee at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg at 033 260 05111 or contact my Supervisor Professor Durrheim @ 033 260 5348. You may keep this consent form.

Appendix 2.2: Ifomu Yesivumelwano

Uyamenywa ukuba uthabathe inxaxheba kwisifundo sePhD kaXoliswa Mtose, ongumfundi kwiDyunivesiti yakwaZulu- Natal.

Injongo yesisifundo kukufuna ukwazi ukuba abantu abaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika bayinika njani intsingiselo ngobom babo kulo Mzantsi Afrika omtsha.

Le ntethwano imalunga nembali yobom bomntu oNtsundu emZantsi Afrika. Ndiqokelela la mabali, ndiwacazulule ndifuna ukuqonda ukuba le nguqulelo yezopolitiko, nendlela yokuhlala etshintshileyo ibe nagalelo lini ekwakheni umntu omnyama . Ndicela ukuba uthabathe inxaxheba yokudlala indima yokuba ngumbalisi yobomi bakho ukundizobela imbali yobomi bakho ukusuka kwixesha elidlulileyo, ixesha lanamhlanje nokubona kulikamva lakho njengomntu oNtsundu eMzantsi Afrika.

Ekundixeleleni ibali lakho ndicela ukuba ukhethe indawo ezithile. Ungagxininisa kwimeko zobandlululo (apartheid) nezanamhlanje zenkululeko(democracy) ,Ekubaliseni ngobomi bakho yitsho into eqaqambileyo ngawe nento ekwenze wanguwe . Ibali lakho kufuneka libonakalise indlela ekwenza ufane nabanye abantu abamnyama nedlela owahluke ngayo. Ukubalisa ibali lakho kungayinzuzo kuwe, kuba wofumana ithuba lokucinga nzulu ngawe nendlela owakheke ngayo njengomntu. Kunjalo, le ntethwano yeyophando kuphela, kwaye ijongene kuphela nokuqokelela amabali anxulumene nabantu AbaNtsundu bomZantsi Afrika, malunga nokuba abantu abamnyama babuyila njani ubume babo emva kobandlululo. Le ngxelo iyakugcinwa emfihlakalweni; igama lakho

alisakusetyenziswa ngenjongo zokupapasha. Ndisakube ndilugqibile uphando incwadi eyazisa ngeziphumo iyakuthunyelwa kuwe.

Le ntethwano yahlulwe yangamanqanaba ambalwa. Le ntethwano iyakugqitywa ngeeyure ezimbini. Xa ufuna ukurhoxa kule ntethwana ukhululekile ukuba ungakwenza oko nangawuphi umzuzu. Ukuba uthethe wabanemibuzo emveni kokuba ndimkile apha ungaqhakamishelana nam kule nombolo 0835265835/ (043) 7047062 okanye umbhexeshi wam supervisor Professor Durrheim ku 033 2605348. Ungayicina le fomu yesivumelwano.

Appendix 3: English Interview Questions

Introductory Comments

[Say: Do you prefer to be interviewed in IsiXhosa or in English? I also want to let you know that you can code switch if you feel like. That means even though you have chosen to be interviewed in English you are free to use isiXhosa words at any time during the interview. You are free to use isiXhosa to express certain views when you want to, the most important thing is that you are comfortable and free to speak].

You are invited to participate in a PhD study conducted by Xoliswa Mtose, a student at University of KwaZulu-Natal. If you have any questions after I have left this site you can contact me at 0835265835/ (043) 704 7062 or contact my Supervisor Professor Durrheim at 033 260 5438. I am giving you this consent form with all the details and information about the study. Keep it for yourself. *[give the participant the consent form]*

I would like to let you know that, you can speak in IsiXhosa or in English. This interview is about the story of your life as black South African. The main aim of the study is to develop an understanding of how black people are shaping sense of self in the changing social, historical context of a post apartheid period. Therefore I am collecting, analysing life stories of about thirty five black people in order to discover what impact the radical transformation of the political and social system has had on black identity. I am asking you to play the role of a storyteller about your own life- to

construct for me the story of your past, present and what you see as your own future as a black South African.

In telling me your story, I am asking you to tell me about aspects of your experience with racism in the old and new South Africa. It may focus on few key events during apartheid and post apartheid, a few key relationships, and a few key themes which recur in the story. In telling your own life story share information about your life which says something significant about you and how you have come to be whom you are. Your story should tell how you are similar to other black people as well as how you are unique. This interview is for research purposes only and its sole purpose is the collection of data concerning black South African stories with specific reference to how black people make sense of themselves within this post apartheid period. The information will be treated as confidential; your name will not be used for publication purposes.

The interview is divided into a number of sections. The interview will be completed within two hours. You are free to withdraw from this study anytime you wish to. The interview starts with general things and move to the particular. Therefore do not feel compelled to provide a lot of detail in the first section. You can use this piece of paper and pen to write your outline and then you can talk to me from what you have written. I think you will enjoy the interview.

Would you like to ask any questions at this stage?

I would like to ask for your permission to use tape recorder from this point of the interview.

Do you agree to participate in this interview? [*Record the consent*]

1. Life as a victim of racism in South Africa

I would you like to begin by thinking about your own life story of being black in South Africa. In your story I would like you to concentrate on times when you as black person were a victim of racism in the old and new South Africa. Remember all stories have good times and bad times, heroes and villains and so on. Think of your life as having at least a few different chapters, composed of different experiences as a black person. I would like you to describe those chapters in your life, by giving a plot summary of each of those experiences. This first part of the interview can expand forever, I would like you to keep it relatively brief, to within 20 minutes. Therefore you will not tell me the “whole story” now. Just give me the sense of the story’s outline, the major things that compose of your life.

[Allow the participant 5 minutes to think or write and then talk. I may wish to ask for clarification and elaborations at any point in this section, though there is a significant danger of interrupting too much. If the interviewee finishes in less than 10 minutes, then he/she has not said enough, and I shall probe for more detail. If the interviewee looks like he/she is going to continue beyond 25 minutes, then I try (gently) to speed things up].

2. A Moment of feeling a sense of being a true human being with dignity

I want you to describe a moment of feeling that you are a true human being with dignity; feeling human would be a high peak experience and is a high point in your life story. It would be a moment in which as a black South African you experienced extremely positive emotions, like joy, excitement, upliftment or even deep inner peace. Today the moment would stand out in your memory as one of the best highest, most wonderful moments of your

life story. Please be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has that event had on you? What does the event tell you about who you are or who you were?

3. Moments of despair and human degradation

A moment of despair and human degradation is a low point experience, it is opposite of high point experience. It is a low point in your life story. Thinking back over your life, try to remember a specific experience in which you felt extremely negative emotions, such as despair, terror, anger, guilt etc. You should consider this experience as one of the low points in your life story. Please remember to be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has that event had on you? What does the event say about who you are or who you were?

4. Out growing the stigma of being black

In looking back on one's life, it is often possible to identify certain key "turning points" episodes through which as a person you felt a change about your self as a black person, a time when you felt you have out grown the stigma of being black. Turning points can occur in many different times of a person's life, in relationships with other people, in work and school, in outside interests etc. I am specifically interested in a turning point in your understanding of yourself as a black person, a moment that you became proud of being a black person in South Africa.

[Most important is to note the interviewee understands of different categories of blackness; what did he/she thinking about being black, when change occurred what is his/her understand about being black?]

5. Important Childhood Scene

Think back now to your childhood or as far as you can go. Now describe your first memory that stands out in your mind as especially important or significant in connection with being black. It may be a positive or negative memory. What happened? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you feeling? What impact has that event have on you? What does it say about who you are or who you were? Why is it important?

6. Life Challenge

Looking back over the various experiences in your life story, please describe the single greatest challenge that you have faced as a black person? How have you faced, handled or dealt with this challenge? Have other black people assisted you in dealing with this challenge? How this challenge has an impact on your life story?

7. Positive Influence

Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons that has had the greatest positive influence on your story as a black person. Please describe this person or group and the way in which he/she or they have had a positive impact on you?

8. Negative Influence

Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons that has had the greatest negative influence on your story as a black person. Please describe this person or group and the way in which he/she or they have had a negative impact on you?

9. Alternative Futures

Now that you have told me a little bit about your past, I would like you to consider the future. I would like you to imagine two different futures for your life story as well for other black people in South Africa.

a) Positive Future

First, please describe a positive future. That is, please describe what you would like to happen in the future for your life story, including what goals and dreams you might accomplish or realize in the future as a black South African.

Secondly, describe a positive future for other black people in South Africa. That is describing what you would like to happen in the future of other blacks. What would you like to see happening in the future of other black people's lives?

b) Negative Future

Now, please describe a negative future. That is, please describe a highly undesirable future for yourself; one that you fear could happen to you, but you hope does not happen. Again try to be realistic. In other words I would like you to give a picture of a negative future for your own life story.

Describe a negative future for other black people in South Africa, again here I would like me to give a picture of a negative future for the life of other black people in South Africa, that could possible happen but you hope will not happen and the reasons behind your thinking.

10. Life Theme

Looking back over your entire life as your story developed of being black in South Africa in the past as well as up to now, as well the imagined future, can you tell me what is the main idea that runs throughout the story? Explain.

11. Other

Reflect on the interview, is there anything I have missed or anything that you would like to add, so that I understand your life story better as a black person?

Appendix 4: Imibuzo yeNtentswano yesiXhosa

Intshayelelo

[Yithi: Ndingathanda ukwazi ukuba sithethe isiXhosa okanye isiNgesi? Ndicela ukwazisa ukuba ungatshintsha uthethe nagesiNgesi nanini na ufuna ukwenjenjalo ngeli xa siqhuba awunyanzelekanga ukuba usebenzise isiXhosa esisulungekileyo, ngako oko ndifuna ukhululeke ungaluma nasesiNgesini xa uthanda.

Uyamenywa ukuba uthabathe inxaxheba kwisifundo sePHD kaXoliswa Mtose, ongumfundi kwidyunivesity yakwaZulu- Natal. Ukuba uthabathe wabanemibuzo emveni kokuba ndimkile apha ungaqhakamishelana nam kule nombolo 0835265835/(043) 704 7062 okanye umbhexeshi wam (supervisor) Professor Durrheim ku 033 2605348. Ndikunika le fomu yesivumelwano sokuthabatha inxaxheba kule ntentswano (interview), inemiqathango nolwazi ngolu phando. Yigcine kuwe [*nika umthabathi inxaxheba ifomu*]

Ndifuna wazi ukuba ungathetha ngesiXhosa okanye ngesiNgesi. Olu phando lumalunga nobom bomntu oNtsundu e Mzantsi Afrika. Eyona

njongo yolu phando kukufuna ukuqonda kuba abantu abaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika bayinika njani intsingiselo ngobomi babo kulo Mzantsi Afrika umtsha. Endikwenzayo ke kukuqokelela amabali abaliswa ngabantu abamnyama balapha eMzantsi Afrika. Ndiyakuwacazulula la mabali ukuze ndiqonde ukuba inguqu kwezopolitiko, imbali nendlela yokuhlala (socio-economic) yoMzantsi Afrika ibenagalelo lini na kumntu omnyama. Ndicela ukuba uthabathe inxaxheba yokudlala indima yokuba ngumbalisi yobomi bakho ukundizobela imbali yobomi bakho ukusuka kwixesha elidlulieyo (past), nexesha lanamhlanje (present) nokubona kulikamva lakho. Ngengomntu oNtsundu eMzantsi Afrika.

Le ntethwano imalunga nembali yobom bomntu oNtsundu emZantsi Afika. Ekundixeleleni ibali lakho ndicela ukuba ukhethe indawo ezithile . Ungagxininisa kwimeko zobandlululo (apartheid) nezanamhlanje zenkululeko(democracy). Ekubaliseni ngobomi bakho xela into eqaqambileyo ngawe nento ekwenze wanguwe. Ibali lakho kufuneka libonakalise imeko ekwenza ufane nabanye abantu abamnyama Kwakunye nedlela owahluke ngayo. Ndinethemba lokuba ngelixa ubalisa ibali,uyakufumana ithuba lokucinga nzulu ngawe nendlela othe wakheka ngayo njengomntu. Kwakhona ndiyakuqinisekisa ukuba le ntethwano yeyophando kuphela, kwaye ijongene kuphela nokuqokelela amabali anxulumene nabantu abaNtsundu bomZantsi Afrika. Injongo yoluphando kukufumana ulwazi lokuba abantu abamnyama babuyila njani ubume babo(identity) emva kobandlululo (post apartheid). Le ngxelo iyakugcinwa emfihlakalweni; igama alakho alisakusetyenziswa ngenjongo zokupapasha.

Le ntethwano yahlulwe yangamanqanaba ambalwa. Le ntethwano iyakugqitywa ngeeyure ezimbini. Xa ufuna ukurhoxa kule ntethwana ukhululekile ukuba ungakwenza oko nangawuphi umzuzu. Le ntethwano zakuqala ngemiba jikelele iye ingena nzulu kwizinto ezithile. Ngoko ke musa ukuziva unyanzelekile ukuba unike imiba ethe gqo kweli lokuqala

inqanaba. Ungasebenzisa eli phepha nepeni ukubhala amagqbaza ngobomi bakho uze uthethe nam ngoko ukubhalileyo. Ndinethemba lokuba uyakuyonwabela le ntetwano.

Ungathanda ukubuza imibuzo kweli thuba ?

Ndicela ukuba undivumele ndisebenzile I tape rekhoda ukusukela ngoku ukuya phambili.

Uyavuma ukuthabatha inxaxheba ? [*rekhoda isivumelwano*]

1.Ubomi njengexhoba lobandlululo e Mzantsi Afrika

Ndingathanda ukuba uqale ucinge ngebali lakho lokuba ngumntu ontsundu Emzantsi Afrika. Ebalini lakho nika ingqwalasela kumaxesha xa wean njengomntu omnyama waba lixhoba lobandlululo kumZantsi Afrika wamandulo nakulo umtsha. Khumbula ukuba onke lamabali anamaxesha alungileyo namaxesha amabi, linamaqhawe neengxwelerha njalo njalo. Cinga ngebali lakho lineziqendu ezimbalwa, ezenziwa ngamava onawo okuba ngumntu omyama. Ndingathanda ukuba uzichaze ezo ziqendu ngobomi bakho, ngokunika isishwankathelo sawo onke amava akho. Eli bakala lokuqala kule ntetwano lingaqhuba naphakade ndingathanda ukuba uthi gqaba-gqaba nje ngokufutshane kangangemizuzu eyi 20. Ngoko ke awusayi kundixelela lonke ibali lakho ngoku. Ndinike nje izigigaba ezibalulekileyo ezenza ibali lakho.

[ndakunika abathabathi-nxaxheba imizuzu eyi 5 yokucinga bebhala ukuze bathethe. Ndingakhe ndifune ukucaciselwa nangowuphi umzuzu, nangona kukho ubungozi bokuphazamisa ngokugqithileyo. Ukuba umthathi-nxaxheba ugqiba ngaphantsi kwemizuzu eyi10, ndakuyazi ukuba akathethanga ngokwanelelyo, ngoko ndigrumbe ngakumbi. Ukuba ingathi umthabathi-

nxaxheba uzakuthabatha ngaphezulu kwemizuzu eyi 25, ndiyakuzama ngobulumko ukumxhesa akhawulezise]

2. Ithuba lokuziva ungumntu onesidima

Ndifuna undichazele ixesha owaziva ngathi ungumntu onesidima, ukuziva ungumntu iyakuba lithuba apho waba namava aphezulu wokuba ngumntu nasebalini lakho. Iyakubalithuba apho wena njengomntu omnyama waziva ukhuthazekile, unovuyo, wonwabile kumnandi ngaphakathi entliziyweni yakho. Namhlanje loo mzuzu ume uqaqambile kwinkumbulo zakho njengelona xesha libalulekileyo nelimangalisayo ebalini lakho. Nceda uthethe ngokuthe ngqo. Chaza ukuba kwenzeka ntoni? Phi? Nini? Ngubani owayeyinxalenye yonko? Wenza ntoni? Wawucinga ntoni usiva njani? Eso sehlo sabanagalelo lini ebomini bakho? Sakufundisa ntoni eso sehlo ngawe, malunga nokuba ungubani okanye wawungubani ngoko?

3. Amaxesha entlupheko nokuhlukunyezwa

Ixesha lentlupheko nokuhlukunyezwa lithuba lokuba namava okutyhafa, elichasene nexesha lokuziva unesidima. Lixesha lokudakumba ebomini bakho. Cinga ngobomi bakho mandulo, ucinge ngamava onawo athile awakwenza waziva unemvakalelo ezikuthuthumbisayo, ezifana nokuhlupheka emphefumleni, ubundlongo-ndlongo, umsindo, umvandeldwa, njalo njalo. Kufane uluthabathe elo thuba njengelona lixa lobomi bakho owaziva udandathekile ebomini bakho. Khumbula ukuthetha ngokuthe ngqo. Chaza ukuba kwenzeka ntoni? Phi? Nini? Ngubani owayeyinxalenye yoko? Wenza ntoni? Wawucinga ntoni usiva njani? Eso sehlo saba nagalelo lini ebomini bakho? Sakufundisa ntoni eso sehlo ngawe, malunga nokuba ungubani okanye wawungubani ngoko?

4. Ukweyisa isenyeliso (istigma)sokubamnyama

Xa uqwalasela emva ebomini bakho, kusenokwenzeka ukuba ungakwazi ukukhomba amaxesha “enguquko” ebomini bakho. Njengoko ubumnyama eMzantsi Afrika ibisisinyeliso, ndifuna ucinge ixesha apha ebomini bakho othe weva ungoyiki, ungaboni kusisenyeliso ukuba ngumntu omnyama. Le nguquko ingenzeka kumaxesha amaninzi apha ebomini bomntu kubudlelwane nabantu, emsebenzini nasesikolweni, kwizinto ozithandayo njalo njalo. Mna ke ndinomdla kwinguquko yokuzazi nokuba neqhayiya ngawe njemgomntu omnyama. Ndifuna uchaze ngokweyisa isinyeliso sokuba ngumntu omnyama, umzuzu owathi waziva unelunda (neqhayiya) lokuba ngumntu omnyama waseMzantsi Afrika.

[kubalulekile ukuba uqwalasele ukuba umthathi-nxaxheba unolwazi nengezintlu zobuntu obumnyama, wayecinga ntoni ngokuba mnyama , ngelixa kusibakho inguqulelo ucinga ntoni ngokuba mnyama?]

5. Isiqendu esibalilekileyo ebuntwaneni

Cinga mandulo, ucinge nzulu nexesha owawungumntwana. Ngoku cinga ngenkumbulo yakho yokuqala eqaqambileyo nebalulekileyo kuwe ngokuba ungumntu omnyama. Oku kungaba yingcinga entle okanye embi.

6. Ukuguquka kobomi

Xa ujonge kumava onawo ngobomi , nceda utyumbe umntu abemnye, iqela elithile labantu abathe banegalelo elihle ebalini lobomi bakho njemgomntu omnyama. Lo mngeni okanye le mo ikukhuthatze njani, okanye wenze njani ukuphumelela kuyo? Ingaba abanye abantu abamnyama bakuncedisile ukukuphathiseni kulo mngeni? ingaba oku kubenegalelo kwimbali yakho yobomi?

7. Impembelelo entle

Xa ujonge kumava onawo ngobomi nceda utyumbe umntu abemnye, iqela elithile labantu abathe banegalelo elihle ebalini lobomi bakho njengomntu omnyama. Nceda uchaze lo mntu okanye eli qela labantu nendlela abathe banegalelo elihle ngayo ebomini bakho?

8. Impembelelo embi

Xa ujonge emva apha ebalini lakho, nceda utyumbe umntu abenye, iqela elithile labantu abathe banegalelo elibi ebalini lobomi bakho njengomntu omnyama. Nceda uchaze lo mntu okanye eli qela labantu nendlela abathe banegalelo elibi ngalo ebomini bakho?

9. Ezinye indlela ngekamva

Njengokuba sele undixelele konke ngemvelaphi yakho, ndinqwenela ukuba ujonge kwikamva lakho. Ndicela ubenembono wekamva lakho lehluke kabini kwakunye nelabanye abantu abamnyama Emzantsi Afrika.

a) Ikamva elihle

Kuqala, chaza ikamva elihle. Xa usenza oko chaza oko unqwenela ukuba kwenzeke kwikamva lebalini lakho , oku kuquka injongo namaphupha onawo onga ungawafezekisa njengomntu omnyama e Mzantsi Afrika.

Okwesibini chaza ikamva elihle labanye abantu bomZansti Afrika . Oku kuthetha ukuchaza oko ungathanda ukubona kusenzeka kubomi babanye abantu abamnyama eMzantsi Afrika.

b) Ikamva elibi

Ngoku chaza ikamva elibi. Chaza eyona nto ongayinqweneliyo kwikamva lakho, into oyoyika ngathi ingenzeka. Kwakhona thetha ngokuyinyani. Ngamanye amazwi ndingathanda ukuba unike umfanekiso wekamva elingelihle kwibali lakho.

Chaza ikamva elibi labanye abantu abamnyama bomZantsi Afrika, kwakhona apha ndingathanda ukuba undinike umfanekiso wobomi babanye abantu abamnyama eMzantsi Afrika, into engahle yenzeke kodwa unqwenela ukuba ingaze yenzeke, nezizathu ezibangela ukuba ucinge ngolo hlobo.

10. Umxholo wobomi

Xa ujonge ubomi bakho bonke indlela okhule ngayo njengomntu omnyama kwixesha lamandulo ukuze kuthso ngoku, naxa ujonge kwikamva leminqweno yakho, ungandixelela ukuba yeyiphi eyona nto ekhoyo kulo lonke ibali lakho? Chaza

11. Enye

Yeyiphi enye into ocinga ukuba ndifanele kukuyazi ngobomi bakho njemngomntu omnyama? Ingaba ikhona into ocinga ukuba ndiyilibele ukuyibuza onqwenela ukundixelela yona?

Appendix 5: Example 1 of interview transcripts

Interviewer: *Do you agree to participate in this study*

Mon: Yes I do

Interviewer: *I would you like to begin by thinking about your own life story of being black in South Africa. In your story I would like you to concentrate on times when you as black person were a victim of racism in the old and new South Africa. Remember all stories have good times and bad times, heroes and villains and so on. Think of your life as having at least a few different chapters, composed of different experiences as a black person. I would like you to describe those chapters in your life, by giving a plot summary of each of those experiences. This first part of the interview can expand forever, I would like you to keep it relatively brief, to within 20 minutes. Therefore you will not tell me the “whole story” now. Just give me the sense of the story’s outline, the major things that compose of your life.*

Mon: I was born in East London in 1939 (*yes*) during the tip of trustees internationally (*mhhm*) I was born in a place which was designated for white only (*ehe*) called Selborne (*ehe*) my parents were workers working for a white family (*mhm*) but the George family who was more than giving parentage to me (*mhhm*) and the protector of my family (*mhhm*) that will be a restraighted long presentation (*ok*) to cut long story short now they've been really from childhood they were very supportive of my parents (*mhm*) and my upbringing as a matter of fact I'm still connected to the family (*mhhm*) presently (*mhh*) especially the grandsons of Mrs George (*mhmh*) yes there's only one elderly person left now (*mhhm*) that is Lesley George she was married to the elder son to Mrs George (*mhm*) so why I am illustrating this you know it's a contradictory vibe (*yes*) and now that is during the path of my history (*mhhm*) and especially when we were moved by group areas act in 1954 (*ok*) to leave the Township the declaration was made in parliament that all black servants who live with their families in white designated areas must leave (*mhm*) only the person who is serving and the referring guest will remain behind (*yes*) I spent almost eighteen years of my life in white area having white friends (*mhm*) the only difference was that I was not at school with them (*mhm*) it was the first you know (*mhm*) the part of my consciousness wanted to go and join my friends and school together but it dawned me very early that there is a difference between me and my white friends (*okay*) you know one incident in 1948 (*mhhm*) ja though we were not aware that it was a change of a government (*mhhm*) to a public government which was not rather impressive (*mhm*) ehh we were chased by one man at the end of Selborne Road we were playing there as kids (*mhm*) we were the group of black and white children (*mhm*) now this gentleman in 1948 he parked his car near the place we were playing (*mhm*) he started calling us black guys on one side and the white guys on one side and then chased the white children away (*mhm*) and then he followed them by a car that was also a signal (*mhm*) this was the start now of the National Party Government (*mhm*) its racial laws (*mhhm*) and then also something very strange I would play rugby with my white friends at Selborne College Park no one would interfere but when I was removed to the townships you know

completely now with my family (*mhm*) ja I could you know make out the difference the difference of terrain (*mhm*) itself the houses made on zinc iron wood (*mhhm*) ja and dusty streets of cause I knew that because I was schooling in the Township (*yes*) it was not something strange to me as such but as I was getting old I would see the difference toilet facilities were not the same as Selborne (*mhm*) even at school we didn't have toilets (*mhm*) we used to relieve ourselves in the bushes that shows the squally conditions (*mhm*) which were in the township(*mhm*) to count it all when I went to Welsh High School (*mhm*) ja now it was a new world to me (*yes*) to High School from Primary and before I went on further there was this incident after 1954 I was walking after hours from school in the Township now at the corner in one of the streets next to Selborne College there were guys white who were there with Mr Bokser you know Bokser (*mhhm*) ja they helped him with now I could not understand this but when I reported this to my parents as well as Mrs George the could not explain it was disturbing because it never happened before but later on I could gather that and analyse it myself that this is the institutional programme for racism they are teaching white children of my age to hate us if they see a black person in any corner of the streets they should be attacked (*mhhm*) and that also it adds on now to my consciousness (*mhhm*) about the situation in South Africa and then going back now to the future (*mhm*) at Welsh High School meeting very much going you know students would chorus call the ANC representative from outside to come and preach to us about joining the ANC Youth League (*mhm*) and a students and then they would start jerking me I was one of them of cause and say so stranger where are you going to stay there was ANC office in the Township of which we used frequently ja in fact when it was explained when the ANC peers came to our school (*mhm*) even before I went to Welsh High School (*mhm*) there would be ANC meetings in the street (*mhm*) ja now conscietizing with the general community (*mhm*) and then ja (*mhh*) so those meetings would play a role in the build up of my (*mhh*) consciousness about the authority and the state in South Africa (*mhh*) and that would to dactyls would be the incident that have occurred earlier in my life (*mhh*) that would ultimately crystallizing the one little thing that this was in racial more

than anything else (*ok alright*) ja so but as small as they are they end up into something (*mhh*) they teach one (*mhh*) because I was alone being black person there and now we were the group of black and white children but we were separated (*mhh*) by this old man and then I couldn't go to school with my friends, friends I have loved we loved each other (*mhh*) but unfortunately we couldn't be together during school time (*mhh*) we would be together after school time (*ja*) but strangely we would be after school in the same yard (*mhh*) and the same premises at Selborne Park (*mhh*) Selborne College Park ja so but now all those contradictions will add up into my consciousness (*mhh*) now pincers when ANC you know deployee would come to our school (*mhh*) and of cause errant the meetings in our township (*mhh*) and that created a whole package of facts (*mhh*) which made me what I am today ehh school activities I would rather get to that now (*yes*) school activities the debates there was a debating society coming from our High School Welsh has produced most revolutionary pillars in the Border area (*mhhm*) now long before Steve Tshwete and others (*mhhm*) now there were the early 50's (*mhhm*) 1952 1953 Welsh High School was a pot to cook the future ANC youth league leaders ultimately the ANC you know (*mhhm*) ja the mother body now also the type of topics that the debating society (*mhhm*) would present for discussions (*mhhm*) very interesting for instance Bantu Education that was very interesting and the other one was the before the Bantu Education Native Education (*yes*) and that was created by Cloven (*mhhm*) and there's also another topic native problem (*mhhm*) during the 20's the 30's and also created by Smuts and Hertzog (*mhhm*) General Smuts now in the national the arena you know he mentioned that he's got a native problem (*mh\$mh*) and that alone was the point to the problem that we had (*what is the native problem?*) native problem you remember that South Africa was a rich Colonial (*yes*) and then it was a Dutch Colonic form and then finally in 1806 you know annexed by the British (*mhhm*) under general Bate (*mhh*) and since then until 1910 the country was taken by the Afrikaners (*mhhm*) and then we were betrayed by the British government after a long stalls you know colonial wars (*mhhm*) especially the Cape this side has fought for hundred years (*mhhm*) ja due to colonialism but after 1910 the war had

not ended between indigenous people and the Colonial Masters (*mhhm*) ja then Smuts you know being an active soldier you know and the politician and also he was involved politically and also the organization which emerged (*mhhm*) this thing colonial and as well as the 1910 enema for instance (*mhhm*) we had African people's organization (*mhh*) in 1908 led by Abdullah long before ANC (*mhhm*) then South African Indian congress (*okay I am going to disrupt you there because I want us to come back to your own experiences of racism in the old and the new south Africa*) before I get to a post 1994 (*mhhm*) ja you know the Pass Laws I've been arrested many times (*mhh*) for pass for not carrying the pass (*okay*) ja especially when I was reaching the age of seventeen eighteen (*aha*) ja you had to carry a pass and also at ten o'clock or eleven o'clock at some areas (*mhhm*) you had to leave those areas (*ja*) ja you have to go back to the township there was a siren at ten o'clock after that you have to leave and you'll find police patrolling all the streets looking for blacks (*mhhm*) much as it get real in East London similar to George (*ja*) now before '94 we have to be very before I say that okay 1994 has brought lots of changes (*mhh*) ja then the abolition of all racial laws (*mhh*) but racism and has been left within our own imagination (*mhh*) how we practice how we interact with each other (*mhhm*) but on a roll South Africans I would say before I say that South Africans I think they trust each other (*mhh*) comparatively to other places in Africa they trust each others yes we would still find the loop holes of racism in South Africa even at schools even at public you know amenities we've got something very strange to find in places like do drag (*mhh*) in year 2000 or 2001 (*mhhm*) there are toilets for blacks and toilets for whites (*mhhm*) you know those small things as do drag (*mhhm*) so and then also let me come the profession of a (yes) we South Africans we know each other as adults we never grew up together (*ja*) ja black and white ja (*mhh*) even now I said at first we do trust each other ja black and white (*ok*) yes there is that element of trust amongst each other and I have said that we still find pockets of racism (*yes*) yes ja now I will tell you something let's go to churches (*ja*) you know in my church in Methodist you still find in the morning it is divided into periods the morning period well it is declared for everybody to attend (*ja*) but you will find out most

people who are there are white people (*mhh*) then at 11o'clock (*mhhm*) when the black service starts there is not even a single white only the black people you know (*mhh*) this is the trend alright but it still gonna carry on (*mhh*) raising being that racism has been almost parliament years (*ja*) it cannot be eradicated over night (*mhh*) now lets go also to the employment places that's where you will find that's very right there (*mhh*) you will still find you know where I worked most of the whites resigned (*mhh*) and then the department had intended to keep some of the whites (*mhhm*) what occurred was that all the in fact it was irrespective whether you are black or white but now all the *ja* you know this occurs in all departments of the government (*mhhm*) *ja* ehh rather government department if we have a Christmas party *ja* just small things as they are you know but they mean a lot you'll find some of the whites staying away saying we are not used to mix or to big parties you know like the one that is going to occur (*mhh*) or else now as we know we blacks what we used to do in fact what we normally do (*mhh*) in our place of work we collect money and we buy all the requirements its either for the Christmas party or birthday party but it's different with white you bring your own you bring your own drinks and you bring your own meat (*mhh*) *ja* but once that the two cultures could not meet (*mhh*) rather the two practices could not meet it's not even a question of culture (*ja*) it's a practice (*mhh*) *ja* we find that lots of whites could not come into grips with this kind of practice (*mhhm*) the togetherness (*yes*) be together all of us irrespective of who you are (*mhhm*) now ehh that's another issue another issue is a question of managers (*managers okay*) the question of managers the management level in South Africa today is very minimal you know (*mhhm*) the appointment of black managers (*ok*) *ja* you find most of the managers who are there have no powers no decision making powers some of them are there for window dressing purposes (*yes*) *ja* black managers that's where now racism you'll find it (*yes*) but it's very subtle you'll never make it especially in the upper ecclesiae(*ja*) now for management (*mhh*) especially in private sector its done very subtle (*mhh*) now for instance about 16% of black managers that is the average which is very, very statutory (*mhh*) the advert puts a lot of requirement and when you look you will see that the advert will suite only

the white candidate (*mhh*) but the media also play its role negatively (*mhhm*) at times you'll find out there's more emphasis and more attempt in the question of affirmative action (*mhhm*) affirmative action you know is counted for that when that in reality affirmative action has not attained it's goal (*mhhm*) ja because look at the average or the percentage of the people who are occupying these high level posts (*mhh*) it's very minimal indeed (*mhh*) that's another issue these are the of cause we as the ANC (*mhhm*) we see there were two struggle first the National Struggle second it's the economical struggle (*mhhm*) now we are in the second phase of our struggle which will take longer than we can anticipate (*mhhm*) reconstruction of the country now can take another two hundred years

Interviewer: *I want you to describe a moment of feeling that you are a true human being with dignity; feeling human would be a high peak experience and is a high point in your life story. It would be a moment in which as a black South African you experienced extremely positive emotions, like joy, excitement, upliftment or even deep inner peace. Today the moment would stand out in your memory as one of the best highest, most wonderful moments of your life story. Please be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has that event had on you? What does the event tell you about who you are or who you were?*

Mon: I think this will be a general circumstancy (*mhh*) let me tell you something when I was young I wanted to be a pilot (*ja*) but I could not be a pilot but one day when I was flying to Jo'burg (*mhh*) we were flown by a black pilot (*mhhm*) I felt very right as if it was me who was flying that pilot (*mhh*) though I undergone some lessons for flying (*mhh*) something which I never experience (*mhh*) I never thought I would experience (*mhh*) nor to be exposed to the flying today I can safely say I can fly but still I have to get a license you know (*mhh*) to me this shows a change and then to be a New South African now to be exposed to such facilities you know (*yes*) ja you know that alone tells me a lot as a matter of fact now women are in charge of businesses that gratifies ja I can see now all these

changes (yes) especially in these white designated levels (mhm) now there are quite number of incidences for instance you know I never thought I would own an office and become a manager (mhh) in the government department (mhh) but when I assumed management (mhh) of black and white staff in the Department of Labor (yes) not only you know Provincially (mhh) the whole province I am assuming that responsibility now that you know said a lot about the changing South Africa (ja) and made me proud and of course the contribution and the reconstruction of the civil service the part that I played the changes within the civil service not only you know as a manager in the Department of Labour but in general because I used to go I mean attend a lot of workshops (mhh) you know Foreign Affairs Department of Public Service (mhh) uh a lot of you know I was involved in lot forums (mhh) with a mission you know of transforming the civil service (mhh) now that responsibility and the assignment I was doing to be part now of the machinery (mhh) to these now this organization called civil service (mhh) that also meant a lot in my life I'm being subjective now (mhh) rather than being general (that is ok)

Interviewer: *A moment of despair and human degradation is a low point experience, it is opposite of high point experience. It is a low point in your life story. Thinking back over your life, try to remember a specific experience in which you felt extremely negative emotions, such as despair, terror, anger, guilt etc. You should consider this experience as one of the low points in your life story. Please remember to be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has that event had on you? What does the event say about who you are or who you were?*

Mon: You know when I was in prison in Robben Island (ja) you know it started with being stripped when I had to take off my clothes you know (mhm) and I became naked (ja) and then that was the symbol of stripping off my dignity (ja) of which I didn't forget I couldn't accept and then also you know couple is that when it comes to the prison precinct we would be searched before going to the cells (ja)

now it is called in Afrikaans skudruin om te skud shake (*ok*) shake off (*yes*) ja it was always suspected that we would bring in either illegal objects into the cell (*mhh*) whether its whatever you can think of (*ja*) it was the general practice through the South African prisons now the tauza now (*mhh*) when they say turn around then they look into your ass (*mhh*) right into your anus (*mhh*) they would say laat ons jou gat seen you know (*mhh*) that one that's the lowest point really (*ja*) I mean first they stripped you (*who were they?*) the white police ja the white wardens (*ok*) which they were under the system a system which was instilled in them that a black is lower than you or even lower than an animal (*yes*) in fact they would say that in prison hy julle is niks maan you are nothing (*mhh*) you know especially in Afrikaans when someone say is jy niks that's an insult (*mhh*) it means you those lower than nothing (*mhhm*) so these were the insults thrown at us (*mhh*) so this is the lowest point of my life really (*right what did that event say about who you are or who you were?*) yes really it invigorated me (*mhh*) that there must be change of system the present government must change (*ja*) we would look outside you know what is happening (*mhh*) it was subjected you know to laws and degraded you into nothing even in prison the similar culture you know still carries on (*mhh*)

Interviewer: *In looking back on one's life, it is often possible to identify certain key "turning points" episodes through which as a person you felt a change about your self as a black person, a time when you felt you have out grown the stigma of being black. Turning points can occur in many different times of a person's life, in relationships with other people, in work and school, in outside interests etc. I am specifically interested in a turning point in your understanding of yourself as a black person, a moment that you became proud of being a black person in South Africa.*

Mon: The changes are and they shall ever be there I couldn't believe it when I was invited by one of the companies (*mhh*) the White companies (*mhh*) to join them as

a partner (*mhh*) not as a punch (*mhh*) and so that we can build this company together (*mhh*) quite a number of invitations for business interest (*mhhm*) business fraternity it's strange most of the white people who invited us were in fact still Afrikaans (*mhh*) those who are captains of the industry (*yes*) those who own you know businesses now that alone meant something that now this is recognition for equal partners (*ok*) and the we are all equal as citizens the mere fact that the extension of invitation to form partnership now that says it mouth fully it's a recognition (*ok what made you proud for being black regardless of deficiencies of your colour as a black person?*) you know fortunately the organization I joined (*yes*) from the early age it never you know skewed us towards the colour of anyone skin (*ok*) eh we always thought about South Africans what we are and who we are (*mhh*) and then that means we are Africans whether we are black or white the very document you know that as a good print 1955 says South Africa belongs to all who live in it (*ok*) but that is the first line of freedom charter (*mhhm*) now was embedded in our minds (*mhh*) and as a matter of fact it washed away any racial tinge (*mhh*) from our brains (*ok*) and then it made us proud confident and grounded (*mhh*) ja so those three elements they made you what you are as a South African (*mhh*) you don't see yourself as black you see yourself as a South African (*ok*) because now of the constituents of the country itself and then now to eradicate the racial element (*yes*) the ANC come up now with the blue print especially the first line (*mhh*) now once we start looking at our self as the particular colour (*mhh*) ja even with Pan Africanism doesn't harm upon on the question of colour it harm up on the question of Africanism (*mhh*) ja because you were born and bred by the African soil (*mhhm*) African mother and African father so you are an Afrikaner whether you are an South African English or South African Asian but you are South African (*mhh*) you know diversity shall never be there (*mhh*) because I mean we are different tray you know (*ja*) but that lack of diversity should not bring disunity (*mhh*) now among South Africans now with all that (*mhh*) you know embedded in my mind it has made me confident grounded to be an African (*mhm*) no no I've been an African ever since sorry you know I understand the question that how I wish I could have been a white (*ja*) but now

that how I wish that's exactly you know an engravement (*mhh*) of consciousness (*mhh*) that you don't not to be a white what you would like to do is to change the system (*mhh*) and everyone in South Africa should enjoy the privileges (*good*) eh I would say there are blacks who are still anti-white much as the whites are still anti-black (*mhh*) I cannot say randomly use the blanket you know I would say (*what is an anti-white black*) there are those whites who don't want blacks and those blacks who don't want whites (*mhh*) anti-white anti-black (*mhh*) you will hear when they converse some of them they still highlight grudge (*mhh*) and then some whites would close these are the things you see even in the media like this organization which are ultra you know right like led by Mr X. (*mhhm*) ja those are the organization which are anti-black (*mhh*) but still even among our blacks you can find these people ultra right blacks (*mhh*) who don't want whites (*mhhm*) now that's inherent of cause it has to happen but with the length of time (*did you say ultra right blacks?*) ja ultra right blacks yes (*ok*) the one who would say hayi yhu (*eeh*) ja you it has an element of grudge yabon'umLungu it's historical it's an expression of grudge (*mhhm*) ja no I was never subjected to such a culture (*yes*) in this place now the philosophy of my organization (*yes*) never allowed such a disoriented culture to exist (*mhh*) ja and also my comrades were never suspicious of me because I'm coming from a white background (*mhhm*) no we had whites within in our own organization ranks it's Colonial mind (*ok*) really the English when they settle here in South Africa they created a fuss of people among us black (*ok*) those who had finances and education (*mhh*) they would be given a special treatment by colonial masters the British (*mhh*) the places allowed not to buy houses (*mhh*) in an urban area they must be careful those houses were just in the peripheral you know (*mhh*) now if you can contact the search all over South Africa (*mhh*) you will never find insight you know to the city (*yes*) that of cause though you find them even they'll contact businesses (*yes*) between the designated you know white suburb (*mhh*) ja right (*how were those people labeled in the society*) some of them were labeled of cause as the lackeys of the white people you know meaning to follow indiscriminately to follow become a stooge ja just say a stooge this was at the heist of the colonial conflict (*yes*) the English were so

clever they would take few grafts from Durban to Scotland and then London and come back they teach here and then the new cast of blacks will emerge they will really associate themselves and barely around themselves see them as a certain class (*ok*) now different now from the hoi colon they are different from anybody else because you will find ninety percent of the rural area were uneducated (*mhh*) so most of these people look in you know at knowledge you know the motive was for the black man next to a white man (*right*) you will find this in Transkei in the border area here in East London and Queenstown there are prominent families who were educated by missionaries (*yes*) ja that culture carried on through out now you know the twentieth century (*mhh*) they saw themselves not like us but a better Africans that they are (*mhh*) and then they aspired to be you know they behaved like you know White people (*mhh*) the way they speak English the way they do things they go to church on Sunday their kids would not mix you know with other people (*mhh*) Mr so and so's kids must play with Mr so and so's kids ja that's right it's a yes I think now it's not going to succeed (*eh*) though I know what you mean you know (*mhh*) for instance the term coconuts (*yes*) can Coconuts assumed the same practice (*yes*) that occurred during the twentieth century (*yes*) ja so some of all sort would be there would be individuals would be like that (*mhh*) who would associate with their own peers (*yes*) but there are those who would not aspire to that philosophy (*mhh*) ja I think generally the difference is that today most of the people are enlightened (*mhh*) but hundred years back only few Blacks were enlightened (*mhh*) in the sense that they were educated (*mhh*) ja but today you will find that the emergency you know Technikons that is going to create now new class of artisan now who depend on themselves (*mhh*) ja you know a child who has been in a white school (*mhh*) that's in the next ten years there will be no difference between who has been attended the formally White School that is Selborne College now with Border Technikon however the system would have changed (*mhh*) the only thing that will prevail how much one has in the pocket (*ja*) and also the philosophy of the time now would play it's role you know and then also politicians have to play their role not to allow that to happen again that a certain group of people is better than others otherwise it

would be defeating the ends meet of our own democracy (*ok so you are saying the coconuts of today will not succeed as the coconuts of that time in terms of being high class alright*) yes ja because you know you would read people by Noni Jabavu (*mhh*) how she portrays the Traditional African woman there the traditional man (*mhh*) oka means ingoma (*ok*) ja you see that alone seal of people the oka people (*mhh*) written by a highly educated Noni Jabavu (*yes*) who is a daughter of D.D.T.Jabavu (*ja*) granddaughter of Don Jabavu (*yes*) the first editor of Imvo in 1884 (*ja*) you see that in the near future is not going to happen (*mhm*) from the early African elite (*yes*) and now writing about these abantu bembola abantu bembola you are right (*yes*) now connecting this with the traditional way of greeting the Late Chief Ngcabashe (*mhh*) Ahh Zilimbola do you get what I mean shun away from the oka (*ja*) the educated (*yes*) he was the educated chief (*yes*) uyabona you see now here is Noni Jabavu she portrayed the traditional way of the Eastern Cape especially the Middle Drift area (*yes*) the oka people (*yes*) but now the rich culture of the people now in that group she breaks it out here that's very strange to call them the poka people (*mhh*) why not calling them african people (*ja*) in a special place like Middle Drift why does she say oka (*mhh*) do you get me because she had divorced herself from oka bathi Zilimbola shun away from oka (*yes*).

Interviewer: *Think back now to your childhood or as far as you can go. Now describe your first memory that stands out in your mind as especially important or significant in connection with being black. It may be a positive or negative memory. What happened? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you feeling? What impact has that event have on you? What does it say about who you are or who you were? Why is it important?*

Mon: I remember sometime back it was in 1949 or so I think it was between 1947 and 1949 (*yes*) I wanted to attend a birthday party of one of the children that was in 1950 (*ok*) but I was not allowed into the birthday all the children from the area I was the only black there (*mhh*) ja then my friends had attended (*your white*

friends) ja my white friends (*yes*) they were allowed into this birthday party but I was not allowed somebody was standing at the entrance (*yes*) the tall white man say what do you want I said to get inside then I started crying you know Mrs Louis came she tried to pacify me Mrs Louis is a mother to my friends (*mhh*) John and David Louis they were twins now she tried to pacify but as a child I had to leave but without understanding what was going on (*mhh*) but now when I grew up you know but now Mrs Louis Barbra could not help me because she was overwhelmed in fact John and David I used to go to their birthday parties swimming in the pool and everything you know enjoying ourselves as children (*mhh*) notice now I was subjected to separation (*mhh*) this was the first experience being separated from my friends you know on a social move (*yes*).

Interviewer: *Looking back over the various experiences in your life story, please describe the single greatest challenge that you have faced as a black person? How have you faced, handled or dealt with this challenge? Have other black people assisted you in dealing with this challenge? How this challenge has an impact on your life story?*

Mon: Anyway my greatest challenge is nothing else but to live a simple normal life (*mhhm*) with all the facilities I can enjoy (*mhh*) of cause anchored by my economic position (*mhh*) it is always a challenge of cause (*mhh*) the economic challenges are always there today I've got a farm which is a challenge (*mhh*) yesterday I was a civil servant well I established an agency ja these economic challenges shall ever be there because we are on the second phase of our struggle (*yes*) and though it is said opportunities are open for everybody (*mhh*) to a certain extent they are not more especially when it comes to financial institution (*mhh*) the financial institution are hard to get (*mhh*) when it comes to application for loans (*ok*) ja that's another level where racism still exist (*yes*) the financial institution most of the black people you know cannot they do have the potential (*yes*) to be business people but unfortunately the institution some of them are reluctant to support these projects (*ok*) even if sometimes the project will be valid

but there will be lot of requirements which are needed from you as a black person (*mhh*) and then the intervention of credit beaureu (*mhh*) that defeats the whole exercise of a career building you know the economic position of a black person (*mhh*) otherwise if those institution can be transformed it should not be a free for all (*ja*) we all should be abide certain norms (*yes*) otherwise it wouldn't be business (*mhh*) but ehh you know the restrictions that are imposed at us as black people it's too much (*ok*) ja those are the for instance here in this bank I'm using ou maag I know the Land Bank it's going to take a long time before may be 2024 they'll finance me in 2024 (*mhh*) I wouldn't be here by then for instance coming to the black farming community they are struggling (*mhh*) because they don't have subsidies from the government the white government used to give the farmers subsidies (*mhh*) and grants so that they can survive (*ja*) but unfortunately the very same places that used to do that still in place so that you as a black farm cannot succeed (*mhh ok, ok*)

Interviewer: *Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons that has had the greatest positive influence on your story as a black person. Please describe this person or group and the way in which he/she or they have had a positive impact on you?*

Monde: People who influenced me from my childhood I'm going to count them (*yes*) I've got Gwentshe (*mhhm*) Joe Lingase (*mhhm*) Mavusi Mgabela (*mhhm*) Ayanda Sparks (*mhhm*) now those are the four those people were they've been in the leadership of the ANC (*ok*) from the 40's 50's (*mhhm*) now the last two Mgabela and Sparks (*mhh*) they've been engaged within the old new generation and the young generation that is us (*yes*) so carried us on into another level of our political activities (*mhh*) so those people have a tremendous influence on us all of us (*mhh*) people of my age strangely enough they are illiterate but their influence on us is very tremendous

I: *how has that had an impact on you?*

Mon ja it has taught us commitment (*mhh*) after the course you know and then also as I have mentioned earlier it made us conscious (*mhh*) and I am aware of where am I going to (*ok*) so we owe these people really because situations may prevail but if there is nobody to co ordinate revences systematized it (*mhh*) now there would be no what you call a collected behavior without leadership eyes there will be only spontaneous collective being which is dangerous (*ja*).

Interviewer: *Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons that has had the greatest negative influence on your story as a black person. Please describe this person or group and the way in which he/she or they have had a negative impact on you?*

Mon: Eh really I think because of my maturity indeed apart from being you know influenced by friends in a negative (*mhh*) ja that is on another level but generally no andiwuyitsho really I had my ups and downs in life (*mhh*) meeting people you know now who disappointed me (*mhh*) ja generally no (*ok*)

Interviewer: *First, please describe a positive future. That is, please describe what you would like to happen in the future for your life story, including what goals and dreams you might accomplish or realize in the future as a black South African. Secondly, describe a positive future for other black people in South Africa. That is describing what you would like to happen in the future of other blacks. What would you like to see happening in the future of other black people's lives?*

Mon: Ja let me first tackle the first one the first one if my family really could be secured (*mhh*) ja because I'm being subjected and then you know my children their schools can be exposed in all the executives (*mhm*) ja that existing the country (*mhh*) and then they get better education on the second one we are still grappling authority and conditions that there will be better housing for our people and then

(*mhh*) houses are just example you know (*yes*) ja there are lot of things to be done improvement of our education system (*mhh*) and then the facilities where you find places like Centane three is a Village there called Gqumgqe (*mhh*) there is not even a single library if you talk to a student do you know library a Standard ten (*mhh*) she wouldn't know the computer (*mhh*) now we are moving very fast (*mhh*) to you know technologically but in other areas we see that there is not even a single water tap like Willowvale those are the areas that need service delivery and then of cause that will be coupled by good governance (*mhh*) and honesty within our government structures (*mhh*) and then palisade (security) of our financial resources rather than buying (*mhh*) you know subsidize for the venue for the D.G (*mhh*) and then for minister you know over around in helicopter (*mhh*) ja yes those are the issues that our presently we should get (*mhh*) but this is what I wish for the general South Africa not only black people you know but every one else in South Africa (*mhh*) because you find lot of white people are very poor (*mhh*) yes some are not educated if I can tell you briefly when we did our inventory of education in the department of labour (*mhh*) we find out most of the whites all most seventy five percent I'm talking in general terms (*mhh*) in the department we are more than six thousand people seventy five percent of the white people they are not beyond Standard six (*mhh*) ja so these are the problems created by the former government and the present government has to address that it would have in a certain extent (*mhh*) but you must be careful here because the system itself it did appear that every White person would have privileges you know and go to school free of charge lot of money it was not like that (*mhh*) it's only privileged Whites who had those opportunities and enjoyed them (*ok*) no there is positive future for black South Africans as long (*what it would be*) as long as there is good governance (*ok*) ja and the resources extended to the black people improve their own areas their schools their hospitals I mean when they say it's historical you have in Duncan Village a clinic and the hospital (*mhh*) I mean I cannot run away from that you know you still have a clinic in the rural areas (*mhh*) and then there's none in Centane so those areas they need to be attended.

Interviewer: *Now, please describe a negative future. That is, please describe a highly undesirable future for yourself; one that you fear could happen to you, but you hope does not happen. Again try to be realistic. In other words I would like you to give a picture of a negative future for your own life story. Describe a negative future for other black people in South Africa, again here I would like me to give a picture of a negative future for the life of other blacks in South Africa, that could possible happen but you hope will not happen and the reasons behind your thinking.*

Mon: Ja I've got the number of issues really and I would not like to be led by the corrupt leader (*ok*) that's where we should start (*yes*) once you are led by the corrupt group of people it defeats now the end (*mhh*) of monopoly objectives (*yes*) now once that's both you know I don't wanna be led by a corrupt leader (*mhh*) ja neither should we be led all of us by a corrupt government (*ok*) you see (*mhh*) we are looking back where we come from looking at the blue print now (*mhh*) of the current government as well as the constitution everyone should be exposed to all the facilities now with corrupt government (*mhh*) that we cannot attain (*yes*) ja that is possible we cannot say no may be it's very unpredictable because some of the black government have been you know brought down by corruption (*mhh*) ja though it was few individual leaders (*mhh*) would be upright their behavior (*mhh*) but now others who around them now the opposite there is always that you know that insatiable appetite (*mhh*) to amass a lot of well (*ehh*) greed has no colour really (*yes*) its just a question of yes there are those Black Politicians who are corrupt they've been dealt with by the state (*mhh*) some have been convicted but there are some of those white politicians as well (*mhh*) even in the former even in the current government (*mhh*) really greedy you know ja and you see we cannot say blacks are greedy its only individuals otherwise if we were all greedy we would be killing each other ja

Interviewer: *Mhh now we have come to the end of interview looking back over your entire life as your story developed of being black in South Africa in the past as well as up to*

now, as well the imagined future, can you tell me what is the main idea that runs throughout the story? Explain

Mon: You see the main idea (*mhh*) of the whole story past and present is that the past should never occur (*mhh*) and then the present should be a positive one (*mhh*) now with the very good government that's gonna address the needs of people (*ja*)

Interviewer: *Any other thing you would like to say you say you didn't ask me this I feel like I need to throw it to you as part of this interview*

Mon: Interviews like this remain in books they never come out to address certain ills that have been discovered within the thesis itself so ok as much as I've earlier no matter what you are going to do with this because alright it means that eh why we keep on researching we want to know who we are (*mhh*) and what we are suppose to do in future (*mhh*) yes I suppose this type of a thesis that we should be confident why we are being an African (*mhh*) and continue to build our continent (*mhh*) and build our continent (*mhh*) and also teach the new generation cut out the misconception especially those who are termed coconuts and so on this could send a message to our generation that we are all Africans and South Africans (*ok*)

Interviewer: *Thank you very much bhuti Mon.*

Appendix 6: Example 2 of interview manuscript

An interview with Zifiki

Interviewer: *Do you agree to participate in this interview Z?*

Zifiki: yes I do

Interviewer: *Thank you so much just talk to me, I would you like to begin by thinking about your own life story of being black in South Africa In your story I would like you to concentrate on times when you as black person were a victim of racism in the old and new South Africa. Remember all stories have good times and bad times, heroes and villains and so on. Think of your life as having at least a few different chapters, composed of different experiences as a black person. I would like you to describe those chapters in your life, by giving a plot summary of each of those experiences. This first part of the interview can expand forever, I would like you to keep it*

relatively brief, to within 20 minutes. Therefore you will not tell me the “whole story” now. Just give me the sense of the story’s outline, the major things that compose of your life

Zifiki: Okay I grew up in Ulundi and Pietermarztsburg my dad died in 93 and during the time when he was still alive my parents belonged to 2 different parties (*eh*) yes so obviously there’d be domestic arguments about that and stuff and it obviously does affect their relationship to some extent and stuff but I was still too young to take note of that but my mom still tells to me now the things that happened to them and stuff because my dad was living in Ulundi (*yes*) and he was ANC and in Ulundi if you were ANC it was a bad thing (*mhm*) because they’d basically kill you and stuff especially if you drive a car that is written NP and not ZP you know and my mom was also living with my dad but then she was what they were in Ulundi which is IFP stuff and so that was the difference so like there was one incident when they came to take my dad and my mom couldn’t do anything about it although she was IFP and he my was ANC you know it didn’t count that she was IFP because at the end of the day the head of the house is ANC so that was the problem and then after and because at the time it was just the transitional stage between the whole apartheid thing things were starting to change slowly you know they were leading up to ’94 and were starting to change so I know when I got there it was just like that key point when things were changing when some things weren’t required anymore because before what they used to do if they enrolled you into that school its called X Primary School you had to change your surname to a white surname (*mhhm*) and you’d have to disown the fact that for example I’m Ngcuku I have to become a Williams or you know just any one surname (*was this the rule of the school or people were just doing that?*) it had to be done (*okay*) well at the end of it because it was a convent school (*yes*) it was nuns so they were very lenient and they used to feel sorry for black people who really wanted to enroll there (*mhm*) but couldn’t because they were black you know so

they'd say okay listen here lets do this why don't you just go through all of this whatever and we'll change your surname to Williams or they'll write down (*okay*) your surname is Williams because at the end of the day what government used to do then is they used to take the demographics from each English medium school to see how many blacks and how many whites and to make the racial proportions what they wanted at the time so obviously at the time they probably wanted a very high percentage of English speaking people with English surnames you know (*yes*) so that at the end of the day if lets say had to send them their demographics of their school at least on paper it would say all these white surnames and they'd think okay cool they've got people that are who're white and colored and stuff you know so I know we a lot of people had to change their surnames fortunately for me I did not (*mhm*) I did not have to change my surname so that was fine and I did not at the time because it was a convent school I was very I was spoonfed everything and because it was Semi Private School because it was run by a German Institution in Germany yeah (*okay okay*) and the nuns were German yeah (*okay*) so a lot of things we were not exposed to you know a lot of things that were happening at the time we were not exposed to because (*like what?*) I am not too sure because I don't know what was happening in the outside world (*yes*) because basically I lived in the convent during that whole time (*okay*) and obviously its in the news things happening and stuff you know and I mean I didn't know enough much about Chris Hani (*yes*) Chris Hani died during the time that I was there (*yes*) and stuff and I'd only hear from it if I was to hear from my dad speak because my dad was very political (*yes*) then I would hear about it and stuff but otherwise I lived a very protected life in there (*yes*) you know em and then and at the same time I think my parents sent me to Boarding School to shelter me from what was happening back home (*yes*) you know because they had to go through a lot of things and stuff (*mh*) em and after that I went to an Afrikaans school like very Afrikaans school in Greytown (*mhm*) if you know that (*yes*) Hoorskool in Greytown I went there for two years for Grade

eight and Grade nine and that's when I got a wake up call (*yes*) of my life I must say this I had never seen or experienced anything like that and there were times when I even cried about it oh my gosh is this what the world out there is like things I didn't know this I would go back home and I'd complain to my mom and actually 'd be like yeah you know well you have lived a very fortunate life because you were in a convent school you weren't exposed to anything that was happening outside and now you know and it's a good thing for you to know so therefore you'll be better equipped to handle in future if you know now (*things are can you maybe elaborate on things you know they gave you a shock*) shoo okay that's a very good question but I can't think of a specific one (*yeah*) all I know is that it was a continuous thing you know at the end of the day as much as after '94 black and white decided we gonna have a democracy and we gonna all want to be (*yes*) together and stuff at the end of the day you stick to what you know I'm Black so therefore I stick to (*yes*) what I know my black beliefs and afrikaans people and white people do as well (*yeah*) so its very hard for us to mingle at the end of the day as much as we try be friends with white people and Afrikaans people but at the end of the day put us all in one room you'll see black people sitting together and white people sitting together (*yeah*) like in the context of the school that I went to for example I know that we were forced to take Afrikaans we had to speak Afrikaans as well and I know I remember at the time at the one speech day that we had the Principal was very shocked because the Principal told us that there's only twenty percent black people in the school and he said the most taken in the school five percent (*ehe*) black people out of everybody in that school and there so many moments I can't think of a specific moment but then you know its phew there were so many moments where you thought to yourself oh my gosh this then its because I'm black (*yeah*) they're doing to me because I am black I know there was a group of boys who got expelled for doing exactly the same thing that another group of white boys did they were smoking dagga (*yes*) they got expelled and the white boys didn't (*yeah*) you

know I mean obviously then you can't just say oh no no you know its pretty obvious that its because they're black (*yeah*) you know and I can't think of any specific moments right now but then I will let you know (*yes yes no, with time with time*) yeah with time yes (*you experienced your blackness all the time*) yeah it was a very continuous thing from the time I got there to the time I left and my mom decided to take me out and then I went to an English white private school in Pietermaritzburg its called Epworth that's right opposite the campus (*okay okay okay*) yes when you go down Golf Road (*yes yes*) I went to that school and there it was a little bit better because in all honesty I think there is a huge difference between English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (*ehe*) and I experienced that I realized that when I also got Epworth (*What would you say is the difference?*) Epworth because English-speaking South Africans English-speaking South Africans have more empathy (*yeah*) towards blacks than Afrikaans South Africans would personally that's my opinion you know (*yes yes*) English South Africans and black South Africans get along better and they understand each other a little bit better you know and I guess you can trace it back towards the 1800's you know back at the time when the English had just landed into Natal (*yes*) and obviously the fight between the Afrikaans and the English speakers and stuff you know therefore English people will always experience more sympathy and empathy with black people than with Afrikaans people because they also are in a war with Afrikaans people (*yeah*) but in the end of the day what's white is white what's black is black you know at the end of the day there is a difference (*yes*) so when I went to Epworth it was better much better but I must say that what irritates me the most what I realized then and now still that irritates me the most is okay when I got to Epworth I befriended a lot of white people and I still have a lot of very good white friends right now (*mhm*) but what I realized was because it was a Private School (*yes*) obviously there's that whole thing of oh no everybody has got money so affords everything the people and stuff so what used to happen is whenever

we used to talk to the white people they'd be like to us I know I'm friends with you because you're like a clean black you know (*yeah*) you're one of those clean blacks and stuff and you don't speak with an accent you know you have that accent that Black people have in common they say and stuff you know and you've got money as well you know so yeah you're like better you're cultured black you know (*yes*) and that really really irritates me I don't know it actually yeah I just say to myself then what's the point of you being friends with me (*yes*) if that's the way you feel because if I don't have what I have you wouldn't be friends with me you know and a lot of people had that way of thinking and stuff but yeah that's when I was at school then I came to Pretoria (*mhm*) then it's two years now and I must say that this place is very tough (*yeah*) you know even Jo'burg is better I think Pretoria is truly Boeremag sort of a place (*yeah*) it's very Afrikaans orientated area and thinking and the way that they live their lives and the way that they approach people (*yes*) its very much like that I know if for example during the weekend you go out and we go here to and stuff when we go out at night em most of the times when these Afrikaans boys and like we pass them and then they would say derogatory terms to like how are you kaffirs or there's these words in Afrikaans I just can't call them out not because I don't know them too well (*yes*) you know but I know they say a lot of things like that and stuff and I know this one time we were walking back from Heifer Square (*yes*) we were here at the corner and these boys across (*yes*) and stuff and they started saying funny things in Afrikaans you know so we're thinking there's no way we can stand for this and we also start talking back to them (*yes*) and stuff and then like basically they were just going on about how if they wanted to have us now they can have us as in em they can just use black people for anything like for sex or whatever (*mhm*) if they wanted to have us they'd have us now and they didn't care about us whatever and the one was actually approaching us cause he wanted to hit us or whatever and stuff and that's when we decided to keep quiet and we were ignoring him didn't say anything and just keep walking (*yes*)

because at the end of the day it's pointless arguing with people like that because clearly they've got small minds (yes yes) you know and sometimes you can't sometimes you can't truly blame them but you can because sometimes it's because of the way that they've been brought up their parents (mhm) the sort of principles their parents have installed in them (mhm) you know but at the same time you have to remember that each person has a choice (yeah) my mom can teach me something but at the end of the day I have a choice to listen to what or not and I have a choice to make my discretion and think to myself is it good or is it bad (yes) what my mom has taught me (yeah) not that I'm doubting her but there're certain things that we don't see eye to eye about you know because of the changing times because their parents lived back then when it was the apartheid regime you know they have their way of thinking but because times have changed now and its past apartheid time(yes) you know obviously we're heading towards a more United and Democratic South Africa and shouldn't then white people stop thinking that way (yeah) if we also willing because in all honesty I do believe that when we ehm ehm came to power in '94 (yes) we could've easily said can these white people go back home or we could've persecuted them for what they did to us (mhm) but instead we became the bigger people and decided ehm yes we gonna work together instead and stuff (mhm Yes, yes, yes thanks Zifiki is that all you've said on this chapter in this first chapter of your life).

Interviewer: *I want you to describe a moment of feeling that you are a true human being with dignity; feeling human would be a high peak experience and is a high point in your life story. It would be a moment in which as a black South African you experienced extremely positive emotions, like joy, excitement, upliftment or even deep inner peace. Today the moment would stand out in your memory as one of the best highest, most wonderful moments of your life story. Please be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has*

that event had on you? What does the event tell you about who you are or who you were?

Zifiki: Yeah it's very hard I'm gonna try to think very hard but I know I have moments that were I've just experienced so much happiness and joy of being the person that I am and belonging to the sort of a culture that I do (yes) and it's actually I cry about it because it's so you know (ehm) I'll have to say for me I know I'm something difficult and all that but for me I can't say it's a specific moment its certain moments that have happened (yes) in the history of South Africa because excuse me I'm a person who likes politics a lot and I like history a lot (yes) I always make sure that I keep up to date with certain things and ehm so what I do is usually I watch things everyday or I listen to talk shows or whatever and stuff anything that helps build black South African I actually believe I'd like to take part in that and so there've been so many moments where I've watched black people achieve certain things (yes) not just nationally on TV or whatever but like within my home or around me I'll look at people Black people and I see them achieving things and think to myself wow (yes) you know I can't even say I envy you but more than anything I'm happy for you and I hope that one day I'll also be able to do what you're doing you know for example like my mother the same way I feel that way about my mother ehm its just small moments everywhere you know and the big ones as well you know (yes) those national things that have happened in South Africa for example like people when they live in peace or ehm oh yes there also been lots of moments where I've looked at the work that Thabo Mbeki has done (yes) you know and I think to myself as much as I've never really liked him you know but I must say that he has without him South Africa would have been worse (mhm) I've been very proud at moments where he has ehm given South Africa channels in which they can communicate with the world and be proud and feel one with the rest of the world you know (yes) like there've been so many times where you know you look at and like as mere

South Africans and everyday an ordinary person walking down the street you don't appreciate it and you don't realize it because you thinking to yourself I'm not seeing the benefits of why did Thabo Mbeki go to England today why this (*yes*) you know its like when you think about it on bigger picture its (*yeah*) its beautiful because more than anything he is empowering us black people you know and stuff so there's been those moments and stuff and I'm trying to think ehm something I wanted to say (*I like what you're saying*) yeah ehm also as well em like I had a little moments where I really felt so happy to be South African and black I mean its personal for me you know (*yes great*) and stuff you you're another person might not identify with me but I was sitting at home and em I write a lot of poetry and creative writing and stuff (*I see that you know your room is colorful*) yes so I've got a little brother (*yes*) and he goes to school in Maritzburg called X and he's very he's got a lot of white friends he's very yeah that stuff (*he's very what?*) I don't how to say he's just got a lot of white friends you're understand so you know so I've always thought maybe sometimes he's just doesn't really realize how fortunate he is that he's black and has white friends (*yes*) you know I've never really thought he he he sort of approach things the way I do (*yeah*) he's bit forgotten and then I was sitting at home and then I discover this book and I open it and its my brother's book and he's also started a book you know I realize that well he's also got a talent he writes as well (*yes*) and he's only fifteen years old and he started this book and he just introduces that by saying it's in South Africa (*yeah*) you know and at the beginning in front page em he's got a little hu bra hu he wrote this little piece that he's just thought of and I'm not sure how it goes but it says something like I dream of a place that is beautiful a place with peace and filled with happiness or something 'I dream of an Eden that God created' and then he says but I no longer have to dream because that place is in my backyard and its I call it Africa' (*mhm*) you know and I was like wow! that is it really touched me (*profound yes*) yes it was very profound for a fifteen year old I actually I cried I was like oh my gosh did you- I very wish I was

like did you actually write this he's like yes you know that's the way I feel I wrote this you know' and that was just a piece but he also went on to talk about other things that affect Africa (*yes*) and stuff and just not just South Africa but Africa as a whole (*yes*) and for example he spoke about HIV/AIDS and how he feels about it and stuff and how he feels its affecting South Africa and Africa as a whole and why does it only seem like we're the only ones who we meaning who? yes I suppose why it seems that we blacks are the only ones who are you know ohm touched by this yes and stuff and everywhere I mean if you're not infected with it somehow we are affected by that (*yes*) and stuff and he goes on to talk about all that but what I found to be the best out of all that was that line when he says I dream about an Eden and but I no longer have to dream because that Eden is in my backyard I call it Africa for me that was just I don't know if you understand but (*yes*) its too beautiful if that's the way he thinks if he thinks that as poor as Africa is (*yes*) or as poor that everybody thinks Africa is (*yes*) in a way it is an Eden that how beautiful it is you know it's a place that God created you know (*Can you please elaborate on this 'difference'*) yeah ehm no I know my brother is very white black you know he'd say ag I am black but I never took him seriously when he says that and I would say you are black just on the outside otherwise ag please you're always with your white friends or whatever you only have two black friends' or whatever and he says I'm black (*yeah*) you know and stuff but at the end of the day I also understand that at his school there aren't a lot of black people as a matter of fact you know there're more white people so therefore they're more induced to become more white (*yes, yes*) kind of people and stuff but my brother like I used to just I used to look at him like ah please you probably-I used to think he was very shallow (*yes, what does shallow mean?*) when I say shallow as in he never gives thought to things or he doesn't appreciate the witty of the person he is as black as he is (*yes*) you know or he doesn't appreciate you know just an ordinary black person walking by him but I am also aware that some other people might say that about me too (*mhhm*) I

know that other people would think that of me but what makes me happy is the mere fact that I can come back to my sanctuary (*mhm*) my home the comfort of my living space (*yes*) you know and I can truly connect with who I am because I -that's when I'm truly experiencing inner peace (*mhm*) because what other people think outside or whatever what they think if they think that no I'm not black enough (*yes*) you know because I have the thought as well that some people aren't black enough at the end of the day if I am personally fulfilled with what I think that's all that matters (*yes, yes*) to me you know they are certain things that you don't have to prove to people because if because right now okay there's a whole okay I have a personal opinion towards this (*yes*) right now while we're in varsity during this time there's a whole movement going on its called consciousness of black you are and therefore you need to go back to your roots and stuff and people now I'm sure you've seen people these days now everybody's got dread locks (*yes*) and stuff and everybody's wearing green and brown and all these earth colours and people are- they are certain things that they're not doing that were considered resting that they're not doing now because they feel that that's the only way they can truly be black (*yeah*) its fine I think its fine for people to do that really if that's what they have to wear but personally I don't think that the way I'm dressed or the way I look needs to reflect who I am inside my thoughts and my beliefs (*yes*) you know eh the mere fact that okay I also don't have relaxed hair you know I've got African hair (*yes*) and earthly coloured clothes and stuff but the mere fact that for example I have extensions on my hair (*yes*) doesn't mean I'm not black enough you understand you know it shouldn't define the person that I am inside (*mhm*) because more than anything when we die its our souls that live and not our wants not the physical (*yes*) that you are you know so em I really -sometimes I look at these people and I think to myself oh they're happy that way you know is it really worth it going out to the world to try to prove to the world who you are and what you are and sometimes I don't think its really worth it because I don't know I just don't see it that way

(mhhm) this new identity is an identity thing you know we actually we cons- people tend to like call them as conscious sisters*(mhm)* that's the name, that's when you deep I know I've got I'm sure Mpume *(yes I know Mpume)* u-Mpume calls me a conscious sister cause she thinks that I'm not because naturally it's just me I do like earthy colors like as you can see right now I'm wearing brown and green *(yes)* I do like brown and green and stuff naturally that's the way I am *(yes)* I like those colours and naturally I like having my Afro *(yes)* you know but its not a way of really going out there and trying of say I am African and telling the world its fine to be proud of who you are and telling the world but they take it overboard with them it becomes the whole image thing if you're not dressed the way that you- they dress you or you don't do the things that they do, then you're not cool that's the sad part its not that you're not African anymore but you're just not cool it's all about its all about being cool being African now is about being cool *(mhm)* and stuff and em what's it I was gonna say aghhh *(yeah very interesting)*yes yeah let me tell you yeah okay its just its a whole big movement and another thing is what these deep people do as well is they write a lot you know what I mean its some- they call it a movement its conscious *(yes)* the movement of recognizing who they are and basically they just have a lot of things where they write a lot of things that they write on basic kind of these issues but more than anything they concentrate on writing about being black *(mhm)* to write about our Africa to write about how we feel but I think sometimes with this movement its taken a habit too far where it becomes an image conscious thing and it doesn't become about the true Africa yeah everybody is no the thing is people are trying to get back to that *(okay, okay)* and stuff if you'll see if you notice now you get young girls or young people wearing top shirt and Steve Biko in a fashionable way *(okay)* you know and then Steve Biko's face or they have a map of Africa or whatever you know it's a whole thing of I'm connecting with Africa I'm connecting who I am what used to happen excuse me during apartheid *(mhm)* regime and stuff you know ehm but basically that's

its I mean yeah its in a way it is movement and stuff and its (*mhhm*) yeah eh more than anything and I think one of the reasons as black South Africans we were suppressed for so long (*yes*) suppressed from being the people that we are and finding freedom to explore that you know (*yes*) for a very long time so now you've got the youth who they look at their parents and they talk to their parents a lot of parents you know and grandparents would be like hayi umlungu you know they' so afraid and stuff (*yes*) you know and they want you to do things by the books of the white people and a lot of our parents still think like that so now you have this ehm emerging market of young people (*mhm*) coming up and saying you know let us be different (*yeah*) let us be ourselves because now we have the freedom to more than anything I think it has come with the recognition of we have the freedom of being the people that we want to be (*yes*) so therefore more than anything lets enforce what they didn't have (*yes*) what they didn't want us to have before you know who we are our Africanism (*yes*) so therefore that's I think that's one of the reasons why people that's what driving people right now you know to want to do that thinking ukuthi back in the days my mother my father my grandparents couldn't embrace who they are (*yes*) can I now do that and at the same time em can I benefit from it (*yes*) you understand you know so I think that's definitely one of the reasons that drives people now to actually really experience what true Africanism is you know (*yes*) yes because they've predominantly the white people (*mhm*) at the school I think also as well more than anything as in the bad roles we strive to be in the bad roles within society (*mhm*) in general we want to be in a society in the bad rules of society and we don't like to conform with what society puts forward for us (*yes*) we want to acknowledge that we are black (*mhm*) we are not going to live by white standards but at the end of the day because we human we are interdependent of each other (*yes*) so therefore at the end of the day we will conform to what society puts down for us as much as we try hard to get away from the bad roles (*whose society do you which society*) I'm talking about I am saying in general now (*yes*) I cannot apply this now

to the black and white (*yes, yes*) just in general society for example the mere fact that a woman needs to shave her under armpits (*yes*) you know (*yes*) I'm just giving an example (*yeah*) like now you know that's the thing you know you've gotta shave you've gotta do certain things you know that is what all woman must put on make-up and lipstick (*yes*) that's what society does then you get people who say no no I am not gonna do that but at the end of the day somebody might get to a point where for example if they've have to go to a water evening tonight they have got to put on makeup (*yes*) that's because that's the way society wants it to be because as much as you like to move away but you know (*yeah*) you sucked back into it but I'm trying to apply this now to the context of being black and white (*yes*) because I'm trying to answer your question em like with black and white people em I think that the whole as much as em we all want okay what happens is you for example you'd asked me about coming background that I'm coming (*yes*) from and you know (*yes*) yeah em basically because em you've been growing up so with so many white people around you (*yes*) you know em now that you finally have the chance to you start thinking to yourself do I really wanna be a follower do I really wanna be the black domestic there (*mhm*) and there's certain there's certain like things within the culture that you're not part of like the white culture that you aren't comfortable with (*yes*) you know so therefore now that you're educated about who you are and you know that you're an African (*yes*) you know that's when you think to yourself what would be wrong with me embracing what I am with me following what my African culture tells me to do (*yes*) what is so wrong with that is western culture the only way you know I think its exactly like em you can apply it to for example religion (*yes*) you know ehm the way that for example I have adjusted from now embracing who I am (*yes*) being African from the time when I grew up with white people and stuff you know with religion what happens is you've got your Western Religion which is Christianity you know (*yes*) but as it and then the Christians came to South Africa well I'm not saying you know we weren't

Christians obviously we were also Christians as well because sasikholwa ku-Mveli Ngqangi (*yes*) well that's what we call it in Zulu well I don't know what you call it in Xhosa (*yes*) that was God (*yes*) for us so the western people came to South Africa with the Bible and whatever and we also adopted that as well and then now you get a lot of people now who em don't wanna see anything of their culture whatsoever because of Christianity (*mhm*) you know they forget everything that ever happened in the past and who they are and who their ancestors are (*mhm*) because of this so I think to myself would it not be wrong for us to actually find an equilibrium to the two you know the joining point between the two for example I'm ,I'm, I'm I was watered as a Catholic (*yes*) I went to a Catholic convent school (*yes*) and what I really admired about happened within the Catholic Church about five years ago or so (*mhm*) they introduced African culture within the Church you know you know in the Catholic church you have God, you have Jesus, you've got the saints, you've got Mary and stuff (*yes*) and the saints for white people are actually sort of their ancestors so now the Catholic Church what they've done is they've also put in a time when you can also address your ancestors within your prayers and stuff and just embracing Africa and mixing it with the western (*mhm*) you know which I really admire do you understand you know us taking on that and saying yes I want to do this so basically answering your question (*yes*) me coming or any other young black person in my position right now coming from a background that was sort of Model C and White (*yes*) and you know English and stuff and now recognizing that they are black you know for them I think it's a really attributed to the fact that now at the end of the day its about freedom now I have freedom (*mhm*) you know to find out who I am (*mhm*) because as human beings we are always inquisitive (*mhm*) we always want to know you know you wanna know why is the light on why is not off (*yes*) you know why is your hair like that why is it not straight you know you know what I'm saying (*yes*) so as human being we're always inquisitive we always want to know certain things so therefore now more

than anything I'm curious I really enjoying for example you know I always ask my mom teach how to cook idombolo or whatever African meals I want to know you know *(yes)* I want to know why they do certain things I wanna know why they have umsebenzi you know *(yes)* why do they slaughter cows why do they do that you know *(yes)* and if you liked that it's fine because then you've identify with and you also want for yourself and if you want it for yourself then you grab it and therefore you also practice it you know

Interviewer: *okay we going to probe that you know that very thing you talking about no of being your self as Zifiki who comes from this environment and now you've come to be this Zifiki that wants to embrace your Africanism we're going to talk about that later but now I want us to change our mindset a little bit and come down now to a low point experience that was the low point that's where we're coming (yeah) with all this thing now I want us talk about a low point, a moment of despair and human degradation, a moment in which in your life when you think back you felt extremely negative emotions such as terror, despair, anger, guilt you consider that experience as a low point in your life story what I want to know from you again is what happened, who was involved and that specific moment it's a moment of who you are as Zifiki being a black person where you felt you know this is human degradation and this is a moment of despair and I'm feeling so angry, I'm feeling so you know so so so low and I've got terror or despair or all negative emotions you can just talk to me about that*

Zifiki: *Okay yes you know how they say you know as a human being your experiences shape the person that you become (mhm) right now you talking of the high points and now you focusing on the low points (yes) I think that the low points are also definitely attributed to the person that I have turned out to be (yes, yes) ehm do you want me to tell of a specific moment? (yes a specific moment or it can be moments don't have to be that specific this is your own life story remember?) yeah but I find it very hard to be very*

specific because I need time to think of memories yeah but agh okay em moments where I have really felt eh degraded and low em ooh I find it very hard to think about in all honesty (yes) I'm not saying I've hadn't had ins and outs (yes) I've also had down lows but I'm talking about that moments I've felt down in terms of me being African (yes, *black in South Africa*) I've found that very hard to think about now because I've been fortunate to have grown up during the time that I did where I was (yes, yes) you know agh I can't think of specific moments but I can tell you now that in general (yes yes yes) I can tell you now one thing that em what made me I'm very much of an emphatic person (yes) very emotional I think that's why I have a love for the things that I love (*mhm*) the politics and the history of this world and everything you know that happens in this world that's why I love it so much its because one of the things that really affects me the most it really it makes me so hurt (yes) so hurt is when I look outside and I look at people in South Africa black South Africans and I look at how although this is an empowering time in South Africa (*mhm*) you know but its also a time when so much of us people dying (*mhm*) it hurts me because poverty and people dying because I have first hand experience of this that's why I sort of feel that I can identify with it and I can feel this way about it really it drives me so hard (*mhm*) its scary you know excuse me because I don't know there's so many black people out there you've got a lot of people who are getting hard of making it they sitting on top of the world you know (*mhm*) I think right now what I'm trying to say is we've got a world of two extremes (yes) the very rich and the poor (*mhm*) amongst us blacks (yes) and once umnt'omnyama gets set off they forget those in the bottom of the ladder and they don't groom up to where they are we don't sort of half because at the end of the day you wanna appreciate what you have but you don't appreciate what you can get it sometimes we fail to realize our full potential (*mhm*) but more than anything as I'm saying what affects me is watching people die from this disease right now you know and I try very hard to take part in I do AIDS at school (yes) at school and stuff

and yeah in studies and stuff but because I've seen it like I've had about four cousins who have it and two have died and two are still alive (*mhm*) and I've seen the whole process of AIDS and I've seen how their status have deteriorated (*mhm*) because of poverty (*yes*) you know because they can't afford to buy fresh food everyday (*mhm*) they can't afford eh certain medication they can't afford certain things (*mhm*) you know and then I think to myself if I really think that money does make the world go around because if they had the necessary tools then maybe they could because you can give black South Africa the information I mean right now I think South Africa is saturated with em information as to the virus right now we all know it you know what I'm saying (*yes*) we all we heard it every single day of our lives you see it on bill boards you know when you driving towards Joburg (*yes*) on the billboards you'll see Love Life na ni ne na and you can't honestly say that people who does not know about it (*yes, yes*) and the implications around it but more than anything although the em government right now thinks they're giving South Africans tools of how to combat this disease by giving them the information that they need you can have as much information as you have but its what you do with that information (*yes, yes*) you know that counts because we a lot of black South Africans are people who don't have the tools to use that (*mhm*) information you know I understand that yes you do have the tools in terms of use a condom, condoms are used (*yes*) that's fine but I'm talking now when you're in the situation when you're HIV positive you know what happens to you, you know em you can't afford certain things (*yes*) they come with it you know so for me that's one of the things that really hurts me the most and stuff and yesterday I was actually I watching Ten Voice I was watching a show on TV its called the Shift (*mhm*) and it was it's a talk show and they were talking about TB (*mhm*) you know and when I looked at it and stuff em everybody who they showed who was dying whatever was black (*mhm*) you know actually on anything now you know its all about (*its about this talk show yeah*) yeah, yeah, yeah no I was saying as I saying in general em what

happens is the whole thing of like how if you look on SABC everything that's been broadcast on all the talk shows or everything that addresses AIDS and HIV on TV or AIDS related diseases is very focused on black people (*yes*) and you see a lot of black South Africans who are dying and stuff so I think that in a way that influences the mindset on certain people (*mhm*) specifically white people (*mhm*) for example now I know that certain white people think that black people, black South Africans or whatever who're dying are deserve what they are going through (*mhm*) and its only black people who die because God is punishing these black people you know because clearly black people are the outcast in this world you know black people are sort of God's rejected people (*mhm*) you know so therefore this is punishment on black people and God is trying to rid the world of black people because funny enough the other day I was talking to Mary (*yes*) this white friend that I have and we were talking about class in school you know cause we go to class together and she's like, eh she was driving me home and she's telling me she's going on about well Z you are such a clean black and you know you just not like other black people how come you really speak like that how can you speak better than them and then she says there's this boy in our class this black guy (*yeah*) that she's like aah have you ever smelled him he stinks you know so I'm like really what's the matter with you and she's like, you know what I think she's like I think he is got AIDS so I'm like what she's like I think he's got AIDS Z I'm like why would you think something like that (*yes*) you know and she's like because for example he smells a lot you know like smell and stuff it means they have AIDS and his feet his feet are also stinking he's feet are ugly they cracked and they have warts so I think he's got AIDS yeah I don't think he showers and stuff and he's also got a skin problem (*yes*) so yeah I think he's got AIDS and I'm afraid of him you know (*yeah*) so I was I came back here and I told everybody cause I was so amazed I told them about it because I was shocked (*yeah*) I was you know because this just it came from one person (*yeah*) imagine what white people think as a collective group you

know if this just came from an individual (*mhm*) clearly what she's thinking must have began somewhere it has sort of influence for example so clearly something must have influenced her for her to think like that (*yes*) you know so therefore she's not the only person who thinks like that you know so if white people can actually look at a black people and see one fault, one thing and say ah she's dying of AIDS as if for them AIDS is a solution for everything in a way of understanding a Black person you know why does a black person have a cold, oh no she's dying of AIDS that I'll give you as my specific moment

Interviewer: *Yes, yes, thank you Z: In looking back on one's life, it is often possible to identify certain key "turning points" episodes through which as a person you felt a change about your self as a black person, a time when you felt you have out grown the stigma of being black. Turning points can occur in many different times of a person's life, in relationships with other people, in work and school, in outside interests etc. I am specifically interested in a turning point in your understanding of yourself as a black person, a moment that you became proud of being a black person in South Africa.*

Zifiki: Eem let me give you the way I think that one moment could possibly be my transition to I suppose varsity (*yes*) at high school you had no choice which you have to live unfortunately you have to take what you get therefore I was in a school where it was a white school and obviously white people around me and therefore the way in which I lived the practices that I have (*mhm*) the hardships I had to take them the things that I did you know were very white orientated (*mhm*) in all honesty when I was in high school I did not appreciate em who I was my Africanism (*yes, yes*) in all honesty I did not want to appreciate it you know I think to myself wow you know its so nice and stuff you know having white people around you and being able to do the things that they do (*yes*) at the time and nobody questions what you

doing (*yeah*) its fine because you go to a white school you know its fine you would like to do everything that you do and you have -even the things that they don't like that you don't like doing but they do (*yeah*) you have to do it anyway understand you have to do it anyway irregardless so when I got to varsity em like now I live in a flat because I am in a white school and you have certain rules (*yes*) that you have to abide by (*okay, okay*) you know so you can't say no because that's the law within that institution (*yes, yes*) and when I came to varsity as I've said I live in flat now (*mhm*) and I have the choice of living the way I want to live I have the choice of doing the things that I want to do (*mhm*) you know I have the choice of exploring plus em coming to varsity for me I must say was very great in helping me realize that because then I in all honesty this is when I truly recognized how black I was (*yes*)I truly didn't because now you have the choice of choosing the people you want to be with there's no ukuthi you know I mean its like I wish I could live with them and just gotta be friends with them (*yeah, yeah*) you know you don't have to you know I don't have to be friends with a person if I don't want to *mhm, mhm*) I don't have to do what they need to do I don't know how to how to I can't think of specific things (*Can I ask you who and how do you make friends with?*) I must say you see now that's where a lot of things go wrong (*yeah*) you know em I'm gonna be very honest (*yes, be honest I like that, I like that*) in all honesty come okay I'll give an example I have this friend so we're having a conversation (*mhm*) and we talking about this girl you know so then my friend is like em is she like one of us, you know (*yes*) so I'm like huh she's like you know what I mean you know is she like us, is she speak like us is she speak like us is she us and stuff oh no not really you know because I understand it because in all honesty I hear what you saying (*yes, yes*) in different sort of situations you treat things differently (*yes*) you what I'm saying to your mother to you're different person (*yes*) to your friends you're different person (*yes*)so therefore I think as well with that if a rural girl had to come I'd find it very hard to live with her (*mhm*) like to live properly with her I mean engasazi

isi-Ngesi (yes) you understand a person who doesn't who hasn't who doesn't know English well or em do you know what I'm saying like a rural qhongempenti type of thing you know I'd find it very hard to live with her because we come from different (mhm) backgrounds so therefore there're certain things that we will not agree on (yes) there're certain things that we will see eye-to-eye about (mhm) you know and sometimes in all honesty sometimes I get moments where I find it very hard to express myself in Zulu (mhm) and then there are also times when I find it hard to express myself in English you know (yes) which I think is the battle that a lot of us try to fight (yes) you know in our journey to try and discover who we really are as Africans trying to fight the battle of us having amalgamated cultures within us because basically as I am right now em I have western em sort of things in me and at the same time African as well (yes) but now a rural person is totally, totally black if you understand (yes, yes) what I'm saying you know I don't think I'm putting it the right way but they totally you know very deep within the culture and the roots so therefore it would be very hard for me I'm not gonna lie to you in all honesty (mhm) you know because in all honesty what I also don't like what I see as sometimes us people who have been fortunate enough to go to the schools that we have and happy backgrounds that we have sometimes discriminate against em the poor black South African or that excuse me the less advantaged black South African (mhm) you know because at the end of the day I mean its within human nature that we gonna think that huh you know we of different worlds within our society (mhm) we're just that but that's the truth and reality of it I honestly do believe that I don't think that I really be able to live with that person but as I said because we different people in different situations like to your mother you're different person (yes, yes) to your father you're different person but if you had to take me now and take me home you know I've got aunts and cousins who are rural (yes) but when I'm with them I'm very comfortable (yes) it is fine for me to be there (mhm) because I'm within that environment you know but if you take them and bring them into

this environment (*yes*) it can be very hard but it's fine for me to go that environment (*yes*) or whatever its just basically em if I'm within city if I'm within city in city whatsoever you know and I'm living a normal life of a teenager (*yes*) because a lot of teenagers but like person like English (*yeah*) and stuff within the city you going to shopping malls you going for lunch you going coffee and all that its fine for me to do (*mhm*) but I don't think that a rural person would take that in well (*mhm*) and therefore and the way view relationships as well (*yes*) you know we also different in that you know which is fine because everybody has different beliefs and therefore we must learn from each other (*yes, yes*) but its more difficult because now its not just em conversational difference its actually a whole cultural difference because in all honesty rural people are truly black in culture (*mhm*) us yes we are black in culture but we also have the spice of wisdom within us therefore its fine for me if nditshile you know with my cousins my rural cousins (*mhm*) you know ngale and stuff like in Natal its fine I can sort of adapt in there but then I also get sometime like you know I wanna go back to what I'm used to (*yeah*) I wanna go back to the life that I'm used to but at the same time I don't think that I would be able to appreciate this life or that life without tasting the other you know that kind a say you can't taste em you can't know the difference between what's bitter and sweet you can't know what's sweet without tasting the bitter (*mhm which life is bitter and which one is sweet?*) ag my rural life is bitter because its all hard whereas my western kind of life is easier brighter that's what I mean you know you gotta know the bad to know the good (*yes*) so what I'm saying is eh if I didn't get to spend time in the urban areas and only in rural areas (*yes*) and I wanna spend time in the rural areas I'd never get to appreciate the rural areas where if I only was western and I only lived this life of I'm white (*yes*) and stuff then I'd never get to experience (*mhm*) I'd never get to appreciate both worlds so I think in a way we are very fortunate (*yes*) to know these two worlds that we've been really blessed and I think yeah it's a very good thing very much

Interviewer: thank you, thank you Z now to life challenge what would you say its your life challenge to you just one single greatest challenge as a black person how you face it and how you deal with that and help other black people actually work with you in terms of dealing or handling the challenge what would you say is the greatest challenge as a black person in South Africa?

Zifiki: The greatest challenge (*yes*) yeah my greatest challenge shyoo I'm not a very context specifically? (*its okay, its okay*) yeah I must get a break trust me everything just goes around in my head my greatest challenge as it drops I think is possibly as I say possibly possibly be my personal challenge (*yes*) and not an external I think that it would be me how to I go about fully recognizing and realizing (*yes*) I think that's my present challenge as in because I am a westernized black person (*yes*) I think one of the challenges that I face you know is my journey to discover who I am as an African (*yes*) and embracing certain things and being able to say wow it's nice (*yes*) you know as in I can do this as an African you know Africans aren't stupid (*mhm*) because there is that mentality about which that umnt'omnyama would not be able to survive what a white person would thrive in white people who have invented things in this world (*mhm*) you know so I think for me it would possibly be my personal challenge to overcome this sort of stigma that is attached to being black (*yes*) not just to overcome it externally towards people and then communities (*yes*) but as myself for me to also sit down and say stop Zifiki and recognize that a black person is capable of doing this (*mhm*) for me it would be my greatest challenge so be able to say also look on TV and you know how you have these young blacks scientists now coming up and inventing different things and they went overseas and

you hear I know they've invented a way to save electric diesel it was only news like a month ago that these boys who went to Switzerland or something because they found a way in which em to process water from dams and rivers (*yes*) and give to be able to give it to people like as clean water and clean it without using em electrical energy (*mhm*) you know they discovered ways in which to do that I was like huh black people can do that ja understand its not just about us recognizing around us that black people can do it you know (*yes yes*) to throw away the stigma but also personally as yourself for you to finally be able to say a black person can do this you know because at the end of the day I think that yes I do sometimes think to myself oh my gosh you know did a black person really do this can as a black person capable of something like this (*yes*) you know really can black people do such things and it shocks me especially if its you hear of this and people from rural areas (*yeah*) who have had a different sort of education system to you and you think to yourself oh my gosh you know a black person did this (*yes*) I find it so amazing and so for me its being able to take away that stigma within myself (*yes*) that I may also stop being bound and whites keep on saying white people must you know because you know what they say charity starts at home (*yes*) the way your mindsets or what you're implemented to think starts from where you coming from starts from home you know so why can't I get all this start within myself (*yes*) the mere fact that I don't have faith and in black people (*mhm*) you know why can't it start believing in my people within myself and then I can take it to the world out there and try to eradicate the way people think about black people you know its all good for me to sit down and say ag white people always think that black people are stupid (*yes*) and white people think wrong of us and white people think this about (*yeah*) this of us but at the same time I could be sitting here and I'm telling you this but at the same time that's what I also think (*yeah*) but I'm blaming it on white people (*yeah, yeah*) you know I think for me my challenge is to try and overcome that thought that mind thought (*yes*) to have faith in black people because now if I have faith

in the black community as a whole (*mhm*) then I'll move there out definitely in time

Interviewer: *wow thank you man, Z that was well Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons that has had the greatest positive influence on your story as a black person. Please describe this person or group and the way in which he/she or they have had a positive impact on you?*

Zifiki: On me as a black person (*yes, yes*) in all honesty I must say if that it is some various and numerous people you know it's the black community as a whole (*mhm*) its like a group of persons at the end of the day I find joy in seeing people on there in the media on TV newspapers or whatever you know black people who have made a difference you know like you get the woman of the year the Checkers Woman of the Year (*yes, yes*) you know right now they predominantly choosing black people I look there're black people I look at them and I think wow people are actually capable of doing such things (*yeah*) you know and for me that's a very positive influence because I also think if this woman was able to do this without the necessary tools or without being given that and she made it possible for herself (*yeah*) its amazing for example my mom always says to me em she's always like hey wena Zifiki ungithatha kancane just because my education only cost me fourty cents you know and yours on the other hand cost you forty thousand (*yes*) you know it doesn't mean that I'm not capable or I don't know what you know (*yes*) you know my mom as well has also been a very positive influence for me because she was able to take herself from there and she's educated herself so well (*mhm*) you know she knows everything that she needs to know and she's making a change within her community as well you know also as I said Thabo Mbeki is also making a change (*yes*) and it's just so beautiful and then I got here to Gauteng and here more than back home there's more of gloom within independent black South Africans than

back home I must say that people here are more empowered (*yes*) than there so I got here and I started meeting new people and I've seen people who are just so focused (*yes*) and who are making it so well out there and they are making more you know (*mhm*) that's another thing of you know like when you'd asked me the question of when did I find that transitional stage between recognizing that I'm black from the time when you know I felt more suppressed about it (*mhm*) like as I said like as I say when I came to varsity I really realized the true potential of me and for me that has been the positive influence

Interviewer: *Thank you, looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons that has had the greatest negative influence on your story as a black person. Please describe this person or group and the way in which he/she or they have had a negative impact on you?*

Zifiki: Negative influence ehm I think that to a certain extent I am one of the negative influences that I've had is em the mindset that I was sort of my friends here let's put the way I started thinking of certain things (*yes*) you know I was going to school with English-speaking people (*mhm*) you know like the mere fact that I've never really think that black people can really do certain things you know I've never really think that a black person is capable of coming up with the world greatest inventions (*mhm*) you know for example I am so that's one of the negative influences myself (*yes*) I think that as I am myself I have got the positive influences because I have a choice now of determining whether I think that you know em is it good for me to embrace who I am a South African or is it not so I think myself definitely I can be a negative influence on myself (*yes, yes*) ehm secondly I think also the people around me you know because I think the people around you shouldn't be negative experiences because they influence the way you think because I can talk to you now (*yes*) you know two years from now I come back and talk to you maybe I'll give you a difference on certain

things (*yes*) you know people around me will have shaped me or whatever so yes I do have certain things who negatively influenced me in terms of African consciousness because I do have people Black people and stuff who influenced me negatively about that you know (*mhm*) its whole thing of thinking I am better than the next person you know and forgetting the spirit of Ubuntu as a black person (*yes*) I think also white people as well that the friend that I was telling you about (*yes*) the white people afraid of black people because of AIDS because it was people like that so definitely its people around me that give that sort of negative influence another thing of negative influence I think I would also say that its possible that negative influence could also be the way certain society structures are run (*mhm*) I don't know how to explain it but I'm talking about like on a more macrocosmic level like a bigger picture (*yes, yes*) of the whole thing definitely the way certain how do I say it em negative influences basically the systems because well different systems you know different thoughts and things like that you know for example I'm just giving this for example for example the way in which we have certain exclusive clubs (*mhm*) and you get exclusive clubs for em only the very rich black people (*mhm*) and then the old ones roll out to in South Africa relationships and clubs also certain clubs where its only for white people you know in a way that gives you negative thoughts (*yes*) on who they are I mean you can actually turn around instead of appreciating who you are you look down on yourself (*mhm*) and you think wow I'm not good enough you know that's just what it is I'm not good enough how do I fit (*mhm*) how do I become part of that thing you know that exclusive club how do I cause you wanna be a part of it (*yeah*) and therefore that I think at the end of the day its up its to make the right choice or you just can end up making the wrong choice of I want to do anything if it'll get me (*yes*) the power to get there and that corrupts our system that corrupts us as black people (*yeah*) because in all honesty I think that black people are people who have humanity, strength and inner peace

and we are people of we are very peaceful people (*yeah*) you know things like that that actually corrupts us

Interviewer: *Thank you so much now you've told me about your past the present I want us to look at two different futures possible futures one would be a positive future this one you would describe for me just imagine you know in your mind these two different futures one it would be the positive one and you would describe what you would like to happen in the future for your life story including dreams goals things that you want to accomplish as in the future as a black South African as well as for other blacks you know when you looking at yourself you say this is for me Z but for other blacks this is what I would like them to do what would that be*

Zifiki: Positive positive for myself as a person (*yes*) I right now obviously I have certain dreams and certain things that I got to achieve I've got short term goals and long term goals you know (*yes*) but right now I'm working on a five year plan that I have I'm very much structured in my life so I've got a five year plan (*yes*) and basically right now ehm I'm studying Performance Arts so I do a lot of future medium long term and I read a lot and do have future where we creating the past, the present and the future because I need to know a lot of things because people like to look down you know people like that have written so much and you know you get to like right now I'm doing a production where I'm playing it's a play called First South Africa by Petti Fatimeer (*oh, ooh*) yes and I'm actually playing the lead role in that this its actually originally a boy whose name is Zwelinzima (*ehe*) but retrench him to a girl so I'm playing that character of that person (*wow*) so with that for example you know I got to look at it and all stuff while (*so I'm talking to a star here*) only time will tell only time will tell but like for example that that this character I'm playing now when I look at it I think to myself I didn't know that because it actually the character of a colored boy (*mhm*) you know who was raised by his black mother his mother em fell in

love with a white man in Namibia they couldn't be together because she was black she moved to Cape Town she's Xhosa she moved back again to Cape Town (*mhm*) and she remarried a black man cause that's the only way she could you know (*mhm*) but now she had still a coloured boy with her so at the time people didn't know and said why she had a coloured boy so I'm playing that role of a coloured boy who stuck in between because now there wanna take him away from his parents (*yes*) know because they think he's too white to be in the black community but then now when they put him in the white community he started to look too black to be white so he's stuck in between so what is he really so its all about you identity crisis (*yes, yes*) know that play you know as I say em I'm studying Performance Arts right now and me I'm finding it as major role which I can sort of understand so two backgrounds (*yes*) the past and you know incorporate that to what's happening now at present you know (*mhm*) I also write a lot of my own stuff you know my own plays and poems I write as well (*that's great!*) because now I can think of what's happening in the past and I can think of the future and I can put it all together (*yes*) you know so at the same time em I've got other dreams and aspirations of you know becoming greater and ever I know for example right now I'm trying to enroll into a its Interior Designing in one company not company school to college in the UK (*mhm*) and so I'm kind of enroll to that em because at the end of the day I wanna get to my multimedia as well I wanna have multimedia company that's what I'm working on so hopefully by the age of twenty three (*mhm*) I should think I should have started a company that's my plan right now you know its gonna be basically its em I'm gonna within this company I wanna recruit em young creative script writes and who express themselves in whatever form of arts you know and use that arts as in for example if you write whatever and you wanna publish a book you come to me (*yes*) and I can help you find the channels in which you can do that you know or if you have certain arts that you wanna expressions of it I can actually use that as in a commercial way and use that in the designing parts of my company

(yes) within designing houses pictures and paintings that you gonna put in people's houses when trying to interiorly design and decorate you know (okay) your houses and stuff things like that you know and but long term is because I've got such a keen interest in politics you know I'm definitely cause I actually started law as well in my first year you know so I'm going to go back into that and I'm going to a PPL and I'm trying to go and doing that probably in Natal or Cape Town (okay) basically its Philosophy Politics and Law and Philosophy Politics and Economics you know and that's what PPL is and its BA degree (ok) so I'd like to do that because I think I'm still too young right now to be involve myself in politics you know so for me that is within probably the next ten to fifteen years me getting into politics and you I arrange because I also have certain beliefs and I also have a certain way of a mindset or the system that I also like to see implemented in South Africa you know (yes) so for me that's part of my goals you know for other blacks (yes) I think being comfortable with who they are (yes) being comfortable knowing that they are black and they are part of this nation and therefore being part of this nation means that we need capital I really truly and truly believe that if we wanna be positive and actually develop ourselves (yes) personally in our communities and our country we need to work together in that so my hopes for ehm Black people for the future is for us to put our pride aside and actually you know forget about our enemies (yes) you know put cause we all in ourselves you know for us to just forget about that sort of mindset cause you know back in the 1800s I think it was one of em the white people who landed here Haynes said that there's that saying that em a house divided cannot stand you know so I think that right now black people have forgotten and that's why they divided us back then during the apartheid system (yes) in the nineteen forties that's why they decided to do that because if you have a United Front if you have people united together its going to be very hard to crumble but if they can fight within themselves its simpler its easier (mhm) then you can defeat them so I think that right now I think us black people are I think really we

can be defeated because we're not going together so my future hopes is just for blacks to work together because I think there's so much that we can achieve if we work together I think we need to realize

Interviewer: *Now, please describe a negative future. That is, please describe a highly undesirable future for yourself; one that you fear could happen to you, but you hope does not happen. Again try to be realistic. In other words I would like you to give a picture of a negative future for your own life story. Describe a negative future for other black people in South Africa, again here I would like me to give a picture of a negative future for the life of other blacks in South Africa, that could possible happen but you hope will not happen and the reasons behind your thinking.*

Zifiki: For other black people I'd say (*you say its highly undesirable I wish it could never happen*) I wish we could never ever go back to before 1994 (*yes, yes*) you know and I wish that things only get better and not worse (*yeah*) because I can't say that things are or are on the best level that they can be on now so you know we still we still trying to get there we still trying find we still trying to fully experience what freedom is (*yes, yes*) you know so I do think that yes em sorry I just I loose myself on I've got a problem I've got real low concentration (*but you are really doing well*) yeah but I've got a very low concentration span eh what was I saying mhm (*you were saying something about you know negative Whites*) yeah excellent we must never the most undesirable thing ever is in all honesty is White men how they have treated us in the past and they must never come to power again (*mhm*) that's the most undesirable I would yho000 I would die I wouldn't be able to live I'm not gonna lie to you that I'd be work very hard I think that actually its every black man's worst fear (*yeah*) and that's why now no matter how bad the black government can be we still support it because at the end of the day we rather not go to what we lived (*yes*) no matter how

bad the government can be doing we will still supporting it because we wanna hold onto that thing of we have a Black person like us

Interviewer: *thank you, thank you, thank you so much you know like now we've come to the end of it and looking back over your entire life as your story developed of being black in South Africa in the past as well as up to now, as well the imagined future, can you tell me what is the main idea that runs throughout the story? Explain.*

Zifiki: The main thing for (yes) I know I wanna say what I'm saying if you the main thing for me is we need to appreciate as Black South African and as a Black woman (mhm) we need to appreciate and embrace who we are culturally, spiritually (mhm) mentally and physically because at the end who you are is it's a combination of a whole you know em its like the body is connected like your fingers are connected to your arm and your arm is connected to your neck (yes) so therefore one thing cannot em what's the word one thing cannot yeah it one thing will not perform without the other (yes) you know so therefore if within ourselves we can find wrong you know in every way therefore we'd become a better people (mhm) therefore if you're strong as a person and as an individual (mhm) and now lets say we have a whole group of people who are strong therefore we have strong system (yeah) you know therefore we help each other therefore we become stronger as a nation so I think it all starts within ourselves (yes) we need to nurture our spirits more than anything we need to nurture who we are because at the end of the day what you are is more spiritual than anything else its not who you are physically (yeah) we need to nurture who we are and stuff so I think that every black South African woman still need to nurture themselves first and take a look at the way they think and the way see things and try to connect it to the rest of the world (yes yes) so yes I do believe that we need to I don't know we need to take care of ourselves first or find the force within ourselves and the good and bad recognize that (yes)

and use that as tools for us to become a stronger Nation because we need each other

Interviewer: *Reflect on the interview, is there anything I have missed or anything that you would like to add, so that I understand your life story better as a black person?*

Zifiki: Ehm let me think is there anything oh okay yeah, yeah I think I think what would be nice is because I like questioning a lot of things (yes) I think we should also approach the whole what do black South Africans think of Religion (okay, okay) you know ehm Religion in terms of because in all honesty you know there yes we all Christians (yes) which is fine you know but when you look at the History of Religion within ourselves (yes) its come a long way so you know I think religious as well religious aspects we should also

Interviewer: *okay, okay thank you so much Zifiki I really appreciate you're your time and wonderful story of your life*

Appendix 7: Newsletter

A summary of basic study results

October 2008

By Xoliswa Mtose (PhD candidate at the university of kwaZulu-Natal)

To: Research Participant

Thank you once again for your participation in my PhD study. As promised during the interview that basic results at completion of this project would be sent to you. This newsletter serves to communicate that summary of the results from you and other black peoples' autobiographies that were interviewed, and it reads as follows:

Being black in South Africa today is no easier than it was in the past. It is mainly shaped by either a continuation of colonial ways of talking or shaped by the advancement of its plurality through its movement between past and present. In fact the very conditions of change in South Africa today, like desegregation, integration, political change and economic upliftment had a positive as well as a negative impact on black identity construction.

The positive aspects of black identity in South Africa today are that it opens opportunities of going beyond how blackness is being framed. Amongst the black people we have those who claim to be the cream of the crop, educated, sophisticated, rich and speak better English. Such were claims are found to be creations and inventions of new forms of being black.

What is negative about it is that, these very new forms are stuck in the frame of racism and therefore blackness continues to be a moral field today. In black identity construction the experience of everyday racism remain and are still intact. The structures of discrimination, stereotypes are still intact. Black identity has also been unable to transcend the negative stereotypes associated with being black. Therefore the new forms of the emerging black identity are complicated by the specter of whiteness.

I hope that this wets your appetite to read more of my thesis once it is published in 2009. I hope that this newsletter gives you an idea of the meaning of black identity in South Africa today.

DECLARATION

I, Xoliswa Antionette Mtose declare that

- (i) The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- (ii) This dissertation/thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university
- (iii) This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
- (iv) This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - (a) their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;
 - (b) where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotations marks, and referenced.
- (v) Where I have reproduced a publication of which I am an author, co-author or editor, I have indicated in detail which part of the publication was actually written by myself alone and have fully referenced such publications
- (vi) This dissertation/thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the dissertation and in the References sections.

Signed:

- Submitted in *partial(for coursework)* fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of in the School of ,University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

- As the candidate's Supervisor I have approved this dissertation/thesis for submission

DEDICATION

To Siphesihle (Sihle) Kuhle Lekhelebane,
my dearest granddaughter. Thank you Sihle for giving Nhanha space to
write instead of reading stories and do drawings with you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To God Be the Glory! Giving thanks first and foremost to the Most High for allowing me to receive the rewards of this dissertation while he gets the ultimate glory. I always seem to return to the truth of the old Xhosa saying “umntu ngumntu ngabantu”. Roughly translated, it means a person is who he/she is because of other people. That is certainly the case for me regarding this process. God placed several crucial people in my life, a few of whom I want to say a special thank you in this acknowledgement.

To my supervisor, Professor Durrheim Kevin, words can never express the impact you have had on my life. I will always remember and be grateful for your thoughtful and thought-provoking comments as well as your encouragement and optimism about this project.

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To my family, husband Monde Mtose, and my children Vuyokazi & Letlatsa (Podgy) Cwayita, and Lubabalo, thanks for your undying love, patience, encouragement and support during these past years. I am grateful to all of you for generosity to afford me the space and time to work and grow spiritually and intellectually.