

DISCOURSES ON RACISM



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences, University of the Western Cape, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of D. Phil.

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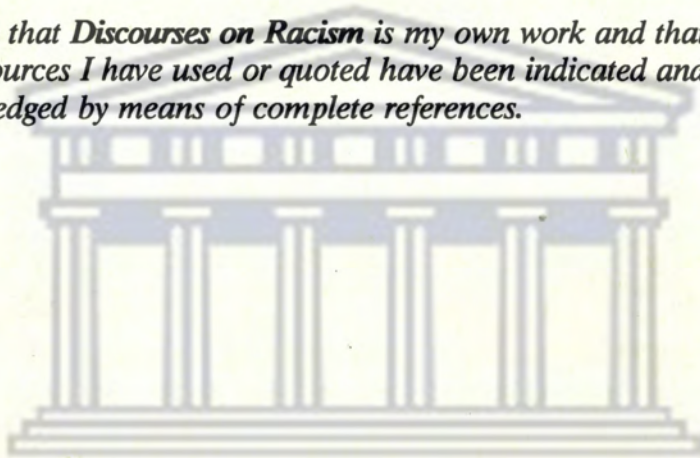
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DECLARATION

*I declare that **Discourses on Racism** is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.*



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N T F DUNCAN

DEDICATION

*"your dark shadow
wrapped in poverty's blanket
shivers in the breeze ...*

*the loneliness in your eyes
and the unhealing wounds ...*

*your life is a poetic potential
lost in the metaphors of pain"*
(Patel, 1980, p 24).

This study is dedicated to all those who have had to deal
with the indignity and pain caused by racism.

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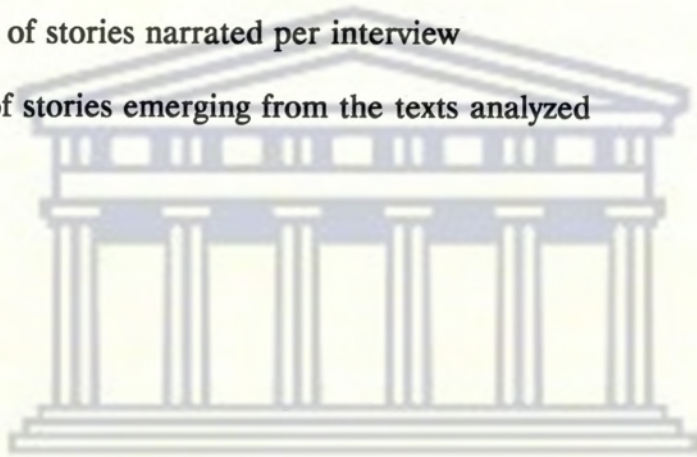
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ABSTRACT

A central aim of this study is to examine the meanings which (i) a group of South African psychologists and (ii) a group of Black parents give to racism in their discourses and how these meanings are linked to existing relations of domination. To this end the discourses on racism produced by the former in various journal articles and the latter in various group discussions are submitted to analysis.

The study basically utilizes the following working hypotheses as its point of departure: (i) that the discourses produced by the group of psychologists - in so far as they could broadly be seen as being representative of prevailing dominant discourses - would, to varying degrees, reflect attempts to legitimate and reinforce the relations of domination which the ideology of racism entails; and (ii) that despite certain similarities between dominant group discourses and dominated group discourses on racism, the latter's discourses would, to varying degrees, be the site of resistance against dominant group discourses as well as against their domination.

The findings of the study seem to support the basic postulates contained in the two working hypotheses presented above. More specifically, the analysis of the discourses collected reveals (i) that, though ostensibly very disparate, the discourses produced by the group of psychologists, by and large, appear to justify and dissimulate the asymmetric relations of power which the ideology of racism maintains; and (ii) that despite the similarities between dominant group and dominated group discourses the latter, in a variety of ways, undermine the ideology of racism as well as dominant group discourses on the ideology.

The study concludes with an examination of the suggestions emerging from the discourses analyzed regarding how racism as it manifests itself in South Africa can be combatted and eliminated.

CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Most social scientists today would acknowledge that racism constitutes one of the most serious and vicious evils afflicting modern society (Barkan, 1992). Evidence of this abounds in all forms of the mass media. Indeed, hardly a day goes by without new evidence of the ever-escalating proportions of this scourge being documented in the international media: evidence such as the increasing number of reports of the racist persecution which 'guest workers' from African, Asian, Caribbean and East European countries have to endure in Western Europe and North America and of the racist discrimination which American, French, Dutch and German 'minority' groups, for example, are subjected to by (essentially white) autochthonous groups and institutions in their countries of birth (Argus Foreign Correspondent, 1992; Essed, 1991; Katz, 1976; Miles, 1989; and van Dijk, 1987a).

Evidence of the extent of this contemporary plague and its deleterious consequences is, however, not restricted to the international media. It is also extensively documented in local newspapers on virtually a daily basis. Below follows a selection of excerpts from two South African newspapers which, to a certain extent, capture some of the racist practices which blacks in South Africa have had to contend with for most of their lives:

"Whites 'stone black taxis'

A church minister yesterday said white men stoned black taxis in the Northern Transvaal ... The Rev William Sello ... who said he was a passenger in one of the vehicles, said several black people were injured when six Afrikaans-speaking white men clad in khaki outfits stoned four passing minibus taxis" ("Whites," 1992, p 1).

"AWB assault claim

Police confirmed yesterday they were investigating a charge of assault and malicious damage laid by an 'elderly black man' against [the white] Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche ... The elderly man was allegedly assaulted and his car damaged" ("AWB," 1991, p 3).

"Economic apartheid' claim

Economic barriers had replaced apartheid bars to membership of the formerly officially whites-only S A Association of Municipal Employees ..." (Municipal Reporter, 1992, p 3).

"SAAF to probe 'assault' by officer

The air force is investigating an alleged racial incident and the assault of a [black] woman by ... [a white] officer ..." ("SAAF," 1991, p 2).

"ANC outrage at 'miscarriage of justice'

The ANC has claimed that the release of a [white] farm manager who killed a [black] labourer with a pickhandle was one of the most shameful examples of a miscarriage of justice ..." (Staff Reporter, 1992, p 3).

"Khaki-clad men 'attack after dance'

White Afrikaans-speaking men in khaki have allegedly attacked [black] supporters of Bophuthaswana's banned opposition party at a hotel in Rustenburg ..." (Argus Correspondent, 1991, p 3).⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ See Appendix A for full texts.

The message which emerges very clearly from the preceding excerpts is that racism is not something of the past as certain strains of contemporary ruling-class political rhetoric would have it (cf. Collinge, 1992). While it has to be conceded that the phenomenon of racism had in recent years undergone several relatively dramatic changes in terms of how it is articulated, it cannot be denied that, in essence, the phenomenon continues to thrive and does not cease to exert a profoundly destructive effect on blacks' lives in this country (Basson, 1992; Foster, 1991a). **South Africa**, like most other white-dominated countries, to quote King (in Katz, 1976), is still **"poisoned to its soul by racism"** (p 3).

That racism remains an integral aspect of the South African reality and that it continues to exert a very adverse influence on the lives of blacks are, however, not the only important details relevant to the present study which emerge from the quotations presented above. Paradoxically, these quotations simultaneously also illustrate the important point that blacks' experiences and accounts - and, indeed, the destructiveness and extent - of racism in South Africa are not taken seriously (cf. Essed, 1991; and Katz, 1976). At this juncture a brief 'digression' to take a closer look at some of the 'strategies' used in these quotations to deny or negate blacks' experiences, as well as the destructiveness and extent of racism would be apposite. Indeed, if it is borne in mind that the manner in which people talk or write about racism constitutes one of the central foci of the present study, then this digression is essential.

A close perusal of the quotations presented above would reveal that all but one of them (namely, the third quotation) deal with instances of 'individual' racism. The impression which this focus undeniably creates is that racism in South Africa is an individual problem and, more specifically, a problem caused by a handful of "Afrikaans-speaking", "khaki clad" (white) individuals (cf. Essed, 1991). Another very telling discursive strategy employed in these quotations and which can be seen as being an attempt to negate blacks' experiences and the true nature of racism is the profusion of the quotation marks and words such as "claim" and "alleged" which appear in these quotations. According to Billig (1988a) the use of these 'distance

markers' are some of the discursive strategies most frequently encountered in newspapers controlled by the ruling class to negate blacks' very real experiences of racism as well as the extent and, indeed, the existence of the phenomenon in contemporary society (cf. van Dijk, 1989a, 1992). By using distance markers such as those contained in the quotations presented above, as van Dijk (1989a) correctly points out, it would appear as if the writers of the articles in question wish to distantiate themselves from these reports (cf. Billig, 1988a; and van Dijk, 1989a). Through this act of 'discursive distantiation', van Dijk's work importantly also suggests, these writers simultaneously also then appear to cast doubt on, or question, the authenticity of the reported racist incidents.

According to van Dijk (1989a), while accounts of blacks' experiences of racism are always accompanied by an abundance of distance markers this is much less frequently the case when accounts of whites' experiences are reported. The following excerpt taken from one of the newspapers cited above is presented by way of illustration:

"Wessels breaks with Cosatu

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Leon Wessels, angered by what he called Cosatu's confrontational attitude and lack of sensitivity to sound labour relations, has suspended all direct contact with the labour federation ... Mr Wessels said he saw no benefit in continuing with the meeting scheduled for November 5 in the light of Cosatu's contempt for negotiations ..." (Argus Correspondent, 1992, p 1).

Here the quotation marks and the other distance markers which inundate the first set of excerpts presented above are conspicuous in their absence. No question marks are consequently placed over the (white) Minister of Manpower's account of Cosatu's actions. Cosatu is portrayed as having displayed a "*confrontational attitude ... lack of sensitivity*" and a "*contempt for negotiations*". Due to the complete absence of quotation marks and words such as "*alleged*" and "*claim*", these judgemental remarks made by Wessels are then transformed into 'facts' (cf. van Dijk, 1989a).

Another very revealing feature of the first set of excerpts presented above is the fact that the writers of the articles from which they are drawn seem to make a concerted effort to dissimulate the group affiliations or identity of the two groups of social agents (or, one of the groups, as is the case in the last quotation cited above) involved in the racist incidents reported. In short, it appears as if these writers attempt to dissimulate the fact that these incidents essentially involved racist actions perpetrated by members of the dominant **white** group against members of the dominated **black** group.

To the extent that these newspapers effectively then dissimulate the true nature and extent of racism in South Africa and in the rest of the world, they can be seen to significantly contribute to the perpetuation of the phenomenon for as Essed (1987) points out, any account of racism which aids in the dissimulation (be it intentional or unintentional) of the phenomenon contributes to public ignorance which consequently makes the possibility of social change more difficult.

What should be abundantly clear from the discussion thus far is that racism is perpetuated not only by the continued differential and discriminatory treatment meted out to people on the basis of their 'affiliation' to a specific 'race' or 'cultural group', but it is also reproduced by the 'meanings' which people give to it in their discourses (Thompson, 1984). Indeed, according to Smitherman-Donaldson & van Dijk (1988) and Thompson (1984), notwithstanding the crucial role which non-discursive practices play in the reproduction of racism, it is primarily through discourse that the ideology is most effectively justified, dissimulated and ultimately, therefore, reproduced.

1.2 THE FOCUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The primary aim of the present study is to undertake an exploratory examination of the discourses on the phenomenon of racism produced by (i) a group of predominantly white South African psychologists and (ii) a group of black parents.

More specifically, the present study aims to examine how the meanings or explanatory repertoires and strategies contained in these groups' discourses serve to either support or subvert the ideology.

There are essentially three reasons for electing to analyze specifically the discourses produced by the groups identified in the previous paragraph. Firstly, the fact that the one group consists essentially of whites (Seedat, 1990) and the other only of blacks enables a comparison between typically **dominant and dominated group discourses** on racism. Secondly, the fact that the one group consists only of psychologists and the other of parents who had no formal training in psychology (nor any university training, for that matter) allows for a comparison between essentially **formal** (or academic) and essentially **informal** (or common-sense) discourses on racism (cf. Essed, 1986). Lastly, these two target groups were chosen because of the fact that the discourses which they produced can be considered to be representative of two relatively distinct ideological apparatuses, namely, academia and the family (cf. Althusser, 1971; and Therborn, 1980).

At this juncture it would perhaps be apposite to provide preliminary definitions of the two terms which recur the most frequently thus far and which are central to the focus of this study, namely, the terms "racism" and "discourse". [It should however be stressed here that these are only **preliminary** definitions aimed primarily at facilitating discussion in the present chapter because, as will become apparent in chapters 2 and 3 of this study, both terms, largely because of their complexity, would seem to defy easy or 'pat' definition.]

Racism: According to Jones (1986), racism can very broadly be defined as being the result of "*the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture ... [with prejudice being] the prior negative judgement of members of a [race]... held in disregard of the facts that contradict it... affective, categorical mode of mental functioning involving rigid prejudgment and misjudgment of human groups*" (Jones,

1986, p 280). Here it has to be emphasised that for racial prejudice to be transformed into racism, as Cape Action League (CAL) (1987) correctly points out, *"it has to be systematically linked to structures and practices that perpetuated the exploitation of one group by another"* (p 11).

Discourse: Discourse, as used in this study, broadly refers to language *"realized in speech or in writing"* (Thompson, 1984, p 133). Where academic productions are concerned the term "discourse" also refers to theoretical models and concepts as well as to the aims and methods of research (cf. Goldberg, 1987; and Levett, 1989). Furthermore, a basic and very important assumption of the present study is that discourse is the *locus* and, indeed, *"the avenue for the investigation"* (Thompson, 1984, p 8) of ideologies (such as racism) - ideologies referring to *"... the [systems] of representations through which various collectivities of social agents define for themselves the parameters and limits of social interactions and so mediate their positions within the process of class struggle ..."* (O'Meara, 1983, pp 14-15). Very importantly too, and as Thompson (1984) stresses, ideologies bear *"an intrinsic connection to the problem of domination"* (p 4); that is, to the preservation or transformation of a given social order.

To sum up, a central aim of the present study is therefore to **undertake an exploratory examination of the "meanings" which two specific collectivities of people give to the ideology of racism in their discourses on the ideology and how these meanings relate to existing relations of domination.**

1.3 PSYCHOLOGISTS' DISCOURSES ON RACISM

Because racism has had, and still has, such profound effects on people's lives and because it is quite an elusive and contentious concept, it has generated a relatively wide range of research studies and theories. This very range often makes it very difficult to come to grips with the phenomenon. Bearing in mind the broad definition of academic discourse posited above (namely, that it refers to *"language*

realized in speech and writing", theoretical models as well as the methods and aims of research), the question which logically arises here and which, as pointed out above, constitutes one of the key foci of the present study, is: What are the dominant discourses on racism which surface from this wide array of studies and theories?

Chesler (1976), in an effort to come to grips with the various studies and theories on racism - and also in an effort to identify the dominant discourses on racism and the conceptual frameworks employed to explain the phenomenon - proposed quite a unique system whereby these academic productions could be analyzed. Because this system makes it possible to answer the question posed above and also because it is referred to relatively frequently throughout the present study, it will briefly be considered here. It should however be noted here that various other writers (for example, Ashmore and Del Boca, 1976; Billig, 1976; and Doise, 1980) have also proposed similar organizing systems, some more adequate, in terms of their potential to organize and analyze material, than others.

According to Chesler (1976) most of the extant theories and research studies attempting to explain the existence of racism or racism-related phenomena can, despite their ostensible diversity, actually be placed into two basic co-varying dichotomous systems. Here it should be noted that these dichotomous systems are really continua along which social scientific explanatory systems and discourses on racism vary. It is in fact in this regard that Chesler's system differs most significantly from some of the other systems which basically propose relatively discrete categories or levels for organising academic productions. It is also in this regard that Chesler's system is easier to work with than some of the other systems for, as Doise (1980) correctly observes, it is in fact often very difficult to place a particular production into **one** specific category.

The first continuum which Chesler (1976) identifies is that of "**degree of system control**". This continuum defines the extent to which an academic production locates the roots or causes of racism or racism-related phenomena within the larger

social structure (high degree of system control) as opposed to within the individual (low degree of system control).

The second continuum identified by Chesler (1976) is that of "degree of embeddedness". This continuum defines the extent to which an academic production interprets racism or racism-related phenomena as being embedded in a particular social order (high degree of embeddedness) as opposed to being an isolated aspect of that social order (low degree of embeddedness).

Academic productions dealing with racism as product of capitalism (such as the theory posited by Cox, 1948, for example) would normally fall at the 'high' ends of both the above continua since they typically view racism (i) as being an ideology used by capitalist societies to more effectively exploit certain sectors of the working class (high degree of system control); and (ii) as an endemic aspect of western (capitalist) society (high degree of embeddedness) (Cox, 1948). On the other hand, academic productions linking racism to characteristics of blacks (such as, for example, the theory proposed by Moynihan, 1965) can be seen as falling at the 'low' ends of the two continua identified by Chesler because they typically view racism (i) as being a function of the 'inappropriate' adaptation of certain members of dominated groups to western society (low degree of system control), and (ii) as occurring primarily in situations where these 'maladjusted' individuals come into contact with the dominant group (low degree of embeddedness).

Here it is very revealing to note that, according to Chesler's (1976) research and system of analysis, most of the theories and research studies on racism generated in the social sciences would seem to fall towards the 'low' ends of the continua described above. In other words, the dominant discourse emerging from the theories postulated and the research conducted thus far, is one that denies the widespread nature of racism and relates the existence of the phenomenon to blacks' and whites' attributes and attitudes rather than to the inherent structural characteristics of the dominant social order (Chesler, 1976). Studies undertaken by Ashmore & Del Boca (1976), Billig (1976) and Doise (1980) produced very

similar findings to those produced by Chesler's study. These studies, all of which deal with the discursive repertoires and levels of explanation used in psychology to account for racism and other social phenomena, found that psychologists by and large give preference to 'low degree of system control', rather than 'high degree of system control', discursive repertoires and explanations. In fact, Doise in his analysis of 142 studies published in seven volumes of the European Journal of Social Psychology, found that nearly 75 percent of these studies favoured 'low degree of system control' (that is, inter-individual and intra-individual) theoretical frameworks and approaches to account for social phenomena such as racism.

According to Essed (1987), this conspicuous bias which social scientists have thus far tended to display in terms of their preference for 'low-degree-of-embeddedness', 'low-degree-of-system-control' accounts of racism - as well as their frequent neglect of the study of the phenomenon - should be seen as being nothing other than an instance of what she terms as being **academic racism**. Academic racism she defines as being the academic legitimation and transmission of racist myth systems. As previously observed, Essed is of the opinion that social scientists who deny the importance of the study of racism, or who fail to focus on the phenomenon's systemic roots and its extent are themselves guilty of racism. They significantly, and perhaps wilfully, contribute to general public ignorance and to continuing injustice and the exploitation of 'minorities' or oppressed groupings (cf. Chesler, 1976).

According to Levett (1988) too, the bias normally displayed by dominant group researchers in terms of the topics they research and the methodologies they employ, can be seen as constituting an integral part of dominant group (racist) ideology. This is a view also posited by Billig (1976) and Gramsci (in Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts, 1984) who note that the conceptual frameworks which intellectuals (researchers) use to explain social phenomena, inevitably bear the "traces" of dominant group ideology:

"[It has been] noted how capitalist interests ensure an ideological bias in favour of the status quo. This bias is not so much achieved by direct

censorship, but through the continual presentation of only one broad picture and by limiting the area of discussion to particular topics within the existing structure, rather than allowing a discussion of that structure itself" (Billig, 1976, pp 264-265).

Most social scientists today would acknowledge that racism is deeply embedded in dominant group discourses and that they are not immune to the influence of these discourses. In fact, according to research conducted by Bulhan (1980), Donaldson-Smitherman & van Dijk (1988), Essed (1987), Hartmann & Husband (1974), van Dijk (1992) and Seedat (1990), not only do these discourses have an effect on social scientists but the latter are important agents in the process of their elaboration and dissemination.

Here it is important to emphasise that the fact that social scientists would seem to play such an important role in the (re)production of racist discourses does not necessarily mean that they do so consciously or that they do not attempt to change these discourses. Such a perception of the role played by these social agents in the (re)production of racism, as van Dijk (1987b, 1992) correctly posits, would be too simplistic to be of any value as far as an explication of the functioning of this manifestly complex ideology is concerned. In reality, social scientists' discourses are often relatively variable in terms of both form and degree of elaboration and, at times, outrightly conflict with ruling-class ideology. Such variability can essentially be seen as being a function of (i) the fact that social scientists are often subject to various conflicting forces⁽²⁾ and (ii) the fact that in a stratified society they do not constitute a homogeneous group (cf Gramsci, in Simon, 1982; Therborn, 1980; and Billig, 1976).

⁽²⁾ For example, while ruling-class ideology may profoundly affect their thinking and discourses, many social scientists are often also subject to important conflicting pressures arising from membership of professions and institutions traditionally adopting positions that ostensibly are relatively critical of certain dominant group ideologies.

Here it must however be stressed that given the fact that in white dominated societies, such as, South Africa, social scientists are predominantly members of the dominant white group as well as the fact that academic institutions are invariably controlled by and in the service of this group, it is in reality more likely than unlikely that social scientists would (re)produce discourses similar to, or supportive of, ruling-class ideology (Jansen, 1991; Levett, 1988; Savage, 1981; and Seedat, 1990).

Moreover, it has to be borne in mind that social scientists are often actively reinforced for the supportive role that they play with regard to the propagation of dominant discourses. It will, for example, be found that the more congruent academic discourses are with the dominant assumptions of ruling-class discourses and ideology, the more likely it is that the dominant class will acclaim, publicize and promote these discourses through the media and other channels at its disposal. Here the wide coverage and acclaim accorded to the pro-status quo (and at times, flagrantly racist) writings of Mannoni and Jensen in the media and psychology journals in the past and the comparative indifference or outright indignation reserved for the works of authors like Fanon constitute a case in point (cf. Bulhan, 1980; and Seedat, 1990). Chesler (1976) and Savage (1981) in fact cite a number of cases where social scientists working on racism-related issues have in the past often succumbed to this type of pressure (as well as the more direct pressure from sponsoring agencies) and omitted from their publications views which they suspected would not be well-received or else distorted research results so as to produce reports which are in keeping with, and support, ruling-class views and ideology.

Given the above-mentioned constraints, experts will invariably therefore produce discourses on racism which are in keeping with dominant group ideology (Levett, 1988) and if, due to factors such as professional traditions or ethical considerations, these discourses are modified, as Levett (1988) observes, they will normally be modified "*only in small tokenist ways*" (p 6). This is a view also posited by Therborn (1980) who submits that despite the variability of dominant discourses, the latter

often reflect certain specific **core themes** which are invariably supportive of ruling-class ideology. However great their quest for 'autonomy', intellectuals are constrained to reproduce discourses which concur with the needs of the social class to which they are institutionally linked (Therborn, 1980).

Ample substantiation of the views posited by the writers cited above emerges from recent empirical studies (cf. Billig, 1988a; Murray, 1986; Said, 1992; Seidel, 1988; and van Dijk, 1989a, 1992). All these studies demonstrate that despite various superficial differences in the discourses on the ideology of racism produced by intellectuals who are institutionally linked to the ruling class, these discourses, more frequently than not, contain various core elements which ultimately aid in the reproduction of the ideology: core elements which contain messages, such as, "blacks are responsible for whites' antipathy towards them", "only a few whites are responsible for racism", "racism is not very widespread in western society", etc. (in other words, messages which are very similar to those contained in the excerpts taken from the two South Africa newspapers presented at the beginning of this chapter) (cf. van Dijk, 1992).

While one of the primary goals of this study is to examine the state of racism-related research in South African psychology and the dominant discourse which it maintains, the preceding (and later) discussion is relatively broad and often makes mention of the state and discourses of Euro-American racism-related academic productions in the social sciences in general. This 'broadening' is however unavoidable since not much research has thus far been conducted on the issue of the nature of psychological research on racism in South Africa. Moreover, given the technological advances of the present era, the content of social scientific sub-disciplines and their research objectives cannot be expected to differ dramatically from one ('western') country to another (Essed, 1987, 1991). Social scientists from around the 'western' world, as Essed (1987) argues,

"... form a social group. They communicate and identify with each other through their work, they compete with each other through persuasive argumentation as representatives of [the] dominant... paradigm" (Essed, 1987, p 3).

In the light of the above it can consequently be expected that many of the research and discursive patterns prevalent in academic productions on racism generated in Western Europe and North America will be reflected in local research. Foster's (1986, 1991a) analysis of South African psychological research on racism, to a certain extent, supports this idea. In fact, Foster is of the contention that psychological research in the field of racism in this country has been unprogrammatically, stagnant, unimaginative and relatively unproductive, specifically because of South African psychologists' penchant for replicating overseas research.

The unprogrammatically nature and, indeed, the dearth of psychological research in the field of racism has not gone completely unnoticed by others working within the discipline of psychology. Various researchers (see, for example, Bulhan, 1980; Cloete & Muller, 1991; Levett, 1989; and Seedat, 1990) have over the years made mention of this fact and have consequently appealed to psychologists to research this important area. Noting the dearth of psychological research on racism, Levett and Seedat in fact suggest that it is incumbent upon psychologists not only to start doing more research on racism but also to analyze this conspicuous 'silence' or lacuna in South African psychology. Basically, it was this suggestion and the lack of substantial research on psychologists' discourses on racism in South Africa which motivated the present study.

1.4 THE DOMINATED'S DISCOURSES ON RACISM.

Not much is said in the literature about the dominated's typical responses to, and discourses on, the phenomenon of racism. As will be shown in greater detail later there are basically two positions which emerge from the extant literature in this regard. On the one hand there is the position postulated by theorists such as Campbell & Le Vine (in Billig, 1976), and Zahar (1985) who maintain that the discourses produced by the dominated will inevitably resemble ruling-class ideology and discourses with regard to matters pertaining to their oppression. In other words, the dominated's discourses on racism will tend to be supportive rather than

critical of existing relations of domination. Campbell & Le Vine (in Billig, 1976), for example, posit that the dominated, in an effort to minimise cognitive dissonance, will virtually always replicate ruling-class discourses. According to these writers, anti-*status quo* or liberatory discourses, because they would not coincide with the dominated's position in society, cannot but lead to cognitive dissonance, a condition which most people try to avoid at all costs. Zahar (1985) again suggests that the dominated would inevitably replicate ruling-class discourses because of the pre-eminence or privileged position of the latter discourses in societies characterised by domination (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion).

The other position which emerges from the literature with regard to the nature of the dominated's discourses posits that though these discourses often resemble ruling-class discourses, they frequently also differ in very important ways from the latter discourses. Gramsci (in Bobo, 1988; and in Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 1984) is one the more prominent theorists who takes up this position. According to him, though the ruling-class will inevitably attempt to propagate (and ensure the dominance of) those discourses and ideas that secure and advance their interests, such discourses and ideas seldom reign without some challenge from the dominated; and this for the simple reason that the ruling-class's hegemony is never complete. This position is also echoed in the works of writers such as Billig (1976), Hall *et al.* (1984) and Therborn (1980).

Given that the positions sketched above are essentially 'theoretical' in nature (ie., in the sense that they do not flow from the empirical) the following question arises: What does the extant empirical research on racism reveal with regard to the nature of dominated groups' discourses on the phenomenon? Here the picture is not very clear as very little research has thus far been conducted on dominated groups' discourses on racism. *En passant*, it should be pointed out here that this is in sharp contrast to the relatively large array of studies on dominant group discourses on racism produced to date (See the preceding pages as well van Dijk, 1985a and 1991, for a few of the many references available).

Presently, Abu-Ghazaleh (1992), Abu-Nahleh (1992), Essed (1988, 1991) and Louw-Potgieter (1989) seem to rank amongst the few researchers who have thus far produced some research in the field of dominated groups' discourses on racism. Very revealing to note here is the fact that the studies conducted by all four of these researchers support the second theoretical position outlined above, namely, that dominated groups do not necessarily replicate dominant group discourses on matters pertaining to their oppression. Indeed, the research findings reported by all of these researchers reveal that instead of merely being reproductions of dominant group discourses, the discourses of the dominated in most cases constitute sites of resistance to dominant group ideology and discourses. Very importantly too, all these researchers stress the need for much more research on the dominated's discourses on racism if a more comprehensive picture is to be obtained with regard to how the dominated experience and respond to, or defend themselves against, racism. Louw-Potgieter (1989) adds that more research on the dominated's discourses on racism is imperative if social scientists are truly serious (as they most frequently claim they are) about understanding the full extent and consequences of racism and helping in the eradication of this contemporary scourge.

It is essentially the above-mentioned lack of research on the dominated's discourses on racism which prompted the examination in the present study not only of South African psychologists' (who, until very recently, as already observed, were overwhelmingly part of the dominant group) discourses on racism but also the discourses on the phenomenon produced by blacks (the dominated) in this country.

1.5 ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSES

Recent years have witnessed a steady growth of interest in, and a proliferation of writings on, discourse analysis as a method of research (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; and van Dijk 1989a). Though it would not be appropriate here to detail all the acknowledged merits of discourse analysis, it can be mentioned at this juncture that

the plethora of research studies undertaken these last few years and which have employed the method to research various pertinent social issues more than attests to its utility as research instrument. Moreover, as van Dijk (1988a, 1989a) maintains, discourse analysis as method of research seems to be pre-eminently suited to the study of the central issue under scrutiny in this study, namely, racism.

This, he suggests is the case for two reasons. Firstly, because discourse analysis is essentially a 'transdisciplinary' method of research, it allows for a much more comprehensive examination of a phenomenon as complex and multi-faceted as racism. For any adequate understanding of racism to be arrived at the phenomenon cannot be studied rigidly or myopically from within the narrow confines of one specific discipline such as psychology, sociology or political science (Essed, 1992; and van Dijk, 1988a, 1989a). Secondly, since racism is primarily reproduced through discourse, it is only appropriate that it be analyzed at the level of discourse itself (van Dijk, 1988a, 1989a). This is obviously not to deny the pivotal role played by factors such as the need to appropriate certain resources, the need for power and the need to exploit others in the perpetuation of racism. However, as van Dijk so pertinently observes, the fact that it is through discourse that domination and exploitation is justified, dissimulated and consequently perpetuated, makes it imperative that the analysis of racism at the level of discourse receives much more attention than it has thus far been accorded (cf. Goldberg, 1987; and Thompson, 1984).

In accordance with Billig (1988a, 1988b), Wetherell & Potter (1988) and van Dijk's (1985a, 1988a) work and within the broad framework of discourse analysis in general, the discourses collected for the present study were analyzed at two interrelated levels, namely, at the level of local semantics and at a macro or global level. Here it should however be pointed out that, given the researcher's lack of formal training in linguistics and his specific interest in identifying the broader explanatory repertoires revealed in people's discourses on racism, much more attention was given to the analysis of discourses at the second level than to the level of local semantics. In other words, much more attention was given to the identification and mapping out of the global discursive patterns and explanatory

global
vs
local

repertoires appearing in the discourses collected. Analysis at the level of local semantics was essentially utilised as an adjunct to analysis at a more global level. Furthermore, following Thompson's (1984) recommendations - and for the reasons which will be expounded upon at a later stage - the analytical procedure adopted for this study tried to give sufficient attention to the analysis of the social context in which the discourses were produced.

In accordance with the basic philosophy of discourse analysis, the discourses collected constitute the primary focus of scrutiny in the present study, that is, the discourses collected were studied in their own right rather than merely being used as a means to study some underlying phenomena, such as, for example, cognitions and attitudes (cf. Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

1.6 HYPOTHESES

Because of the explorative nature of this study and in keeping with the spirit of discourse analysis as method of research (cf. Billig, 1988b; and Potter & Wetherell, 1987), the hypotheses informing this study are intentionally expressed in the most general terms possible, kept to the minimum, and should be seen to serve as 'guide' to the present study rather than as definitive indicators:

- H1: The discourses maintained in the research studies and articles selected for analysis would, to varying degrees, reinforce prevailing racist myth systems and existing relations of power.
- H2: Despite the similarities between dominant and dominated groups' discourses on racism, the latter's discourses would, to varying degrees, be the site of resistance to racism as well as to the former's discourses on the phenomenon.

1.7 THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENT STUDY.

One of the primary reasons for the present study being considered important is that it will allow for the identification of the ways in which racism operates and is possibly perpetuated in psychologists' discourses on the phenomenon. At this juncture an important point already alluded to earlier needs to be emphasised. The objective here is not to prove how racist South African psychologists are but rather to sensitise the latter, in specific, and academics, in general, to the manner in which they might aid in the discursive (re)production of the ideology of racism. The objective is therefore not moralistic in nature. Rather, it is inspired by the need to participate in the undeniably crucial, but too frequently neglected, task (CAL, 1987) of helping to combat this contemporary scourge. Given the fact that academic discourse is such a highly credible and authoritative discourse, the objective of the present study to sensitise academics to the role which they might possibly play in perpetuating racism is demonstrably important (Levett, 1989; and van Dijk, 1989a).

A second very important reason for embarking on the present study is that it allows for the study of the oppressed's discourses on, and accounts of, racism. The time has come for the discourses on racism produced by the oppressed in South Africa to be given their rightful place in social scientific enquiry. After all, their (the oppressed's) discourses and knowledge are based on their daily experiences of racist domination and deserve greater credence and attention than they have thus far been accorded in the social sciences in general and psychology in specific (Essed, 1988; Levett, 1989; and Louw-Potgieter, 1989).

Lastly, the present study can be considered important because it will allow for the identification and study of the variants of the extant discourses on racism which will promote the interests of the oppressed in South Africa (See Alexander, 1985). In the absence of a single, effective counter-hegemonic ideological discourse on racism in this country (Alexander, 1985; CAL, 1987; and Foster, 1991a), this enterprise is of crucial importance (cf. Gramsci, in Simon, 1982).

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF RACISM

"... the slave trade organised by merchant capital in a number of European nation states ... the murder of some nine million Jews under the direction of the Fascist government in Germany between 1933 and 1945 ... the segregation practised in the United States ... the construction and maintenance of apartheid in South Africa ... [a]ll of these events have led to the death of large numbers of people and all have been legitimated to various degrees by racism" (Miles, 1989, pp 3 - 4).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The many different - and often contradictory - definitions of racism produced in the social sciences these last few decades, to a certain extent, reflect exactly how difficult it is to define this very complex phenomenon adequately (cf. Chesler, 1976; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976 and Doise, 1980). According to Chesler (1976) and Banton (1987) it is precisely because the phenomenon is so complex that it would seem to elude all meaningful definition. But if it is difficult to identify racism, it is not all that difficult, as Essed (1986) points out, to identify some of its main properties. It is for this latter reason that it has been thought advisable to approach the task of defining the phenomenon by first of all presenting a discussion of what is considered to be its main characteristics and thereafter seeing whether a meaningful and concise definition can be arrived at which can guide the

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present study. Perhaps it would be appropriate to first of all have a brief look at the concept "race". After all, the notion of the existence of human 'races' does constitute the basis of the phenomenon which this study will be attempting to define. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1990) puts it, "Racism presupposes a discourse of 'race' [or whatever term it is substituted with]" (p 80).

2.1.1 'Race'

According to de Waal Malefijt (1976), the term 'race', in its strictest sense, can be defined as being "*a category of biological classification, related to other taxonomic categories such as phylum, class, order, genus, and species*" (p 256). Now, while few people have thus far objected to the use of the term by biologists in their attempts to understand the animal kingdom, the term 'race' as applied to the human species has always been the source of intense discord (Lieberman, 1975; Livingstone, 1969; and Hiernaux, 1969).

Since the term was first introduced into the literature by Tant (in Lieberman, 1975) in his Thresor de la Langue Francaise, in 1606, and then later employed by Linnaeus (in de Waal Malefijt, 1976) to describe certain differences amongst various groupings of people, it has produced several ongoing and, at times, very acrimonious debates: the most notable being (i) the eighteenth century debate concerning the origins of 'races' (ie., whether different 'races' have different or the same origins); (ii) the nineteenth century debate revolving around the equality or inequality of these 'races'; and (iii) the essentially twentieth century debate concerning the existence or non-existence of 'races'. Though it is not the intention here to go into the details of these debates⁽¹⁾ it could perhaps be pointed out that all these debates in essence centred around the same basic question, namely, whether the human species could be subdivided into discrete, hierarchically structured categories based on

⁽¹⁾ Barkan (1991), Lieberman (1975) and Montagu (1969) provide quite a comprehensive account of these debates.

biological and psychological criteria or not; or stated somewhat differently, whether all the people populating the earth are equal or not.

While it has to be admitted that until very recently a significant number of social scientists still openly expressed the belief that the human species can be divided into a number of discrete, and essentially unequal, 'races' distinguishable from one another on the basis of biological and psychological features (cf. Van Rooy, 1971; and Robbertse, 1967, 1971), it can also be stated with a fair degree of safety that most progressive social scientists today reject this position. Currently, the majority of progressive social scientists accept that even though, in terms of physical appearance, humans might differ, these differences are not great enough to warrant categorizing them into discrete categories labelled 'races' (cf. Miles, 1989; Boonzaier, 1988; Alexander, 1987; CAL, 1987; Livingstone, 1969; and Montagu, 1969 and 1975). Moreover, as CAL (1987) observes, the fact that social scientists have until now been unable to link these physical differences to any systematic variations in psychological qualities, makes it even less rational to employ these categories.

Here it should be pointed out that contrary to popular belief the above position is not entirely new. As early as 1793 Blumenbach (in Lieberman, 1975) was reported to have observed that,

"No variety of mankind exists, whether of colour, countenance, or stature, etc., so singular so as not to be connected by the others of the same kind ... " (p 28).

Herder (in de Waal Malefijt, 1976), a contemporary of Blumenbach, expressed more or less the same view when in 1803 he remarked,

"I could wish the distinctions between the human species, that have been made from a laudable zeal for discriminating science, not be carried beyond due bounds. Some for instance have thought fit, to employ the term race for four or five divisions, originally made in consequence of country or complexion: but I see no reason for this appellation. Race refers to a difference in origin, which in this sense does not exist ... " (emphasis added, p 259).

And there were many others after Blumenbach and Herder who also expressed their reservations about the use of 'race' as a means of classifying humans (See, for example, Boas, Denicker and Garlick, in Montagu, 1969; and in Lieberman, 1975.) Denicker (in Montagu, 1969) objected to the term for several reasons: the most important being the fact that his own research as well as the research of several others had shown that all so-called 'racial' groupings exhibited numerous variations with regard to a range of biological and psychological qualities and that the variations within groups were often greater than those between groups. In 1900 he wrote,

"Do these ... groupings represent unions of individuals which, in spite of some slight dissimilarities, are capable of forming what zoologists call 'species', 'subspecies', 'varieties', in the case of domestic animals? One need not be a professional anthropologist to reply negatively to this question" (Denicker, in Montagu, 1969, p 16).

Through his research - particularly the research conducted at the turn of the century - Boas (in Lieberman, 1975) too, showed that the differences between so-called 'races' are relatively meaningless and that where they do exist, many of these differences are of a transient nature and stem primarily from historical and environmental factors rather than heredity, as the seemingly pro-race theorists like Van Rooy (1971) and Robbertse (1967; 1971) apparently believe.

Moreover, as CAL (1987) and a number of other contemporary social scientists point out, the fact that the isolation of human groups over long periods of time has seldom occurred and that 'miscegenation' has always been a fact of human life make it almost nonsensical to today still speak of 'races'.

One can continue virtually *ad infinitum* listing the various arguments regularly raised in the past to debunk the whole notion of the existence of human 'races'. However, it would be inappropriate to belabour this point any further, save to say that since Blumenbach (in Lieberman, 1975) first raised his doubts concerning the validity of race as a means of classifying humans, right until today, most of the foremost scientists of the world have

consistently held that the use of 'race' as a taxonomic unit for human beings is not only inappropriate but also irrational (Garlick, in Montagu, 1969).

Now, if the view expressed above is one which has regularly been expressed by the majority of the most prominent scientists over approximately the last two centuries, the questions which obviously come to mind here are:

- (i) Why has the dominant assumption amongst scientists virtually always been that 'race' exists (cf. Barkan, 1992)?
- (ii) Why have certain scientists always gone to such great pains to prove the validity of the term as a taxonomic unit to classify humans?⁽²⁾
- (iii) Why was it always so necessary for certain South African and Euro-American psychologists to prove that physical and psychological characteristics are correlated and that both are determined by hereditary factors (cf. Robbertse, 1967, 1971; and Hall, in Whittaker, 1990)?
- (iv) Why, at certain periods in history, did most social scientists find it necessary to rank human groups in terms of superiority or inferiority and in the process cause so much unnecessary hardship and deprivation to those relegated to the position of inferiority (cf. Miles, 1989)?
- (v) Why did blacks inevitably emerge at the bottom of the 'race' hierarchies created by various dominant group intellectuals (cf. Miles, 1989; and Ranger, 1982)?
- (vi) Why do certain social scientists still cling to the idea of the existence of human 'races'? (cf. CAL, 1987)

According to Miles (1989), CAL (1987), Bulhan (1980) and Lieberman (1975) the answers to all these questions are inextricably linked to the history of colonialism, slavery and capitalism. In fact, as these authors point out, the very idea of 'race' only emerged in all

⁽²⁾ By 1900, according to Lieberman (1975), scientists, in an effort to prove the existence of races had produced enough techniques to take five thousand measurements on a single skull, that is, apart from the various techniques employed to measure variations in skin colour, blood types and genetic composition!

earnest during the period when Europeans ranged the globe and established themselves as the 'conquerors' and colonisers of the Australasian, American and African land masses⁽³⁾. According to Miles, one of the important consequences of these voyages of 'discovery' was the renewed realisation amongst Europeans that other groups did not necessarily resemble them in terms of culture nor in terms of physical appearance. The effect was to create an urgent need to comprehend and explain these differences. One convenient way of doing this was to resort to the concept of 'race' (Miles, 1989; and Tajfel, 1978).

At this juncture it would be apposite to make some reference to Tajfel's (1978) work on **social categorising**. According to Tajfel, categorising is one of the most basic human activities employed to simplify the social world so that it can be better understood. And employing the notion of 'race' to humans allowed for such categorising to take place. As an aside, it should perhaps also be pointed out here that, as Hamilton & Trolie (1986) stress, categorising should be seen as being more than just a convenient way of simplifying a very complex world. Categorising, at the outset already, also biases the way in which people perceive and make judgments and inferences about members of the categories created. While these biases are normally positive for the in-group, they are inevitably negative for out-groups. This, to a certain extent, could perhaps explain European explorers' initial negative images and descriptions of the first non-Europeans they encountered on their voyages (cf. CAL, 1987; Miles, 1989; and Turner, 1981).

According to Miles (1989) Europeans, since their first contact with 'non-Europeans', had consistently described the latter in the most negative of terms. Consider, for instance, the following examples of Europeans' descriptions of 'non-Europeans'⁽⁴⁾ furnished by Miles

⁽³⁾ It is of course not maintained here that the notion of 'race' was 'invented' during the period of European colonial expansion; as Benedict (1951) and Miles (1989) point out very clearly, the notion pre-dates this period by several centuries.

⁽⁴⁾ Incidentally, it should be noted here that this very egocentric notion of the Other as 'non' (as in 'non-European' and 'non-white') implies prioritising of the self as pre-eminent, that the Other exists only in the negative of the Self, that, indeed, without

in his recent work entitled Racism: "*black savages, very brutish*" (p 22), "*beasts in skins of men*" (p 23) and "*very ugly and terrible to behold*" (p 24). These negative descriptions, according to Miles, surfaced with monotonous regularity in Europeans' early writings on the inhabitants of the 'non-European world'; and, as he points out, it is interesting to note that the frequency with which they were employed increased in direct relation to the degree of 'non-European' resistance to European oppression and exploitation.

It is essential to emphasise here that the concept of 'race' and its attendant theories (such as, the supposed physical and psychological 'superiority' of Europeans vis-à-vis 'non-Europeans') were not only invoked to enable Europeans to deal with the strangeness of other groups' customs and physical appearance. 'Race' and 'race' theories, as writers such as Cox (1948), Boonzaier (1988), Miles (1989) and Montagu (1969) correctly observe, also served the important function of enabling Europeans to justify their colonisation of foreign territories and subjecting the inhabitants of these territories to slavery and to various other forms of exploitation and oppression.

According to Lieberman (1975), the persistence in scientific circles of the idea that 'race' exists - and this, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary - can be seen as being a clear indication that science is never free of social influences. As this author so pertinently remarks, where one would expect science to be propelled forward by research findings, in the case of the notion of 'race', it was in fact pulled back by social structure and the need to dominate.

To Montagu (1969) too, the concept of 'race' presents a classic illustration of how reason may be adapted or distorted to suit social structure. Moreover, according to this author, not only is the concept of 'race' misleading and misrepresentative of reality, but also extremely

the existence of the Self (European, white) the Other ('non-European', 'non-white' has no claim to existence. Thus the attitudinal diminution of the Other becomes explicitly pejorative in the ascription.

prejudicial and destructive as far as its implications for the quality of human life are concerned.⁽⁵⁾ It is for this reason that he makes an impassioned plea for it to be *'exorcised'* from all scientific literature. This sentiment is echoed by Miles (1989), who peremptorily suggests that the concept of 'race' *"be explicitly and consistently confined to the dustbin of analytically useless terms"* (p 72).

2.1.1.1 Changing the labels

Taking his cue from Huxley and Haddon, Montagu (1969) proposes that the term 'race' be substituted by what he considers to be the less misleading term "ethnic group", to describe existing social group formations. He claims that "ethnic group", being noncommittal and of uncertain meaning, has the potential of raising questions about meaning which cannot be achieved by placing the word 'race' between quotation marks. Many people would disagree with Montagu in this regard for basically two reasons. Firstly, the mere act of placing the word 'race' between quotation marks indicates that its validity is being questioned.⁽⁶⁾ By placing the word between quotation marks the declared effect is to show that the meaning generally attributed to it is not accepted. After all, it is not the word 'race', but the idea behind the word that is being contested. Further, by confronting people with the word wedged between quotation marks (quotation marks which are transformed into question marks, as it were) they are challenged to take cognisance of the fact that its meaning is being questioned.

⁽⁵⁾ Consider, for example, how through the ages 'race' was used to justify not only the most flagrant discriminatory and exclusionary practices, but also the near or complete annihilation of various groups of people (See the quotation presented at the beginning of the present chapter).

⁽⁶⁾ The oppressed in South Africa frequently place the terms 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'bantu' between quotation marks to question and challenge the ruling class practice of dividing people into so-called 'racial' groups.

A second reason for disagreeing with Montagu's "semantic magic", as Lieberman (1975) refers to it, is that the term "ethnic group" may not be as "noncommittal" and vague as he suggests it is. An old and socially unacceptable word may be substituted by a new word but if the meaning embodied by the original word is not challenged, the new word will fulfil all the now-outmoded word's functions. This is effectively what has happened in the case of the terms 'race' and 'ethnic group'. As Montagu himself points out, the letters of a word do not constitute its meaning; rather, "... *the meaning of a word is the action it produces ...*" (p 27). Essed (1986) observes that the ascription "ethnic group" today produces the same effects as the term 'race' had a few years ago.

In much the same way as Montagu (1969) and Miles (1989), Tajfel (1981) too, suggests that rather than being a reflection of reality, 'race' is in fact a reflection of the fabrication of reality. The creation of the concept of 'race', he observes, should in fact be seen as forming an integral part of the justifying function of the ideology of racism. Now, to those who see racism as being a consequence of the creation of the notion of 'race', this might seem somewhat contradictory, but as Tajfel points out, the relationship which exists between 'race' and racism is essentially dialectical. In much the same manner as the creation of new nations is at the same time the product and forerunner of nationalist ideologies, 'race' too, can be seen as being both the creator and creation of racism. The moment that it was first applied to humans, 'race' was "*already part and parcel of the justifying function of the ideology [of racism]*" (Tajfel, 1981, p 38).

At this stage it would be apposite to consider the first important proposition concerning the phenomenon of racism. According to Biko (1988), Essed (1986) and Miles (1989), racism can be considered as being **the ideology through which a dominant 'race' attempts to gain and/or maintain control over another 'race' or 'races' and the resources which the latter have at their disposal.**

2.2 RACISM AS IDEOLOGY

Although it is not the intention here to examine the various definitions of "ideology" or the complex theoretical arguments underlying these definitions, the fact that the concept occupies such a central position in most writings on racism necessitates giving some consideration to what is broadly understood by the term and what social scientists generally mean when they speak of the "ideology of racism". It is proposed to do this by presenting a brief exposition of what is considered to be the most important characteristics or features of the concept ideology in general and, more specifically, the ideology of racism. Admittedly, a discussion of these concepts in this manner runs the risk of over-simplifying what is often described as a very complex and one of "*the most elusive [concepts] in the whole of the social science*" (McLellan, in Billig, 1988b, p 25). However, given the parameters of the present study, the proposed *modus operandi* is not inappropriate.

Despite their very disparate views on the subject, most social scientists seem to agree that **the ideology of racism is intrinsically linked to domination**, that is, the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power (cf. Billig, 1988b; Bozzoli, 1987; Foster, 1991a; O'Meara, 1983; and Thompson, 1984). In fact, according to Thompson (1984), domination and its justification can be seen as constituting the primary goal and indeed, the *raison d'être*, of ideology. This is a view which is echoed by Foster (1991a) who, with regard to the phenomenon of racism in the South African context, states that as ideology it always sought to justify or rationalise whites' domination and exploitation of blacks and the latter's exclusion from the mainstream of political, social and economic activity. As he and Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989) observe, it was through the ideology of racism that whites in this country sought to rationalise their confiscation of blacks' land; and that they could justify forcing blacks into providing cheap labour while virtually completely depriving them of sharing in the wealth which their labour generated.

Apart from serving a justifying function, the ideology of racism also serves the important function of enabling people (especially laypersons) to "*understand and give an account of the real world in which they live, or some aspect of it and their lives ...*" (Bozzoli, 1987, p 70. See also Miles, 1989). To the extent that these accounts derive from people's interactions with the "real world" then, Bozzoli emphasises, **they have an objective basis**. It is important to stress that even though these accounts indisputably have an objective basis they nonetheless inevitably are partial and, consequently, misrepresentative; and this for the simple reason that people's experiences of the "real world" are never the same as, and seldom evoke, the ensemble of material conditions and social relations which make them possible (O'Meara, 1983). Consider here the following illustration⁽⁷⁾:

In one of South Africa's larger cities a young Black mother takes her child into a public park. Apart from themselves there is only one other person in the park: a middle-aged white woman. A few minutes later a white constable approaches the black woman and her child and rudely orders them to leave the park. The woman takes her child and leaves without putting up much of an argument perhaps because she realises that it would be senseless to even try to reason with the policeman. The policeman then approaches the white woman and asks her if "these kaffirs" had given her any problems. She replies "no", but says that she is grateful to the policeman for having ordered them to leave because they were clearly contravening the law. As an afterthought she adds, "nowadays with everyone bending over backwards to accommodate these blacks it is reassuring to note that at least some policemen were still doing their jobs of enforcing the law".

Though it would be interesting and informative to examine all the various aspects of this 'incident', what is of specific interest at this point is the white woman's account or interpretation of the event described: namely, that what we have here is a case of people transgressing the law and a policeman who is merely doing his duty. Now, according to O'Meara (1983), even though at the level of direct everyday experiences, such an account or interpretation enables this woman to understand her world and experiences, this account or interpretation essentially is partial and, therefore, misrepresentative; and this, for the

⁽⁷⁾ Based on an anecdote recounted in an interview conducted in January 1990, in preparation for the present study.

simple reason that the experience on which it is based does not simultaneously evoke the full ensemble of the conditions which make such an experience both possible and common in South Africa. In short, "*the ensemble of [existing] material conditions ... [and] ... social relations and contradictions*" (O'Meara, 1983, p 13) which characterises the system of **racial capitalism** as it exists in this country (cf. CAL, 1987; Chesler, 1976; Couve, 1986; and Whittaker, 1990). And it is in this manner, as O'Meara insists, that ideology serves to support and maintain existing relations of power and domination.

According to O'Meara (1983), however, it is important to stress that if ideologies are misrepresentative, and if they conceal contradictions in social life (and according to him they **are** misrepresentative and they **do** indeed dissimulate contradictions in social relations) this is in large measure a result of the fact that the experiences of '*what is given*' on which they are based inevitably are partial, and not simply because of faulty perceptions or calculated attempts at dissimulation as many writers have until now tended to argue (cf. Billig, 1976; Van Dijk, 1987b; and Thompson, 1984). This is a view which is supported by Miles (1989) who with specific reference to the ideology of racism states that ideology "*need not [always] be intentionally created and reproduced in order to deceive or mislead, even though that is its consequence*" (emphasis added, p 42).

It should be stressed here that even though ideologies inevitably are partial and misrepresentative forms of cognition, they should not be regarded as being useless. Firstly, as has been pointed out earlier, it is essentially through their 'misrepresentativeness' that they support existing relations of domination. Secondly - and as has also been alluded to above - to the extent that they allow people to make some sense of their reality and that they provide people with a framework within which to function as social beings they, according to Miles (1989), serve an important survival function. For this reason then, the response of the white woman in the situation described above should not merely be regarded as being a misrepresentation of the manifest injustices and inequalities of her society but should also be seen as being a form of cognition which enables her to cope with

these injustices and inequalities and, very importantly, to live with herself. As Van Dijk (1987) and Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) point out, people need explanatory systems which allow them not only to defend their positions in society **but also** to protect their self-concept from the attacks which situations such as the one sketched above entail.

According to Bozzoli (1987), it is because ideologies serve such a vital function that people constantly work towards eliminating their inadequacies and their most flagrant inconsistencies. In this regard the genesis of the ideology of racism in South Africa can be seen as a case in point. By way of illustration, a few examples of the manner in which racial domination and exclusionary practice have through the years been articulated and justified by various representatives of the ruling class in this country are provided below.

For example, during the latter half of the previous century, Cecil J Rhodes (in Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989) justified his opposition to the absorption of blacks into elite positions in the colonial administration on the grounds that they were "*still children, just emerging from barbarism*" (p 6) and therefore, unfit for the positions in question.

At the beginning of this century, W P Schreiner (in Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989), the then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, defended his policy of isolating Africans in labour compounds and locations by arguing that it kept them

"... out of harm's way ... [that it allowed them to] ... do their work, receive their wages, and at the end of their term of service let them go back to the place whence they came - to the native territories where they should really make their home" (p 11).

Some years later, Jan C Smuts (in Foster, 1991a), arch-liberal and last Prime Minister of South Africa before the formal advent of apartheid, in defence of his racist policy of racial segregation argued,

" ... there is much that is good in the African and which ought to be preserved and developed. The negro and negroid Bantu (sic) form a distinct human type which the world would be the poorer without ... a race (sic) so unique, and so

different in its mentality and its culture from those of Europe, requires a policy very unlike that which suits Europeans. Nothing could be worse for Africa than the application of a policy, the object or tendency of which would destroy this African type, to de-Africanize the African" (p 365).

A few decades later, Rhoodie (in Rex, 1981), arch-apologist for apartheid, defended his government's brand of racism on the grounds that it allowed for the development of what he termed a "plural democracy"! Responding to a question from Rex concerning his government's policy of apartheid, he stated,

"I certainly hold no brief for the caricature normally conceptualized as 'apartheid', but I can support a policy aimed at creating a plural democracy" (p 5).

Now, while the above statements show how these various key representatives of the ruling-class in South Africa have through the years justified racial oppression and exclusionary practice they, more importantly, also illustrate how these justifications, with the passage of time, became progressively more 'refined' (for want of a better term). Initially, as Rhodes' (in Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989) statement for example shows, racism in the form of segregation was justified on the grounds that blacks were inferior and like children.⁽⁸⁾ Then, at the beginning of the present century when scientists around the world increasingly began to admit that the notion of the biological inequality of 'races' could not be defended on scientific grounds, ruling class racist practices were justified on the grounds that they were essential for the preservation of "*African culture*". Finally, in the aftermath of World War II (which to a large extent was a war against racism) when racist practices on any grounds came increasingly under attack from the international community, they were defended on the basis that they allowed for the development of a '*plural democracy*' (the underlying assumption of course being that "democracy" cannot be criticized).

⁽⁸⁾ This, incidentally, was a reflection of the dominant opinion of blacks in the scientific world at the time (Whittaker, 1990).

According to Bozzoli's (1987) writings, it is essential that this process of change which the ideology of racism (particularly with regards to its justifying function) underwent in South Africa over the years, be perceived as a consequence, not merely of social pressures,⁽⁹⁾ but also of people's attempts to square up their ideas with obtrusive facts and to present these ideas in coherent form. This intellectual activity, it should be emphasised, is a crucial aspect of ideologies which, if ignored, cannot but preclude an adequate understanding of these representations. As Bozzoli points out, just as it is impossible to trace the development of ideologies without considering the material conditions which make their existence possible, it is impossible to trace the development of ideologies without taking stock of intellectual requirements:

" ... every ideology is developed on the basis of definite material social relationships and activities in the service of definite material interests. But it remains nonetheless true that ideology must always satisfy certain intellectual requirements, and that these requirements are continually posed and met in the course of ideological development" (Bozzoli, 1987, pp 69-70).

The dynamic and changing nature of ideologies and specifically, the ideology of racism, is a theme which is also stressed by many other writers (See, for example, Foster, 1991a; Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989; and Miles, 1989). In his book, entitled Racism, Miles asserts quite emphatically that ideology is never static and that where the ideology of racism, in particular, is concerned it is, in fact, not correct to speak of a single ideology which is characterised by an unchanging set of ideas, images and stereotypes. Empirically, he states, *"there have been many significantly different racisms - each historically specific and articulated in a different way with the societies in which they appear"* (p 82). He accedes to the fact that certain core elements of these various ideologies remain 'fixed' from one historical period, and society, to another, but as he stresses, *"the combination of elements does not remain static"* (p 12). This is largely a consequence of the fact that racism as ideology is rarely

⁽⁹⁾ Notwithstanding the fact of course that social pressures such as, for example, the heightened sensitivity for human rights which characterised the post-World War II era played no insignificant role in its transformation (Essed, 1987; and Miles, 1989).

accepted and relayed as is but is actively reconstructed by people on the basis of their material and social circumstances in order to understand, and act in relation to, these circumstances.

If this exposé of racism as ideology is to be complete then it is essential that at least some reference be made here to the various levels of ideology.

Ideology

According to Gramsci (in Simon, 1982), the general term "ideology" encompasses at least two levels: a "scholarly" or "literary" level and a "popular" or "common-sense" level. At the "literary" level, he states, ideology (as product of intellectuals) appears as a systematised, and apparently non-contradictory, set of ideas making up a coherent world-view. Furthermore, he argues that every fundamental class creates one or more strata of intellectuals who elaborate these systems of ideas so as to "give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own functions" (in Simon, 1982, p 94). Here it should of course be noted that in class society, ruling class ideology inevitably attains dominance. This is primarily due to the fact that the ruling classes, to a large extent, control the apparatuses of ideological dissemination (Gramsci, in Hall *et al*, 1978; and in Simon, 1982).

In Gramscian theory "common sense" refers to the uncritical and largely unconscious 'theories' which people use to understand their personal and social experiences. Common sense, according to Gramsci (in Hall *et al.*, 1978), is inherently eclectic and disjointed. Though it contains elements that are shared by the collective, it is not a product of deliberate and consistent thought. As Gramsci so succinctly puts it,

"Common sense is strangely composite, it contains elements from the Stone Age and principles of a more advanced science, prejudices from all past phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy which will be that of the human race united the world over" (p 49).

The question which logically arises at this juncture is: how is the literary level of an ideology related to its common-sense counterpart? Here the cue is taken from O'Meara

(1983) by referring to another important aspect of ideology: that which Althusser (in Boswell, Kiser and Baker, 1986) terms the "interpellation" or constitution of subjects. In very broad terms "interpellation" refers to the way in which ideologies transform individuals into social agents with certain defined positions and roles in society. Boswell *et al.*, in their analysis of Althusser's work, maintain that ideology interpellates "*individuals who will more or less submit to the existing order ...*" (p 7). In other words, and important to note, not only are people producers of ideology but, to a certain extent, they are also the products of (in the sense of them being 'subjected by') ideology. Without, at this stage, going into a detailed discussion on this subject, it can be pointed out that it is essential that one grasps the importance of the qualifying phrase "*more or less*" in the above quotation because it indicates that the individual's subjection is never complete.

According to O'Meara's (1983) reasoning, therefore, the literary and common-sense levels of the ideology of racism could be seen as similar to the extent that they interpellate the individual in the same manner. Thus, for example, the theory produced by the pro-apartheid dominant group psychologist Robbertse (cf. Robbertse, 1971) and the message contained in the anecdote presented at the beginning of the present section as well as in some of the popular "picture-story" books (for example, "*Arend*" and "*Grensvegter*"⁽¹⁰⁾) and films (for example, the local television series entitled, "*Korporasiestories*"⁽¹¹⁾) produced by the dominant group in South Africa, though ostensibly very disparate, can be seen as forming part of the same ideology, basically because they represent or constitute the black person in the same manner, namely, as a child-like, lawless and 'backward' being.

(10) Both *Arend* and the *Grensvegter* are white 'law-enforcers' who relentlessly fight all forms of evil in the African bushveld. The evil-doers are, however, virtually always black and the latter are inevitably portrayed as unbelievably stupid and exceedingly barbaric.

(11) This satirical series deals with life in a rural Afrikaner town. While whites normally play the roles of teachers, shop-owners and town clerks in this series, blacks are usually cast into the roles of gardeners, petrol attendants and farm labourers and are normally also portrayed as relatively naïve and very superstitious.

If the common-sense and literary levels of an ideology are similar to the extent that they interpellate the same subject in more or less the same manner, so too the common-sense and literary levels of different ideologies would differ to the extent that they constitute subjects differently (O'Meara, 1983). It could therefore be said that the views enunciated by the dominant group psychologist, Minde (in Louw, 1986) in his early works and the reggae singer, Bob Marley, constitute aspects of two opposing ideologies, in the sense that the former interpellates the black person as inferior while the latter in most of his work attempts to restore the black person's sense of self-worth and dignity. In this regard, consider for example the following two quotations taken from the works of Marley and Minde, respectively:

"Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our minds ... We forward in this generation triumphantly ... " (Marley, addressing himself to the oppressed in his Redemption Song, 1980).

"If [the black person] is really at the level of the child" (which, according to Louw (1986), Minde basically assumed was the case), "we obviously cannot trust him with the vote or with the other privileges of full citizenship ... " (Minde, in Louw, 1986, p 114).

From these two statements it is very clear that Minde and Marley interpellate the black person in fundamentally different ways. While Minde represents the black person as an inept and child-like caricature, Marley constitutes him/her as an infinitely capable being, fully equipped to counter the onslaughts of white oppression.

As a last point on the relationship between the common-sense and literary levels of ideology it can be noted that while elements of common-sense thinking often find their way into literary levels of ideology and while elements of formal levels of ideology are frequently assimilated into common-sense thinking (cf. Billig, 1988b), according to Gramsci (in Hall *et al.*, 1984), the fact that common-sense thinking is essentially disjointed and characterised by an absence of a "*consciousness of historicity*" (and, consequently, self-knowledge), condemns it to a position of dependence and subordination (that is, vis-à-vis the literary level). This, however, does not mean that common-sense thinking is completely without

value. On the contrary. As Gramsci (in Hall *et al.*, 1978), Wegner and Vallacher (1981) and Tajfel (1981) point out, to a certain extent, common-sense reasoning can perhaps be seen as having even greater survival value than the formal level of ideology because while the formal level of ideology is often elaborated in academic situations which are devoid of direct survival implications, the common-sense level, by its very nature, is not.

At this juncture some attention needs to be given to another important, but often neglected, aspect of ideologies, namely, the distinction between **ego- and alter levels of ideologies**. Ego ideology refers to the ideological dimension which constitutes the members of the individual's own class or perceived group. Alter ideology, on the other hand, refers to the ideological dimension which, using Althusser's (in Boswell *et al.*, 1986) terminology, constitutes the 'Other'. Even though the constitution of the subject is always and necessarily relational (cf. Tajfel, 1981), this distinction is particularly relevant where the ideology of racism is concerned because with racism the difference between the self and others is of crucial importance (Miles, 1989; and Therborn, 1980).

In the case of racism, Therborn and Miles (1989) contend, the ego ideology of the dominant group essentially interpellates in-group members as being fundamentally superior to out-group members. The alter ideology of this group, on the other hand, is invariably translated into attempts to mold the dominated into its (that is, the dominant group's) image of them as "savage", "barbaric", "ineffectual" and "inferior" beings (cf. Miles, 1989), **and** into opposing the latter's resistance to this constitution or image. Here it is essential to stress that, as Coward & Ellis (1977) and Miles imply, the alter- and ego levels of ideology do not operate independently. Ideology (and more specifically, the ideology of racism), Miles asserts,

"... has a dialectical character in so far as the representation of the Other serves simultaneously to refract a representation of the Self [and vice versa]" (p 79).

While the alter ideology of the dominant group inevitably seeks to produce a 'subjected' 'Other', the alter ideology of the dominated, on the other hand, normally only tends towards

resistance to the dominant group. This difference, Therborn (1980) and Biko (1988) state, is "*inscribed in the asymmetry of domination*" (Therborn, p 28).

The above position is one which is also echoed in Essed's (1986 and 1987) works on racism. Racism, as ideology, she says, has deep roots in the history of white dominated countries and its function essentially is to rationalise domination so as to ensure its continued reproduction. And it is for this reason that she comes out so strongly against theorists who present and analyze dominant and dominated groups' ideologies relating to racism as though they were similar. In doing so, Essed maintains, they lose sight of the power dynamics involved in racism. To Essed, dominant and dominated groups' ideologies of racism can never really be presented as being the same because the former is consummately linked to the rationalisation and reproduction of domination while the latter is essentially a reaction to, and a defence against, the former. In the words of Biko (1988),

"Those who know, define racism as discrimination against another for the purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be a racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the objects of white racism" (p 39).

In this sense, therefore, the opposing ideologies of apartheid and Black Consciousness are not comparable; and Black Consciousness is not "apartheid/racism-in-reverse" as so many social commentators unable to come to grips with this orientation simplistically claimed it to be during the 1970's and 1980's. Apartheid, as ideology of the dominant class in South Africa, inevitably sought to entrench white power and privilege at the expense of blacks. Black Consciousness, on the other hand, basically attempted to restore to black people the sense of self-worth of which they had been systematically stripped by the architects and proponents of apartheid (Kuper, 1974; and Rex, 1980). Moreover, as the writings of Hartmann & Husband (1974), Kuper (1974) and Malan (1990) suggest (and as was briefly alluded to earlier in this section), while the ideology of apartheid rests on the historically normative assumption of the inferiority of the 'Other' and is inextricably linked to the

subjugation of the latter, the same cannot be said of Black Consciousness. In 1974 Kuper made the following very pertinent observation in a discussion on the increasing prominence of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa. Above, all he states, these people were concerned with "*attacking the social definitions which prevail in their [society] and which rationalize their deprivation of freedom and autonomy ...*" To them, he continues, "... *[the] issue is one of social redefinition and racial liberation*" (p 88) and not the subjugation and exploitation of whites. But even if this reaction to white racism can be described as a form of "racism-in-reverse", in the words of Memmi (1982), it is at best "*un racisme édenté*"⁽¹²⁾ (p 108); and this, by mere virtue of the fact that it does not have the broad institutional support which white racism enjoys.

At this juncture it should be emphasised that the intention here is not to create the impression that blacks have never been instrumental in the perpetuation of racism. On the contrary, one of the most tragic consequences of European colonization and white rule in southern Africa has been the acceptance and internalisation by the oppressed of the divisions and hierarchies imposed upon them by the colonisers so as to ensure their continued oppression and exploitation (Cox, 1948; Kuper, 1974; Malan, 1990; and Ranger, 1982). In South Africa, for example, the rivalry and frequent hostilities which through the last few decades have regularly characterised the relations between groups who perceive themselves as 'coloured', 'Xhosa', 'Zulu', 'Indian', and so forth, can be construed as irrefutable proof of the oppressed's frequent acceptance and internalisation of these divisions and hierarchies. In his excellent article contained in the book entitled Racism and Colonialism, Ranger (1982), however, cautions against equating the intergroup rivalry, prejudices and hostility which have often surfaced amongst the oppressed in southern Africa with dominant group racism because, ultimately, the rivalry and animosity amongst the

(12) Translation: "a toothless racism".

oppressed has essentially always been in the service of white control over power⁽¹³⁾ (cf. Cox, 1948; and Malan, 1990). From this flows the next important proposition.

2.3 RACISM HAS AN EFFECT ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL INTEGRITY OF ITS TARGETS

It is very interesting to note that very few definitions of racism make any reference to the impact of this centuries-old scourge on the psychological integrity of its targets. Perhaps this can be seen as being a consequence of social scientists' long-standing (and legitimate) preoccupation with establishing the exact causes of the phenomenon. On the other hand, however, it can also be seen as being an indication of the extent to which social scientists are interpellated by prevailing dominant discourses which seek not only to inferiorise and 'problematise' its targets but also to negate their humanity and, indeed, their very existence (Essed, 1986).

Whatever the causes for this serious omission may be, it is essential that it be recognised that racism should not be perceived as being a phenomenon which merely operates to the benefit of the oppressor. Rather, it is a phenomenon which operates, as Memmi (1982) correctly observes, "*au profit de l'accusateur [mais aussi] au détriment de sa victime*"⁽¹⁴⁾ (emphasis added, p 147). Here it is important to note that when Memmi states that racism operates to the detriment of the 'victim', he does not only refer to material deprivation or social and political exclusion or marginalisation but also to the profound psychological destruction brought about by these practices.

(13) As the system of divide and rule which has helped maintain whites' control over power in this country has been adequately written about elsewhere (see, for example, Ranger, 1982; and Biko, 1988) it will not be elaborated on any further here.

(14) Translation: "to the benefit of the 'accuser' or oppressor [but also] to the detriment of his victim".

Writers such as Bulhan (1985), Cooper (1990), Cox (1948), Depestre (in Kuper, 1974) Essed (1986; 1991) and Fanon (1964; 1990) have already written quite extensively on the extremely deleterious effects of racism on the psychological well-being of its targets: effects such as the extreme sense of inferiority, worthlessness, guilt, alienation and auto-rejection which is so prevalent amongst oppressed groupings. As Cooper (1990) so succinctly puts it: racism breeds pathology.

The possible pathogenic consequences of racism for the oppressed constitute the topic of relatively extensive discussion in a later section of this dissertation. Suffice it to state here therefore that any definition or discussion of racism which does not account for, or acknowledge, this aspect of the ideology cannot but be incomplete. Moreover, in the sense that it would ignore the experiences of the targets of racism, it would in fact be instrumental in the maintenance of the ideology (Essed, 1986).

2.4 RACISM GENERATES OPPOSING OR, ANTI-RACIST, IDEOLOGIES.

As implied in the foregoing section (and as will be elaborated upon in Chapter 7 of this thesis), racism, as ideology, when it is directed at the oppressed, generates the creation of opposing or, anti-racist, ideologies which are based on the oppressed's collective stock of knowledge and experiences and which, as was pointed out *supra*, essentially, have a survival function (Essed, 1986).

As also alluded to in the previous section, these anti-racist ideologies can be seen as having essentially two levels, namely, a literary level and a common-sense level. Though works at the literary level abound (See, for example, No Sizwe, 1979; and Biko, 1988), for the reasons previously mentioned they have as yet been unable to attain the dominance and widespread diffusion enjoyed by racist ideologies.

Typical of informal ideologies, anti-racist ideologies, at the common-sense level, are highly flexible (they are re-evaluated and reformulated on virtually a daily basis) and this, primarily as a result of the fact they are essentially based on direct everyday experience (Essed, 1986). Like other informal ideologies, common-sense anti-racist ideologies also do not possess complete internal consistency and frequently contain elements of competing ideologies. Thus, one finds, as Essed points out, and as will be illustrated later, that dominated groups' ideologies, at the common-sense level, often contain decidedly racist elements. This can essentially be seen as being a function of the latter's socialisation in a racist environment, the dominance or pervasiveness of the dominant group's ideological discourse and the contagious power of domination (van Dijk, 1987c).

2.5 RACISM, AS IDEOLOGY, IS FORMULATED AND TRANSMITTED THROUGH DISCOURSE

Though this is not the place for a conclusive discussion on this question (this question too, will be dealt with in greater detail in a separate section later on), it would perhaps be opportune at this point to mention a few words on this very crucial aspect of racism. Essed (1986) defines racism as being first and foremost a **discursive practice**. Thompson (1984) too, in his discussions on ideology, would seem to suggest that racism is fundamentally concerned with language, because it is largely by means of language that meaning is mobilized in defence of domination. Essed stresses, however, that while language is the vehicle of racism, or any ideology for that matter, it is the non-discursive material conditions in which it is inscribed which ultimately determines its credibility and power. In this way then the racist discourse maintained by the dominant group in South Africa, namely, that blacks are inferior to whites, is reinforced and validated by the fact that blacks, for example, have to endure appalling living conditions and are subjected to an inferior educational system which then ultimately produces 'inferior' beings (cf. Cox, 1948. See also Chesler's, 1976, discussion on Rosenthal & Jacobson's, 1968, seminal work on the 'pygmalion effect' and the maintenance of racism). As Therborn (in Boswell *et al.*, 1985) observes, any

ideology disposes people to develop certain rationalities and discourses deriving from that ideology but, in the final analysis, it is the material "*matrix of affirmations and sanctions*" (p 13) which gives substance to these rationalities and discourses.

Racist discourses, Essed (1986) states, are produced and reproduced on a daily basis and they are as powerful as they are precisely because they are reinforced by non-discursive practices and have the support (intentional and unintentional) of the entire society. According to Essed and other writers such as Alexander (1985) and Memmi (1982), the acceptance of this relationship between discourse and reality is essential if a full understanding of racism is to be achieved.

2.6 RACISM IS A SOCIAL RATHER THAN AN INDIVIDUAL PROBLEM

As the discussion thus far should have amply illustrated, racism is fundamentally a **social** problem and not an individual problem as many social scientists have in the past often defined it. According to Katz (1976), if racism is about certain cognitions, affective predispositions and actions (including discourses) then it is by definition about **social** or **shared** cognitions, affective predispositions and actions. Thus, to the extent that Kovel (in Chesler, 1976) describes racism as a function of certain unresolved intrapsychic conflicts amongst whites, and to the extent that Moynihan (in Chesler, 1976) locates the cause of racism in the black individual, their definitions cannot but be inadequate.

As Essed (1987) insists, once racism is reduced to individual inadequacies, the whole power dynamic integral to the ideology is lost. Quoting Arendt she points out,

"power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together" (emphasis added, p 8).

But while stressing that racism is a group phenomenon and that, as such, it cannot be reduced to individual functioning, she does attribute some importance to the role of the individual in its perpetuation. As she points out, it is the individual who perpetrates (consciously and unconsciously) acts of racism, and who accepts and rationalises the structures of racial inequality. Furthermore, she notes that the greater the access to power individuals have (it has to be accepted that power is not distributed uniformly within groups), the more serious the consequences of their racist belief systems, discourses and actions may be.

However, it is essential that it be stressed (indeed, it cannot be stressed sufficiently) that the individual's role in the perpetuation of racism can only be understood and be meaningful if it is studied in terms of **group relations of power**. The individual maintains racist discourses and perpetrates racist acts, not as an independent agent, but as a member of a dominant group. In the words of Memmi (1982), racism is first and foremost "*un discours formulé par un groupe et qui s'adresse à un groupe*" (emphasis added, p 111).⁽¹⁵⁾ (This, incidentally, illustrates another important point concerning the nature of racism: individuals are the subjects/'victims' of racism not simply as individuals but, more important, as members of a dominated group or groups.) Ultimately, individual dominant group members' racist acts and beliefs would have been relatively unimportant and transient had it not been for the fact that these acts and beliefs find support in those of the majority of the dominant group's members as well as the institutions under their control (for example, the media, schools and courts) (Berkowitz, in Tajfel, 1972; and Memmi, 1982).

Moreover, racism, insofar as it is so inextricably linked to ideational and discursive systems, cannot be perceived as being an individual production because, as Forgas points out, "*ideas, thoughts and representations are processed collectively*" (p 267) (cf. Moscovici, 1981). Cox (1948; and in Chesler, 1976) too, insists that the study of racism cannot be linked to

⁽¹⁵⁾ Translation: "a discourse which is formulated by a group and which is directed at a group".

individuals alone. Instead, racism has to be linked to group characteristics and to the system of capitalism.

As an aside, it should perhaps be mentioned here that while many theorists would agree with the most fundamental tenet contained in Cox's (1948) theory, namely, that capitalism supports racism and, conversely, that racism supports capitalism, many would differ with the other important tenet in this writer's work which, very simplistically formulated, states that capitalists deliberately invented racism in order to divide workers so as to make their exploitation easier. According to him,

"[racism] ... is ... propagated amongst the public by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatizing some group as inferior so that the exploitation of either the group or its resources or both may be justified" (in Chester, 1976, p 49).

The basic limitation of this position, as theorists such as Alexander (1985), Banton (1987), Miles (1989), Ranger (1982) and Tajfel (1978) correctly point out, is that it oversimplifies the complex origins, nature and development of racism. CAL (1987) and Miles (1989), for example, note that racism, to a certain extent, can be seen as having had its roots in pre-capitalist society already. According to these writers, various forms of prejudice - based on physical appearance, language, religious convictions and other group characteristics - preceded the ascendancy of capitalism. And these various forms of prejudice, they suggest, can be seen as the precursors of modern-day racism. By this they do not wish to imply that racism had not been profoundly influenced by capitalism. On the contrary, they insist, racism as it manifests itself today, to a large extent, owes its form and nature to capitalism. It is just that they caution against over-hastily concluding that there exists an absolute cause-and-effect relationship between capitalism and racism, respectively. These writers stress the dialectical relationship between capitalism and racism. To them racism is as much a cause as it is a consequence of social inequality. Moreover, as Banton (1987), in response to Cox's position points out, racism often outrightly conflicts with, and fetters, the economic demands of capitalism. Here the international economic sanctions against the South African government brought about by the nationwide protest actions of South African blacks against

apartheid during the 1960's to 1980's can be seen as a case in point (Lotta, 1985). Rather than aiding capitalism, racism on these occasions (and as it did on countless other occasions, for that matter), in large measure, obstructed its growth by virtually paralysing industrial activity and causing a flight of capital from the country. This, to Banton, should illustrate very clearly that there does not exist a clear-cut linear cause-and-effect relationship between capitalism and racism.

2.7 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACISM, PREJUDICED ATTITUDES AND DISCRIMINATION

Having touched on the concept of "racial prejudice" in the previous paragraph, it will be appropriate to briefly consider the concept here, particularly in light of the fact that it is often confused with the term "racism".

According to Allport (1954) "racial prejudice" can be defined as,

"... an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a ['racial'] group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (p 280).

As opposed to this, racism can be defined as being the result of

"the transformation of race prejudice through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture" (Jones, 1986, p 280).

Here it is, however, important to stress, as CAL (1987) points out, that for racist prejudice to be transformed into racism, *"it had to be systematically linked to structures and practices [non-discursive as well as discursive] that perpetuated the exploitation of one group by another"* (p 11).

Although several other definitions of prejudice (ie., other than the one presented above) have thus far been produced in the social sciences, there seems to be general agreement about the essential meaning of the concept. As Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) point out, it is often conceptualised as consisting of (i) irrational group beliefs about a target group or groups, (ii) an affective component of dislike, and/or (iii) a conative component. To the extent that Allport's (1954) definition encompasses all of these components, it is the only definition of prejudice which will, for the moment, be considered here. However, the *caveat* needs to be added that though prejudice is always framed in cognitive and affective (ie., in 'individual') terms, it is above all a form of **social** affect and cognition about other groups and is **shared** by 'in-group' members. Furthermore, the content of people's prejudices do not remain fixed but undergo a constant process of modification as a function of changes in the broader society (Smitherman-Donaldson & van Dijk, 1988). For example, as Ashmore and Del Boca (in Milner, 1981) and Van Dijk (1987b) note, some of the traditional dominant group beliefs concerning the intellectual inferiority and moral depravity of blacks seem to have shown a decided decline in significance in more recent years while the '*cultural distinctiveness*' of blacks seems to have become increasingly important. However, as Milner (1981) importantly points out, while there might have been an ostensible shift in people's prejudices towards blacks over the years, this shift has generally not coincided with a decrease in antagonism or antipathy towards this group.

Some consideration should also be given here to the related concept of "**racial discrimination**". According to Essed (1986) "racial discrimination" can be defined as being,

"... all the [social] acts, verbal, nonverbal, and paraverbal, that result in negative or unfavourable consequences for the dominated racial-ethnic groups, in particular ... [it should be seen] ... in terms of acts and their consequences in the macro-structural context of a racist society" (p 11).

Furthermore, she sees these social acts as following from racial prejudice. In other words, discrimination is the behavioural manifestation or enactment of prejudice. Though this definition of 'racial' discrimination is shared by many social psychologists (for example,

Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Allport, in Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; and Jones, 1986) some would, however, caution against the perception that prejudice always leads to discrimination because as Dovidio *et al.* and Tajfel (1978) stress, the one does not necessarily follow from the other. As Van Dijk (1987b) also points out, even the most prejudiced people, in their quest to act in a socially desirable manner and to present a positive image of their group, will go to great lengths to avoid displaying their prejudices.

Essed (1986) and Miles (1989), in their writings on discrimination, identify two forms of racial discrimination, namely direct and indirect racial discrimination. According to Essed, **direct discrimination** would refer to unequal treatment (of the dominated), in equal circumstances, under 'racially' unequal conditions. In the South African situation examples of this form of discrimination abound. Consider, for example, the poor educational facilities meted out to the majority of blacks in this country while the facilities provided for whites are comparable to the best found anywhere else in the world (cf. Nell & van Staden, 1988a; and 1988b).

Indirect discrimination, on the other hand, would refer to equal treatment under 'racially' unequal conditions and which has as consequence the creation or perpetuation of patterns of inequality. Put another way, indirect discrimination refers to the unwillingness or failure to discriminate in favour of dominated groups so as to redress certain established or, as Fullinwider (in Nell & van Staden, 1988a) puts it, '*inertial*' patterns of inequality. An example of indirect discrimination would be the insistence of so-called 'open' dominant group universities in South Africa that students meet certain minimum standards of academic excellence in order to be admitted. Even though these universities claim that they do not discriminate against black students - because they admit all students who meet their requirements - it can still be said that they discriminate. They seem to lose sight of the fact that given their loaded backgrounds black students are often hardpressed to meet the minimum standards required of them. Admittedly, arguing that apparently equal treatment is in fact discriminatory may appear to be quite problematic - if not offensive - to some people attached to these universities as it clearly challenges their aspirations to have the

best of both worlds - a superior position and the belief that it has been fairly or meritoriously attained (Chesler, 1976). However, to the extent that blacks continue to be excluded in significant numbers from these universities and to the extent that certain patterns of inequality are consequently allowed to continue it would be reasonable to conclude that these institutions, by failing to discriminate in favour of dominated groups, in fact discriminate against them.

To the extent that various social psychologists and other social scientists define racial discrimination as the enactment or behavioural manifestation of racial prejudice it could be argued that its relationship to racism (theoretically) could be seen as being similar to the relationship which exists between prejudice and racism: that is, that it is an aspect of, and not equal to, racism; and that in order for it to be transformed into racism it has to be "*systematically linked to the structures and practices that perpetuated the exploitation of one group by another*" (CAL, 1987, p 11. cf. Jones, 1986). At the same time it should be added that in order for instances of racist discrimination (and, for that matter, racist prejudice) to be eliminated, the broader social structures to which they relate should first (or simultaneously) be changed. In other words, what is maintained here is that people's prejudiced behaviours and attitudes cannot be changed independently of the broader social structures to which they are linked as so many psychologists would seem to suggest (cf. Hartmann & Husband, 1974).

2.8 DEFINING RACISM

The preceding few pages, which represent an infinitesimal fraction of what can be said about the nature of racism, should more than illustrate how futile a task it would be to even attempt to capture this complex phenomenon in a single definition. Indeed, it appears, as Essed (1986) notes, that the term racism seems to defy concise definition. It is of course not here implied that all the definitions of racism produced thus far are completely inadequate. On the contrary. Jones's (1986) definition of racism presented in the previous

sub-section, for example, seems to be a relatively adequate 'short-hand' definition, in the sense that it captures the essential elements of racism (for example, it makes reference to the fact that racism is inextricably linked to power and that it is sustained by the individual as well as society). It is, however, here maintained that by trying to reduce racism to a definition of a few lines one, to a certain extent, negates the phenomenon's complexity and risks omitting some of its more important elements and its deleterious and long-lasting impact on the dominated. The fact that Jones's definition of racism does not, for example, make reference to the impact of the phenomenon on the psychological well-being of its targets is a case in point. As Goldberg (1987) states, "*racism is a complex [phenomenon] that calls for explanation ... without recourse to ... oversimplifications*" (p 59). It is essentially for this reason that, rather than reductionistically proposing a neat (but incomplete) definition, the entire preceding section is presented as broad framework for this study.

By way of conclusion and in order to facilitate later discussion the main features of the phenomenon of racism are listed below:

- (i) Racism is the ideology through which a dominant 'race' attempts to oppress another 'race' or 'races'.
- (ii) Racism is inextricably linked to the spurious notion of the existence of 'races' (or whatever other 'deracialised' label the term 'race' is given).
- (iii) Racism has an effect not only on the material and social well-being but also on the psychological integrity of its targets.
- (iv) Racism generates opposing or anti-racist ideologies.
- (v) Racism, as ideology, is formulated and transmitted primarily through discourse.
- (vi) Racism is a social rather than an individual problem.

It should be added here that to the extent that racist prejudice, discrimination and ethnicism (as well as the other 'cultural' variants of racism) are all manifestations of a racist order and to the extent that these concepts are often used interchangeably by both the layperson and the social scientist (cf. Billig, 1988b), for the purposes of this study, these concepts will be included under the general term "racism". However, as the preceding discussions have shown, there exists a qualitative difference between all these concepts.

CHAPTER THREE

ON THE NATURE OF DISCOURSE

"No author and no reader changes the meaning of words. The struggle of discourses changes their meanings, and so the combination in which we put words together matters, and the order of propositions matters: through these whatever our intentions, words take on meaning"
(Macdonell, 1987, p 51)



3.1 INTRODUCTION

As pointed out earlier, racism is essentially reproduced through discourse: in other words, through *"language realised in speech or in writing"* (Thompson, 1984, p 133). Notwithstanding the important role which non-discursive practices play in the reproduction of racism (Althusser, 1971), ultimately, as van Dijk (1987) and Smitherman-Donaldson and van Dijk (1988) point out, it is through discourse that racism is most persuasively disseminated within both the dominant and dominated groups and it is through discourse that it is most effectively justified and dissimulated (van Dijk, 1987b; and Smitherman-Donaldson & van Dijk, 1988). To study racism as ideology, therefore, as Thompson (1984) correctly observes, would be to study the ways in which relations of domination are reproduced through discourse.

Before addressing the central task of the present chapter - which basically is to present a discussion of the chief characteristics of the phenomenon termed "discourse" - a brief digression is essential, particularly as far as contextualising the present discussion and, indeed, the entire study is concerned.

As mentioned previously, while quite a lot of research has thus far gone into the study of people's 'racist' discourses (that is, discourses which espouse the notion of racial differences, superiority and inferiority), to date, not much research has been conducted on people's discourses on racism, or, using Thompson's (1984) terminology, the "meanings" which people give to racist discourses and non-discursive practices. This failure on the part of academics to account for the way in which people represent or write and speak about racism, according to Billig (1988a) and Essed (1987, 1991), can be seen as being one of the major obstacles to an adequate understanding of the functioning of the ideology. As he and writers such as van Dijk (1987b, 1989) and Wetherell & Potter (1988) observe, racism is not merely (re)produced by means of overtly racist discourses and non-discursive practices but also by means of the "meanings" given to (or discourses on) the ideology by those interpellated by these discourses and practices. It is of course these "meanings" given to (or discourses on) racism which is the primary concern of the present study.

3.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF DISCOURSE

Firstly, in the present study discourse is understood and treated as being a **social production which is essentially open or indeterminate** (Thompson, 1984). According to Thompson (1984), Ricoeur (in Thompson, 1984) and Barthes (1964), this indeterminacy of discourse can basically be seen as being a function of the creativity of the discourse-producing subject and the intrinsic polysemy of words. By "polysemy" these writers of course refer to the fact that in natural languages words normally have more than one meaning; or, that they are not necessarily related to that which they ostensibly refer to. "*In its original form*", Foucault (in

Sheridan, 1980) states, "language was perfectly transparent: word and thing were one, because created simultaneously by God. After Babel [however] language became fragmented ... and the original resemblance to things was lost" (p 51). It is for this reason, according to Ricoeur (in Thompson, 1984), that words outside the context of meaningful sentences remain but empty lexical entities. Words, he posits, only acquire meaning in the nexus of sentences, which he regards as constituting the basic units of discourse. However, while they are essentially 'empty' outside the context of sentences, once employed in sentences, words, by virtue of their polysemic nature, provide these sentences and the discourses within which they are embedded with a "surplus of meaning" (Thompson, 1984, p 177) or, as it was put earlier, render them open and indeterminate.

The following 'dilemma' which is based on an example presented by Barthes (1964) in his Essais Critique very aptly illustrates the above: A young French student has just learnt that a close friend's father had been killed in one of the many so-called 'Neo-Nazi' attacks on African 'immigrés' which are currently plaguing Europe. The student then decides to write his friend a letter in which he expresses his deepest sympathy ("compassion", in Barthes' original text) as well as his disapproval of the racist incident which had claimed his friend's father's life. Now, normally the French language would enable him to reduce everything which he wishes to convey to his friend in one word, namely, "condoléances" ("condolence", in English). Unfortunately, however, the purpose of his letter would not allow him to use only this one word because if he did, he would not be expressing what he really feels. A letter containing only the word "condoléances", as Barthes points out, would appear cold and 'empty'; thus conveying a message which in effect contradicts the student's true feelings. The student consequently realises that if he wishes to write a message which accurately conveys what he really feels, he would have to use many more words than the one word ("condoléances") which should have enabled him to express his sentiments. Moreover, if he wants the message to contain a part of himself, if he wants the message to be authentic and 'original', as Barthes puts it, he would have to use these words creatively. However, the minute he inserts the word, "condoléances", in a sentence or paragraph (that is, the moment he starts

creatively elaborating his message), the less 'direct' it becomes, and the less 'direct' it is, the more it is weighed down by "*une infinité de messages dont [il] ne veu[t] pas*"⁽¹⁾ (Barthes, 1964, p 12). As Miller (1979) so succinctly observes,

"The subject, the speaking subject, is not the owner and master of what he says. No sooner he speaks and he imagines he is using language, that language is using him: he says more than he wants, and at the same time he says something else" (p 10).

This observation, and particularly the sentence, "*The subject, the speaking subject, is not the owner ... of what he says*", to use one of Freud's (1984) pet expressions, is 'capital' and is an observation which will undoubtedly be reviewed and reconsidered more than once in the next few chapters. As soon as the subject speaks he or she is spoken to and betrayed by the language he or she uses. This is largely (note, not completely) a result of the manner in which the subject is interpellated by prevailing ideologies (Althusser, 1971).

Ultimately, it is the creativity of the discourse-producing subject and the plurivocity of words which lends discourse so perfectly to the functioning of ideologies such as racism (Thompson, 1984). Consider here, for example, the claims frequently made by the ruling class in South Africa over the years that its policy of apartheid was merely implemented to safeguard "the character of each racial group (sic)" (Malan, in Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989, p 35) and to ensure "racial peace" (Giliomee & Schlemmer, p 35) and "plural democracy" (Rhodie, in Rex, 1981, p 5). It can be said that it is largely because of the polyvalent and shifting nature of words such as "peace", "democracy", "plural", "character" etc., and the subject's ability to use them creatively which made it possible for one of the greatest scourges of this century (apartheid) to be justified. In fact, this juxtaposition of words which, in the South African context, have over the years acquired a predominantly negative character (for example, "race" and "plural") with words which have predominantly positive or, at least, neutral connotations (for example, "peace", "democracy" and "character"),

⁽¹⁾ Translation: "an infinite number of messages which he does not want (or intend) to convey".

has enabled ruling class discourse not only to justify, but also to dissimulate, the relations of domination which it sought to maintain (cf. Murray, 1986). Important to note, however, is that these attempts at dissimulation can never be complete, for the very language used to justify and dissimulate relations of domination, in the final analysis, will always betray the latter (Thompson, 1984).

What should be amply clear from the preceding paragraphs is that discourse is not merely an instrument of communication and knowledge but, more importantly, it is also imbued with power (Foucault, in Sheridan, 1980). Though there is much about discourse of which we are uncertain, Barthes (1964) observes, "*Ce que nous savons, c'est que [le discours] est un pouvoir*"⁽²⁾ (p 147). However, if discourse is infused with power, this power is relatively variable, for as Thompson (1984) so pertinently remarks, "*different ... groups have a differential capacity to make a meaning stick*" (p 132). This is also the view of van Dijk (1987b) and Billig (1976) who add that, in a stratified society, the dominant group and particularly, its organic intellectuals (as will be illustrated in detail later), by virtue of their control over existing ideological or discursive apparatuses have, the power to ensure that the meanings which they give to social phenomena, such as racism, are the ones that gain dominance and widespread acceptance.

Given that frequent reference is made to the notion, "ideological apparatuses", in the present study a brief elaboration of the term would be appropriate here. According to Therborn (1980) ideological apparatuses can be defined as being "*those nodal points in the societal process*" (p 85) around which discourses and their related non-discursive practices are clustered⁽³⁾. Included among the ideological

(2) Translation: "What we do know is that discourse is powerful".

(3) What is perhaps important to note here is the fact that while Therborn here essentially adopts Althusser's (1971) views with regard to the functioning of these ideological apparatuses he differs from Althusser in terms of the central role which the latter attributes to the state with regard to the operation of these apparatuses (for detailed explanation see Therborn, 1980, pp 84 - 85).

apparatuses that Therborn identifies are academic or educational institutions, the family, neighbourhoods and the mass media. All these ideological apparatuses function to ensure the dominance and acceptance of ruling class ideological discourse; with some of them - depending on time and context - playing a more important role than others.

The dominant group's control over existing ideological apparatuses, of course, does not mean that their ideologies and the latter's constituent discourses are accepted without question or challenge by the dominated group or groups (or by all sectors of the dominant group, for that matter) because, as was pointed out earlier and as Levett (1989) so succinctly puts it, "*power coexists with resistances to it*" (p 186). This view is also echoed in the works of Gramsci (1978; and in Hall *et al.*, 1978; and Simon, 1982) and Therborn (1980) who state that just as much as discourse constitutes the primary means of reproducing asymmetric relations of power, it is also the chief instrument by means of which domination is opposed. Obviously, dominant group discourse limits the discourse produced by the dominated group (or groups) but ultimately this hegemony is less than complete, for as Reboul (1980) correctly observes, "une classe opprimée peut s'approprier la langue de l'opresseur, ou encore faire valoir sa propre langue [afin de s'opposer au discours de l'opresseur]"⁽⁴⁾ (p 40). This leads to two other very important related points concerning discourse which need to be discussed and which are emphasised by Macdonell (1987) and, to a lesser extent, by Reboul (1980) and Wetherell and Potter (1988) in their respective works on the phenomenon.

Firstly, as Macdonell (1987) stresses, from whatever source discourse emanates it is never neutral. Discourse is essentially and inevitably shaped in relation to other discourses. Here the discourse maintained by proponents of the Black Consciousness movement which rose to prominence in South Africa during the 1970's can be taken as a case in point. While it did not always refer directly or

⁽⁴⁾ Translation: "an oppressed class has within its means to appropriate the oppressor's discourse or even to 'valorise' its own discourse [so as to oppose the oppressor's discourse]".

explicitly to dominant group discourse this discourse can be seen as always having been **in opposition** to dominant discourse and dominant group attempts at inferiorising - so as to continue dominating - blacks. Consider, for example, the following statement made by Biko (1988), one of the leading protagonists of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa during the 1970's:

"Black Consciousness is in essence the realization by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression - the blackness of their skin - and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude ... It [Black Consciousness] seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life"⁽⁵⁾
(p 63).

Though this passage does not make any mention of the dominant group's discourses on blacks, it can nonetheless be seen as a statement against those discourses which for years had consistently interpellated blacks as '*primitive*', '*backward*', '*ugly*', '*inferior*' and so forth.

Discourse, because it arises from "*positions in struggle*", Macdonell (1987, p 47) asserts, is always 'antagonistic': "*It is characterised by the taking up of positions for certain words, for meanings, for what they designate, against other words, formulations or expressions*" (p 58, emphasis in text).

This is a view which is also postulated (albeit in somewhat different contexts) by Derrida (in Sampson, 1989) and Barthes (1964) who, along similar lines, state that what is important as far as the study and understanding of discourse is concerned, is not the words and expressions utilised but the **difference** between the words and expressions employed and those that are absent.

An important corollary (already alluded to previously) of the point raised by Macdonell (1987) in the second last paragraph, is the fact that **discourse is action**

⁽⁵⁾ See also Reboul (1980) on the discourse of Black Consciousness movements in the United States of America.

orientated. People do things with their discourse. They use their discourse to make excuses, to lodge accusations, to attack, to defend themselves, to justify and so forth (Fairclough, 1992; and Wetherell & Potter, 1988). However, while people use discourse with specific intentions, as was previously pointed out, discourse often also has a number of **unintended** consequences (Wetherell & Potter). Once pronounced, discourse has repercussions which "*may not have been formulated or even understood*" (Wetherell & Potter, p 168) by its producers.

Even though discourse, as social phenomenon, differs from one social group to another, it should not be viewed as having absolute or, what Macdonell (1987) terms, "*natural*" boundaries. The discourses maintained by different or competing social groups in fact often contain very similar elements. Consider in this regard, for example, the terms "anti-racism" and "non-racialism". While these terms, in the South African context, can be seen as having emerged from the struggles of blacks against their oppression by the dominant white group, it will be noticed that they are being used with increasing regularity by members of the dominant themselves - even by the leading figures of the ruling, and notoriously racist, Nationalist Party. However, even though these terms might appear in both the dominant and dominated groups' discourses this does not mean that they refer to the same things in both groups' discourses (Essed, 1987; Murray, 1986; and van Dijk, 1987b). While the concepts "anti-racism" and "non-racialism", as used by blacks, are generally inextricably linked to the latter's struggle against white domination and the very notion of the existence of 'races' (CAL, 1987), in the case of the ruling class they, more often than not, are but empty words employed to avoid censure and to ensure an end to South Africa's pariah status. While accepting that there is a reasonable degree of overlap between dominant and dominated groups' discourses, therefore, it is nonetheless important to bear in mind that **discourses** "*change their meaning according to the positions from which they are used*" (Pêcheux, in Macdonell, 1987, p 47).

3.3 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WRITTEN AND SPOKEN DISCOURSE

While many writers appear to perceive writing and speaking as different modes of discourse, not many seem to theorise at any great length about this perceived difference between these two discursive forms. Brown and Yule (1983), Goody and White (in Brown & Yule, 1983), Ricoeur (1983; in Thompson, 1984 & 1985) and van Dijk (1989b) seem to rank amongst the few writers who have consciously theorised about the differences between written and spoken discourse. Since both written and spoken discourse will be examined in this dissertation it will be appropriate to briefly consider here how the above-mentioned writers distinguish between these two modes of expression.

According to Goody and White (in Brown & Yule, 1983) and Ricoeur (in Thompson, 1985) the principle difference between written and spoken discourse can be seen as residing in the fact that while written discourse is submitted to a process of inscription, spoken discourse is not. The result is that the latter is much less 'fixed' or much more transient than written discourse.

Furthermore, according to Ricoeur (in Thompson, 1984), because written discourse is subjected to a process of inscription it acquires a high level of "*semantic autonomy*", that is, it acquires a reasonable degree of autonomy with regard to its author's characteristics and intentions as well as to the socio-historical conditions of its production. Therefore, the moment a discourse is **written** down it is immediately "depersonalised" and "decontextualised" (Ricoeur, in Thompson, 1984). Consider here, for example, the following passage taken from a text produced by the South African psychologist, Wilcocks (1932) with regard to inter-group contact during the early years of this century:

"... long-continued contact with inferior races has in some respects had deleterious social effects on the European ... On the whole European traditions in South Africa is strongly opposed to miscegenation. It does occur between the coloured (rather than the native) people and a small minority of whites, namely, those who are also in other respects of an inferior type" (pp xix - xx).

This passage, having been recorded on paper, according to Ricoeur's reasoning, must be seen to exist independently of its author and the early twentieth century conditions in which it was produced. All the temporary and momentary things such the writer thinking about what he was going to write, discussing it with his peers, considering the style of writing he would employ, and so forth, lose their importance and relevance, Ricoeur believes, when anyone, during the latter part of the twentieth century, reads this passage.

Additionally, written discourse is said to differ from spoken discourse in the sense that while the latter, in virtually all cases, is addressed to a specific interlocutor (or interlocutors) in the here and now, written discourse is essentially addressed to an unknown audience and potentially to anyone who can read it - both now and in the future (Ricoeur, in Thompson, 1984, 1985; and Goody & White, in Brown & Yule, 1983). The fact that spoken discourse is produced in the here and now and directed at a specific interlocutor or interlocutors, of course, means that the speaker can monitor what he or she says and, if necessary, modify it so as to make it more accessible or acceptable to his or her interlocutor(s). The writer, on the other hand, normally does not have access to such immediate feedback and has to imagine the reader's reaction to what he or she has written (Brown & Yule, 1983).

A last distinction between written and spoken discourse made by the above writers which could be mentioned here is that while written discourse is seen as being relatively 'premeditated' and 'thought-through', spoken discourse, is considered to be fairly spontaneous and dependent on its audience's reactions to it. The writer, Brown and Yule (1983) notes, "*may look over what he has already written ... take his time in choosing a particular word, even looking it up in the dictionary if necessary, check his progress with his notes, reorder what he has written, and even change his mind about what he wants to say*" (p 5). The speaker, however, enjoys no such privileges.

The fact that written discourse is better 'controlled', together with the fact that it is more public than spoken discourse, according to van Dijk (1989b), has certain

very important implications for its production. According to him discourse used in face-to-face encounters normally allows for the blatant exercise of illegitimate dominance against, for example, women and blacks. Written discourse, on the other hand, he asserts, by virtue of the fact that it is in principle often public (which means that its authors may be held accountable for its nature and content), generally does not readily allow for the overt expression of such dominance. This assertion that in written texts power may be exercised and formulated in more indirect and veiled ways than in spoken texts, if it is correct, would obviously have important implications for the interpretation of written and spoken discourses in so far as they relate to the ideology of racism.

While it cannot be disputed that written and spoken discourses differ quite considerably there is also undeniable merit in Thompson's (1984) claim that the arguments on which the distinction between these two forms of discourse are based, are quite problematic. Firstly, as he points out, while it has to be accepted that spoken discourse, in most cases, is less 'fixed' than written discourse, the fact that we live in an age of rapid technological advancement where speech can be electronically recorded in a number of ways makes Ricoeur (in Thompson, 1984, 1985) and Goody and White's (in Brown & Yule, 1983) sharp distinction between written and spoken discourse on the basis of inscription is somewhat problematic. It could, for example, be said that like written discourses, discourses captured on audio cassettes, films and video cassettes, had also been submitted to a process of inscription (cf. Thompson, 1984).

Questions also arise when the claim that spoken discourse differs from written discourse on the basis of audience (that is, on the basis that the former is directed to a specific and very limited audience in a dialogical situation while the latter is addressed to no specific person) is considered. Written discourse is never addressed to just 'anyone'. Discourse is always produced for a specific audience and the anticipation of its reception by that audience is part of the conditions of production of the discourse itself (Thompson, 1984). When submitting a discourse to writing, the author produces something which is going to be read; in other

words, "*une parole reçue ... L'écriture est en effet, à tous les niveaux, la parole de l'autre ...*"⁽⁶⁾ (Barthes, 1964, p 13).

A third major problem concerns the measure of autonomy which Ricoeur, in particular, attributes to written discourse as opposed to spoken discourse. While it can be accepted that once discourse is inscribed it attains a momentum of its own (a momentum which enables it to virtually transcend the conditions of its production), it will be an error to believe that discourse can be separated from the socio-historical conditions in which it is generated. To do so would, in effect, be to lose sight of the link between discourse and the relations of power which it is instrumental in maintaining (Althusser, in Macdonell, 1987). As Thompson (1984) so aptly puts it

"[to] suppose that ... discursive forms ... could be detached from the social-historical conditions of ... [their] production would be to lose sight of the relations of domination in virtue of which discourse is ideology" (emphasis in text, p 134).

In the final analysis, therefore, it does appear as if Goody and White (in Brown & Yule, 1983) and particularly Ricoeur (1983; and in Thompson, 1984, 1985) might have somewhat overstated the distinction between spoken and written discourse. However, while this might be the case it remains nonetheless true that there are a few relatively distinct differences between these two forms of discourse⁽⁷⁾. Since it is envisaged these differences will have various implications for this study's analysis of lay people's spoken discourses and academics' written discourses on racism, Ricoeur and Goody and White's distinction between these written and spoken discourse will for the moment be maintained. It is, however, important to emphasise here that while this distinction will be maintained in the present study,

⁽⁶⁾ Translation: "words that are 'received' ... In fact writing, at all its levels, constitutes a message directed to the 'other'".

⁽⁷⁾ For example, the fact that if spoken discourse is not '*media-ated*' it reaches a much more limited audience than written discourse; and the fact that in the normal course of events spoken discourse appears to be much less 'fixed' and much less 'planned' than written discourse.

writing and speaking will essentially be regarded as complementary, rather than oppositional, modes of discourse.



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CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As previously noted, a discourse analytical procedure has been adopted for the examination of the discourses on racism collected for the present study. The reason for choosing discourse analysis rather than any of the other methodological techniques available to students in psychology for the study of discourse (for example, content analysis and social representations) will become clear in the ensuing discussions.

Recent years (particularly the last twenty years, approximately) have witnessed a steady growth of interest in, and a proliferation of writings on, methods of discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1985). Here the writings and the methods of analysis proposed by writers such as Fillmore (1985) and Harris (in Thompson, 1984) in the domain of linguistics; Corsaro (1985) and Thompson (1984, 1985) in the area of sociology; Reboul (1981) and Kasher (1985) in the field of philosophy; Potter and Wetherell (1987), Antaki (1988) and Gergen (1988) in the field of psychology; and Danet (1985) in the field of legal studies, immediately come to mind.

While comparing the merits of the above-mentioned approaches would, at this stage, not be a very productive exercise (there being no 'ideal' method of analysis, as Potter and Wetherell, 1987, point out), it may, however, be useful to briefly consider the characteristics which the majority of these approaches have in common.

1) Firstly, most forms of discourse analysis are concerned with naturally occurring instances of linguistic expression, such as, everyday conversation, novels, newspapers, textbooks, journal articles and lectures (Thompson, 1984; and van Dijk, 1987b). Whether such instances are in the form of speech or written texts, **it is the actual expression of discourse that matters** (Thompson, 1984; and Wetherell & Potter, 1988). It is in this regard that discourse analysis differs fundamentally from quantitative content analysis because, while the former essentially concerns itself with the actual expression of discourse, the latter, in most cases, is more concerned with the quantification of discourse (see Billig, 1988b, for a more detailed discussion).

While content analysis may be both relevant and appropriate where the analysis of large bodies of texts are concerned or where an overall impression of these texts is required, it is generally considered to be relatively inadequate as far as the apprehension of the deeper meaning of discourse is concerned (van Dijk, 1988a). Here it should be pointed out that even though discourse analysis is currently being given increasing preference over content analysis as method for the study of discourse, the two methods are not mutually exclusive. Often it is, for example, found that discourse analysts, in order to make initial sense of large text *corpora* would, as a preliminary step, first submit these *corpora* to a quantitative content analysis of sorts before employing a more 'traditional' discourse analytical procedure (cf. van Dijk, 1988a).

2) A second feature common to many forms of discourse analysis - particularly in the field of psychology (Levett, 1989) - is their concern with linguistic units which exceed the limit of single sentences. While words and sentences, as was pointed out earlier, are generally regarded as constituting the basic units of discourse (Ricoeur, in Thompson, 1985) and while, in the past, discourse analysts mainly tended to focus on the syntactic structure of sentences, a growing trend amongst discourse analysts is to go beyond single sentences. Currently, the focus is on extended sequences of sentences and statements in the analysis of discourse; that is, at a '*supra sentential*' (Levett, 1989; Thompson, 1984; and van Dijk, 1988b,

1990a). This, of course, does not mean that analysis at the level of words and sentences have ceased to be of importance. On the contrary, recent studies show that grasping meaning at the level of local semantics is an important adjunct to understanding meaning at a 'supra sentential' level (Billig, 1988b; and van Dijk, 1988a, 1990a). In fact, as van Dijk (1990a) observes and as will be noted in the next two chapters of the present dissertation, apprehending meaning at the level of local semantics remains of crucial importance where the study of ideologies such as racism is concerned.

3 Thirdly, unlike content analysis and the analysis of social representations which are primarily concerned with the similarities exhibited in discourse, discourse analysis also focuses more on the coexistence of variations of discourse so as to arrive at some conclusions about the functions which they might be serving (Levett, 1989; and Wetherell & Potter, 1988).

Discourse analysis is essentially concerned with exhibiting the relations between discursive and non-discursive practices (Thompson, 1984; and Wetherell *et al.* 1988). Ultimately, it is this concern which makes discourse analysis a particularly appropriate approach for studying the link between discourse and racism. Indeed, as van Dijk (1991) observes, discourse analysis is currently becoming increasingly concerned with showing how discourse expresses, legitimises and reproduces "*more global levels of social structure*" (p 9) and relations of power; which, in part, explains the increasingly '*transdisciplinary*' nature of this method of research (van Dijk, 1990a).

Another feature common to most forms of discourse analysis is their comparative complexity (ie., vis-à-vis other techniques employed to study discourse). This complexity is primarily due to the fact that discourse analysis involves the study of all aspects of discourse; that is, the study of discourse at the level of linguistic articulation, social interaction, power relations, cognitions, and so forth. Here it can be added that it is essentially because discourse analysis requires the study of discourse at all these different levels that an increasing number of social scientists

is beginning to accept that discourse analysis of necessity has to be an interdisciplinary enterprise (Goldberg, 1987; and van Dijk, 1985a).

4.2 METHOD OF ANALYSIS UTILISED IN THE PRESENT STUDY

Before presenting the method of analysis employed in the present study it will perhaps be appropriate to present a brief description of the data and the data collection procedures used in the present study.

4.2.1 Data collection

As previously mentioned, South African psychologists and blacks parents' discourses on racism constituted the focus of study in this research endeavour. These discourses were gleaned from two sources, namely, South African psychological research publications and group interviews.

4.2.1.1 Publications

In order to make a study of psychologists' discourse on racism an examination was undertaken of all the psychological research and theoretical articles on racism-related issues published in the following South African journals and monograph collections (which, according to the South African Library as well as all the South African universities' periodical catalogues, basically include all the main psychology journals and monograph collections produced in South Africa over the years) since their inception:

- * *the South African Journal of Psychology and Education*
- * *the National Institute for Personnel Research Bulletin*
- * *the Journal of the National Institute for Personnel Research*
- * *the National Institute for Personnel Research Monographs*
- * *Psychologia Africana*
- * *the Journal of Industrial Psychology*
- * *Perspectives in Industrial Psychology*
- * *the South African Psychologist*
- * *the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa Monographs*
- * *Psygram*
- * *the South African Journal of Psychology*
- * *the South African Journal of Psychology and Education*
- * *the South African Psychology Review*
- * *the South African Journal of Science*
- * *Psigoflitse*
- * *Psigorama*
- * *Psigosoma*
- * *Psyche*
- * *Psychology in Society*
- * *Psychotherapeia*
- * *the Journal of Behavioural Science and*
- * *Sielkundige Studies*

Here it should be mentioned that, initially, the objective was to collect and analyze all articles on racism produced thus far (that is, in South African as well as international journals) by South African psychologists but due to the inadequacy of the only computer literature search programme available (viz., "*Dialogue Search*"), this objective, however, had to be relinquished. This programme proved to be inadequate for essentially three reasons. Firstly, it did not provide any information on articles published before 1966. Secondly, it did not distinguish between articles produced by South African and non-South African psychologists. Thirdly, it was not possible to identify those articles on racism whose titles and abstracts did not make reference to the term racism or the various other designations normally given to the phenomenon (for example, 'racial discrimination', 'racial prejudice', 'race relations' and 'inter-group conflict'). As the nature of South African psychologists' discourses on racism and the changes which these discourses underwent over the years are of crucial importance to this study, it was consequently decided to abandon the computer search and to undertake a 'manual' search of all South African psychology journals instead. This 'manual'

literature search basically entailed scrutinizing each and every issue of these journals (that is, from their inception to date) for articles dealing with anything related to racism. Articles were selected for analysis if a preliminary appraisal suggested that they dealt with any racism-related issue.

Admittedly, this approach proved to be very cumbersome and extremely time-consuming but, finally, most of the articles dealing with racism that appeared in the above-mentioned journals were included in the study⁽¹⁾. Very importantly too, this approach, because it allowed for the analysis of most (if not all) articles dealing with racism appearing in all issues of these journals, also enabled the researcher to examine the transformation which South African psychologists' discourses underwent over the years which, given the stated goals of this study, was an important research consideration.

While taking cognizance of the fact that the literature search method opted for precluded the analysis of articles by South African psychologists which appeared in international journals this, it is believed, need not necessarily detract from the value of the present study. To the extent that the journals and monograph series selected for scrutiny are generally considered to have constituted the primary fora of academic interaction amongst the main groupings of South African psychologists over the years (Masson, 1970; and Seedat, 1990), their contents, it can be argued, can be seen as representing a fairly comprehensive sample of dominant views amongst these psychologists with regard to issues relevant to the discipline of psychology, particularly the phenomenon of racism.

⁽¹⁾ Given the fact that a wide range of publications had to be scrutinised and that this scrutiny perforce had to be relatively cursory, the possibility that some articles dealing with racism-related issues might have 'slipped through the nets' should, of course, not be excluded. Care was, however, taken to minimise such an eventuality.

4.2.1.2 Group interviews

As it would have been unrealistic to attempt to obtain black parents' discourses on racism in written form (time and relatively low literacy levels on the part of the majority of parents interviewed being the main constraining factors), it was decided that their discourses would rather be examined in their spoken form. To this end then a series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with 26 essentially working-class black parents. Five of these interviewees were males and twenty-one were females. Here it should perhaps be noted that even though unstructured and semi-structured interviews are not used all that regularly in social research in South Africa, their viability as an effective means of collecting data is nonetheless relatively well-established (see, for example, Essed, 1991; Levett, 1989; Fereirra & Puth, 1988; and Schurink, 1988).

In order to minimise the possibility of researcher influence on the participants' discourses, group interviews rather than individual interviews were opted for. The participants were consequently placed into five groups. **Group 1** consisted of six participants, **Group 2** consisted of seven participants, **Group 3** consisted of four participants, **Group 4** consisted of three participants, **Group 5** consisted of six participants.

Each group participated in two discussion sessions of approximately forty-five minutes each. The duration and frequency of the sessions were determined by a trial run of the interviewing procedure employed in this study which showed that participants generally needed a break after about 45 minutes and that at the end of the second session they normally started repeating themselves - to the point where it seemed senseless to continue with the interview or to embark on further interviews.

In order to ensure maximum group participation, the following three measures were built into the interviewing procedure followed. Firstly, groups were formed on the basis of acquaintance. Groups were only created if potential group

members knew one another relatively well before the interviews. It was felt that the better group participants knew each other the less intimidated and restrained they would feel in discussing an issue as sensitive as racism. It was basically for this reason too then that the sizes of the different groups varied to the extent that they did.

Secondly, in order to dispel any undue uncertainty and apprehension on the part of the participants with regard to the interviewing process (which would certainly have inhibited their spontaneity and the quality of discussion), a short briefing session of approximately thirty minutes was held with each of the five groups. Apart from providing participants with the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the interviewing situation and with the aims and objectives of this study, this session also afforded participants an opportunity to get acquainted with the researcher.

Thirdly, in order to elicit and maintain discussion on the topic under consideration, namely, racism, a vignette describing a racist incident together with a set of guiding questions related to this incident were introduced at the beginning of each discussion session (see Appendix B). Here it should be pointed out that because the intention was to keep the interviews as unstructured as possible, these questions were only used when it was obvious that their introduction would be the only way to elicit and maintain discussion on the topic under consideration.

Though a premium was placed on participant 'spontaneity' and a non-structured interviewing ambience, the interviews were nonetheless conducted in such a manner that, in accordance with the broad objectives of this study, at least the following could be obtained: (i) participants' general perceptions concerning the development of racism (and racism-related phenomena); and (ii) their views on what effects racism has on the lives of its targets.

All the group discussions were tape-recorded and then transcribed. In all cases permission for tape-recording the discussions was obtained from the participants prior to the commencement of the interviews.

As one of the goals of the present research study was to compare formal or academic discourses with informal or common-sense discourses on racism, only black parents who had no university training were interviewed. In fact, only a small minority of the parents interviewed proceeded beyond standard eight at school. They are, Allie (**Group 1**), Laura (**Group 2**), Wayne (**Group 2**), Ursula (**Group 4**), Leona (**Group 5**) and Jeanne (**Group 5**).

Given that the sample size of the present study, according to traditional research standards, is relatively small, it would be appropriate at this juncture to write a few words on the process of sample selection in discourse analytical studies.

4.2.1.3 Sample selection

One of the major differences between discourse analysis and other more traditional methods of research pertains to sample selection or, more specifically, sample size.

Compared to the sample sizes of quantitative research studies, discourse analytical studies normally use very small samples - usually in the vicinity of ten to twenty texts or transcripts. This is the case for at least three important reasons. Firstly, it is generally accepted that large samples could easily lead to the analyst being bogged down by unwieldy masses of data of which it would be very difficult to make precise sense. Secondly, small samples of texts or interviews generally produce quite a large number and variety of discourse patterns (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In fact, according to Potter & Wetherell, a sample of a hundred texts would often simply add to the labour involved without really producing anything more significant than a sample of, for example, ten texts would have produced. Thirdly, in view of the fact that one of the primary goals of discourse

analysis as employed here is to understand the texts and transcripts under scrutiny and "not to generalize to a predefined population" (Mouton, 1988, p 1), broader samples than the ones used in the present study would not have served any meaningful purpose (see also Rock, in Mouton, 1988).

4.2.2 Analytical procedure

While bearing in mind that there does not exist any ideal method of discourse analysis (the method best suited to a particular study, Potter and Wetherell, 1987, point out, is the one which is devised specifically for it) sufficient merit was nonetheless found in the methods developed by [Billig, (1988a, 1988b)], [Potter and Wetherell (1987; and in Wetherell & Potter, 1988), [Thompson (1984) and van Dijk (1988a)] to adapt them for use in this present study. All these methods have been found particularly valuable for their provision of procedures which attempt to account for the critical link between discursive and non-discursive practices. Moreover, the fact that the methods developed by Billig, Potter and Wetherell and van Dijk had already been used to explore the link between racist talk and racist practice, more than justifies their adaptation for use in the present study.

Before embarking on a description of the analytical procedure utilised in the present study, it will be appropriate here to consider two important points which Thompson (1984) raises with regard to the use of discourse analysis and which he insists should be borne in mind when this approach to the study of discourse is implemented.

The first point concerns the "*inescapable situation*" (Thompson, 1984, p 133) of that which forms the object of analysis and interpretation. Discourse, Thompson insists, "*is already an interpretation*" (p 133). It is constantly interpreted and understood by human agents who routinely employ various interpretative procedures in order to make sense of themselves and others. **To undertake an analysis of discourse,**

therefore, is to produce an interpretation of an interpretation; "to interpret a pre-interpreted domain" (Thompson, p 133).

The second point which Thompson (1984) stresses concerns the creative character of discourse analysis. The analysis of discourse, he states, can never be merely an analysis in the way that it is used by the likes of Fowler (in Thompson), for example. **Discourse analysis must be a synthetic production, a creative projection of the possible meaning of discourse.**

anything goes

In accordance with Thompson's (1984) recommendations, the procedure devised for this study was divided into three principle phases. Here it should, however, be emphasised that these phases should not be seen as being discrete or of fixed sequence but as **interrelated dimensions** of a relatively complex interpretative process.

Stage 1 : The dimension of social analysis

This stage was essentially concerned with exploring the ways in which social contexts and institutions condition the production of the discourses under consideration, that is, academics and black parents' discourses on racism.

Discourse, as Thompson (1984) observes, is situationally specific: "*expressions are uttered ... by particular agents at particular times and in particular settings ...*" (Thompson, 1984, p 135). More importantly, and as was previously pointed out, the contexts in which specific discourses occur are important determinants of their production (Retief, 1989; and Thompson, 1984). In order to fully apprehend the meaning of a given discourse it is therefore essential that the researcher identifies and attempts to reconstruct the temporal and physical context of its production as comprehensively as possible (Thompson, 1984).

Besides being structured by specific situational contexts, the production of discourse

is also influenced by certain very specific social institutions. In the present study, for example, the institutions which can be seen as influencing the discourses under consideration are, amongst others, professional organisations, universities and the family. As the loci of material resources and power, these institutions form relatively stable frameworks for the production of discourse and as such need to be examined if the discourses which they give rise to are to be understood (Thompson, 1984; and van Dijk, 1989a, 1989b).

Needless to say, if an adequate understanding of how social contexts and institutions influence the production of discourse is to be arrived at some consideration also has to be accorded to the broader social forces which structure these contexts and institutions because it is these forces which determine the relations of domination which ideological discourses serve to maintain (Thompson, 1984; and Retief, 1989).

Stage 2: Analysis of the texts and transcripts

The forms of discourse which express ideology must be viewed, not only as socially and historically located practices but also as linguistic constructions which exhibit a locutionary structure: "*forms of discourse are situated practices and something more, precisely because they are linguistic practices which claim to say something*" (Thompson, 1984, p 136).

In this phase discourses on racism were therefore examined as linguistic productions which comprise explanations and chains of reasoning which can be deconstructed and made explicit. The value of these deconstructions is that they are crucial in illuminating the ideological features of discourses on racism by bringing out, not only their procedures of legitimation, but also their strategies of dissimulation (Thompson, 1984; van Dijk, 1988a).

At this juncture, a definition of the term "analysis" would perhaps be appropriate. Analysis can be regarded as the process whereby a phenomenon is broken down

into its constituent parts; the function of which is to facilitate the researcher's understanding of said phenomenon (Mouton & Marais, 1988)⁽²⁾.

If this definition creates the impression that the stage of analysis is simple or uncomplicated it must be emphasised that this is far from being the case. As Potter and Wetherell (1987) so aptly remark, the stage of analysis

"is like riding a bicycle compared to conducting experiments or analyzing survey data which resemble baking cakes from a recipe" (p 163).

In essence, this stage essentially involves reading and re-reading the discourses collected so as to break them down into smaller meaningful chunks and then to sift out the repeating and contradictory themes which emerge from them (Potter *et al.*, 1987). The question which obviously comes to mind here is: how does one identify and extract these constituent themes? Levett (1989) provides a very succinct answer to this question. According to her, adequate analysis, in essence, can only come about through extensive background reading and theoretically informed thought. In other words, the skills required for analyzing data have to be acquired before one tackles the data. This view is more or less supported in the work of Billig (1988a) who states that

"the text is not the starting point: the analyst will already have built up a knowledge of the topic before starting the search required for understanding the particular text" (p 207).

What should be amply clear from the above - and disturbingly so to the novice in the field of discourse analysis - is that there is no 'quick-fix' or mechanical procedure to be followed when analyzing discourse. In fact, as Billig (1988a) points out, one of the most important aspects of analysis which discourse analysts have to come to terms with as early as possible is that there is no pre-set programme which

⁽²⁾ To quote Mouton and Marais (1988), analysis can be defined as the process whereby *"the constituent variables or factors that are relevant to the understanding of a phenomenon ... are isolated"* (p 103).

can be laid down in advance by a researcher. Instead, analysts should be prepared to read as extensively as possible so as to

"gather up clues which can nudge the search one way or another. [Analysts] have to feel their way around their library and archival sources, backing hunches as they proceed" (Billig, p 207).

In the final analysis, therefore, this stage of the discourse analytic process is one which is extremely labour-intensive and which requires much time, patience and flexibility on the part of the researcher (Levett, 1989).

It should be stressed here that, in accordance with Thompson (1984), Wetherell and Potter (1988) and Levett's (1989) recommendations, the main consideration in this stage of the present study was to locate the broad recurring, as well as atypical, discursive patterns or themes - rather than focusing on the analysis of every word or inflection - which appeared in the discourses under scrutiny.

themes
vs
inflections

Stage 3 : Dimension of interpretation

However rigorous and systematic the analytic procedure employed may be it can never eliminate the need for a 'synthetic' or interpretative explication of what is said. Analysis proper may identify and examine the superficial form and themes reflected in discourse but in the final analysis this does not suffice. What is also required is a creative reconstruction of the phenomenon analyzed or, stated slightly differently, an interpretative explication of that which the analysis reflects (Thompson, 1984).

Discourse says something about something (Thompson, 1984) and it is this transcending character of discourse which the dimension of interpretation tries to expose. In the words of Thompson (1984),

"In explicating what is said, the process of interpretation transcends the closure of discourse treated as a construction displaying an articulated structure" (p 137).

Here it must be emphasised that there can never be only one interpretation of discourse. This is largely due to the basic 'openness' of discourse. The intrinsically polyvalent character of discourse coupled with the differing perspectives and understanding of those who apprehend it, essentially mean that discourse can be interpreted in a myriad of ways (Thompson, 1984; and Ricoeur, in Thompson, 1985). It is for this reason that it is impossible to 'prove beyond a doubt' or, to verify (in the empiricist sense of the word), that a particular interpretation constitutes the 'truth'. Each interpretation of discourse can in fact be seen as having some explanatory power (Harré & Secord, 1976; and van Lill, 1989).

While accepting that the verification of interpretations are impossible, writers such as Thompson (1984) and Ricoeur (in Thompson, 1985), however, insist upon the **validation** of interpretations, that is, the subjection of interpretations to a process of continuous re-evaluation or 'interrogation' until the most appropriate interpretation is obtained. Though it can never be proved that a particular interpretation of discourse is true, Ricoeur argues, it remains incumbent upon the analyst to prove that his or her interpretation is more probable than any other interpretation. Here it should, however, be reiterated that though this interpretation might be regarded as being more probable than any other, it should not be considered as absolute or final because it will only stand until a more plausible interpretation comes to the fore. In the words of Harré and Secord (1976), "*the possibility of endless interpretation must always remain*" (p 236) (cf. Parker, 1988).

The method of validation employed in the present study is one generally utilised by most discourse analysts (see, for example, Billig, 1988b; Wetherell & Potter, 1988; and van Dijk, 1988a) and which basically entails the presentation of a broad and representative set of extracts (drawn from the corpus of texts analyzed) along with the interpretations of the texts scrutinised. The obvious advantage of validating interpretations in this manner is that it enables the reader to assess the plausibility of these interpretations and, where necessary, to offer alternatives.

Again it should be stressed that though the method of discourse analysis proposed for this study was divided into various stages, these stages are not as distinct from one another as much as they are interrelated phases of a complex but **single** ongoing process. Moreover, these stages will not be reflected in the neat sequence presented above when the actual reports of the analyses of the two sets of discourses studied are presented chapters 6 and 8. Here it must be noted that the reports will only consist of the researcher's 'final' interpretations of the discourses analyzed as well as a description of the contexts in which these discourses were produced. The second phase of the analytical process described above will for obvious reasons (such as space constraints) not be included in the reports.

4.3 ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE PROCEDURE EMPLOYED

According to Wetherell and Potter (1988) the research approach employed in this study potentially has three critical advantages. Firstly, the approach is sensitive to the subtlety and complexity of discourse as it is deployed in natural settings. Secondly, while being sensitive to linguistic nuances and the kind of contextually sensitive features of discourse that are nearly impossible to recover using traditional content analysis (see Billig, 1988b, for a detailed discussion), this approach nonetheless provides a systematic research procedure whose findings, as was pointed out earlier, are always open to evaluation and critique. The third advantage identified by Wetherell and Potter is more closely linked to the subject matter and goals of the present dissertation. When dealing with discourses on phenomenon of racism, these writers point out, the procedure employed in this study can enable one to identify and understand the various discursive techniques through which the phenomenon is reproduced or undermined in the discourses produced in regard to it.

The research procedure employed in the present study, however, also has obvious disadvantages. Firstly, there is the question of the sheer effort which the procedure

entails. As alluded to earlier, discourse analysis, as used in this study, can be very time-consuming and cumbersome (Billig, 1988b; and Levett, 1989). Considerable time and energy was not only required for completely transcribing the interviews conducted and raking through the journals previously identified for relevant data, but also for the wide preliminary theoretical reading which the procedure demands.

A second disadvantage arises from the fact that discourse analysis is relatively new to the field of psychology (Levett, 1989; Billig, 1988b; Robinson, 1985; and van Dijk, 1985a). Psychologists who work in the field of discourse analysis, as a consequence, literally have to grope about in the dark in search of a procedure that suits their area of study best. As van Dijk (1985a; 1985b) and Wetherell and Potter (1988) put it, discourse analysis, particularly as it is employed in psychology, is not a *"tried and tested approach elaborated and honed in many empirical settings"* (Wetherell & Potter, 1988, p 182) and will still need much theoretical elaboration before psychologists will be able to use it with greater confidence.

4.4 HOW SCIENTIFIC IS THE METHOD EMPLOYED?

According to Louw-Potgieter (1989) and Schurink (1988), users of qualitative or predominantly qualitative methods of research such as the one utilised in this study should expect to be challenged by 'traditional' psychologists (that is, psychologists who are more oriented towards the more 'positivist' or 'empiricist' methods of research) for their choice of method. This challenge would usually concern the question of whether qualitative methods of research are scientific or not.

Now, it will have to be admitted that the method of research employed in the present study differs radically from the positivist approach to research. Firstly, it does not meet the positivist approach's requirement of controlled verification. Then too, it does not meet the requirement of researcher detachment from the

object of research; nor, in fact, does it attempt to generate general or universal laws concerning human behaviour.

As it has already been explained why it is impossible to verify whether a particular interpretation of discourse constitutes the 'final truth' or not, it will not be necessary to address the issue of verification here. Something should however be said about the question of the researcher's detachment from his or her object of research.

A basic premise of the present study is that researchers in the field of psychology can never be detached from their subject matter in the same manner that natural scientists are; even if this is the ideal psychologists with a positivist inclination believe researchers should strive for (Biesheuvel, 1963; Ricoeur, in Thompson 1984, 1985; Pratt, 1978; and van Lill, 1989). "*However much the [psychologist] may try to keep himself as person out of the process of analysis and to limit himself to discovery,*" Biesheuvel (1963) observes, "*there are a number of reasons why the attitude of detachment cannot be complete*" (p 545). Two of the most important of these reasons briefly are as follows: In the first place, researchers in the field of psychology, by mere virtue of the fact that they share a common '*world of meanings*' with those whom they study, are already related to their subject of study. In fact, social scientists would be unable to interpret or make sense of others' behaviour if they did not to some extent share the latter's world of meanings (Gauld & Shotter, 1977; and Berger & Luckmann, 1984). Understanding someone else, Berger and Luckmann (1984) posit,

"presupposes that he and I [the social scientist] share a comprehensive perspective, which links sequences of situations together inter-subjectively ... [that] we ... understand each other's definitions of shared situations ... [that] we not only live in the same world [but] ... participate in each other's being" (p 150, emphasis added).

This leads to the second argument raised by Biesheuvel (1963) vis-à-vis the untenability of the notion that researchers in the field of psychology could be

completely detached from their subject matter. Unlike the subject matter of the natural sciences, the subjects of psychologists are rarely passive or neutral and as such inevitably exert various degrees of influence on the latter (Biesheuvel, 1963). It is essentially for the reasons presented above then that, throughout this study, absolutely no claim is made to researcher detachment from the subject matter.

Furthermore, because the present study departs from the premise that human behaviour is, first and foremost, characterised by its meaningfulness (that is, in the sense that it is at the best of times driven by intentionality and thought, Pratt, 1978) and individual uniqueness, no attempt was made in this study to explain it by means of certain "*universally valid laws and generalisations*" (Mouton, 1988, p 1) nor to generalise the study's findings to broader populations. Moreover, to assume that human behaviour is predictable and subject to certain universal laws, to a certain extent, "*means that one would already have preempted all cultural innovation and transformation*" (Taylor, 1971, p 198).

At this juncture some consideration should be given to the following question: Does the fact that the method employed in this study fails to meet the requirements specified by adherents of the positivist approach to research mean that it is unscientific or less scientific than the positivist approach? The following definitions of science and research provided by Mouton and Marais (1988), to a certain extent, provide an answer to this important question. According to these writers, "*science [is] that system of concepts, theories, findings and methods that is accepted by a number of scientists*" (p 156), while "*research [is] the process by means of which a system of this nature is established*" (p 156).

Here it can be noted that neither of these definitions identify a **specific** method or group of methods that can be regarded as scientific. In the light of this then and in the light of the fact that discourse analysis has been "*accepted by a number of scientists*" (Mouton & Marais, 1988, p 156) as a valid and extremely valuable means of research in the field of psychology (see, for example, Levett, 1989; Billig, 1988b; Wetherell & Potter, 1988; Potter & Wetherell, 1987), it would be incorrect to

assume that the approach adopted in this study is unscientific. In fact, as Mouton and Marais observe,

"a definition of social scientific research ... involves neither a preference for, nor a rejection of either qualitative nor quantitative approaches" (p 156).

While the quantitative approach to research is generally more formalised, explicitly controlled and much closer to the physical science models of research than the qualitative approach, this does not mean that it is more scientific than the latter. **Both approaches, depending on the situations in which they are employed, are equally valid** (Strümpfer, 1981). Moreover, as Mouton and Marais (1988) point out, one seldom finds that either of these two approaches are used to the total exclusion of the other. Empiricists, for example, often veer towards the qualitative paradigm when they interpret their research findings and adherents of the qualitative approach, as pointed out earlier, frequently resort to qualitative measures in the preliminary stages of research (See, for example, Levett, 1989; Strümpfer, 1981; van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b; and **Chapter 6** of the present study). In fact, proponents of 'triangulation' or the 'mixed method' approach (cf. Strümpfer, 1981), because they view all methods of social scientific enquiry as fallible, suggest that the social sciences would be better served if more researchers treated the quantitative and qualitative methods of research as complementary rather than as mutually exclusive methods and employed the 'mixed method' approach to research more frequently and with greater conviction.

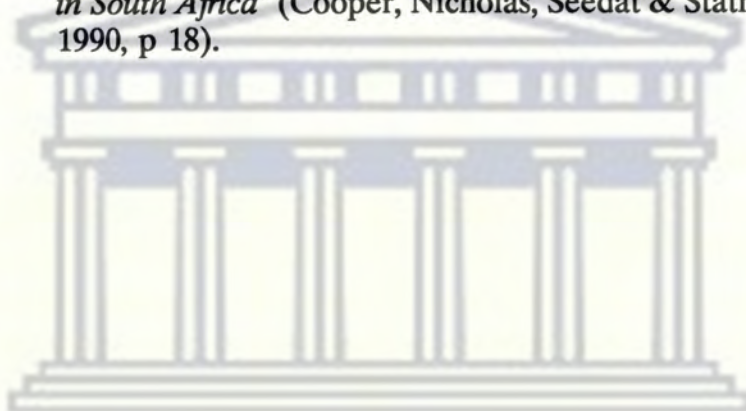
In the final analysis, therefore, while it cannot be argued that the approach adopted for this study is more scientific than the more quantitative approaches to research, it certainly is not less scientific either. In fact, not only is it as scientific as the latter but, as was noted earlier and as researchers such as Wetherell & Potter (1988) and van Dijk (1988a) point out, all things considered, it seems to be imminently more suited to the study of **social phenomena** such as racism than the more quantitative approaches to research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGISTS' DISCOURSES ON RACISM:

CONTEXTUALISING THE DISCOURSES

"As psychologists we can find much that is troubling and little of which to be proud in the history of our profession in South Africa" (Cooper, Nicholas, Seedat & Statman, 1990, p 18).



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5.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the arrival of the first European settlers at the Cape, racism has formed an integral aspect of the South African reality (Foster, 1991b); and, as had been the case elsewhere, racism in this country has, with the passage of time, assumed various forms or façades.

Writers such as Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989) and Foster (1991b) are of the opinion that different periods in the history of South Africa saw distinctly different types or variations of racism. The periods which Giliomee and Schlemmer, for example, identify very broadly are:

(i) the **pre-industrial period** which saw blacks (on the basis of their alleged biological 'inferiority' and 'savagery') deprived of their land and oppressed and exploited by means of 'frontier' wars, slavery and a pernicious system of indentured labour;

(ii) the **early industrial period** (approximately 1870 to 1910) which announced the beginning of formal segregation when Africans (still on the basis of their so-called 'inferiority') were increasingly confined to labour compounds and locations;

(iii) the **period of "classic segregation"** which saw an increasing degree of legislated segregation between blacks and whites; and

(iv) the **Apartheid period** which followed the Nationalist Party's assumption of political power in 1948 and which saw the intensification and elaboration of the segregationist policies of the previous periods.

The corresponding forms which racism assumed⁽¹⁾, according to Foster (1991b), roughly (and amongst others) are: colonial expansionism and slavery (Giliomee and Schlemmer's first period); segregation (second and third periods); and apartheid (last period). While the exploitation and oppression of blacks, Giliomee and Schlemmer note, were expressed relatively blatantly in the initial forms which the ideology of racism assumed (such as, subjecting blacks to slavery) it was much more covert (relatively speaking, of course) in its latter forms.

Much can be said about these historically different forms which racism assumed in this country over the last few centuries as well as how these different forms of racism were shaped by the events of the periods identified by Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989). As a detailed exposition of these events and phenomena would however fall somewhat beyond the scope of this study⁽²⁾, suffice it at this

⁽¹⁾ That is, vis-à-vis the historical periods outlined by Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989).

⁽²⁾ In any event, there already exists quite an impressive array of texts penned by such noted authors as Giliomee et al. (1989), Kuper (1974), No Sizwe (1979) and Rex (1981) which deals quite adequately with these aspects of

stage to state that whatever form it took, the ideology of racism was always inextricably linked to white domination and the dispossession and super-exploitation of blacks and the latter's exclusion from the mainstream of political, social and economic activity (Kuper, 1974; and Lotta, 1985).

Furthermore, as is the case with other ideologies, the ideology of racism, as it was elaborated by the dominant white group in South Africa, always attempted to justify and dissimulate the relations of power which it tried to foster and maintain. A principle function of ideology, Gramsci (in Simon, 1982) asserts, is to make domination 'palatable' to both the dominant group and the dominated. Thus, it can be found that through the last three centuries the various forms which racism assumed in this country (as was previously pointed out) were always presented and articulated in the benignest of terms. For example, during the first two periods identified by Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989), racial oppression was most often presented as a form of 'trusteeship'; during the period of "classic segregation" it was normally presented as a guarantee for 'cultural pluralism'; and during the Apartheid era it was variously presented as a guarantee for 'racial peace', 'minority group protection' and the 'self-determination' of the various 'nations' inhabiting South Africa (Foster, 1991b; and Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989).

These changes in the manner in which racism was justified, of course, accords in great measure with Bozzoli's (1987) view that [successful ideologies, in order to make 'sense' (morally and intellectually) to their interlocutors (in both the in-group and the out-group), are constantly revised and adapted in response to social and scientific pressures.] And it was precisely because the ideology of racism as it exists in South Africa always adapted to changing social and scientific demands (thereby always "making sense" to its interlocutors) that it was so successful and that it enjoyed such wide support. In fact, it enjoyed so much support that the majority of eligible voters in South Africa elected the Nationalist Party to power in 1948 - and have kept them in power ever since - on the basis of one of the most racist

racism.

political programmes the world has ever witnessed, namely, **Apartheid** (Oakes, 1988).

Here it should be pointed out that the ideology of racism in this country received the widespread support that it did, not only because it was able to adapt to changing social and scientific demands, but also because it was inscribed in, and reinforced by, a plethora of **non-discursive racist practices** (Therborn's "material matrix of affirmations and sanctions", in Boswell *et al.*, 1986, p 13) such as, for example, the extremely profitable (for whites, that is) wars waged against the indigenous inhabitants of this country during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which ultimately made the latter virtual pariahs in the land of their birth⁽³⁾ and the bulwark of legislative measures implemented during the twentieth century to safeguard white privilege and power and the oppression and super-exploitation of blacks (Davenport, 1977; Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989; Lotta, 1985; and Oakes, 1988). It is of course in terms of the latter that South Africa distinguishes itself from all other countries.

Racism exists nearly everywhere in the world but in no other country was it ever maintained and reinforced by such a wide array of explicitly discriminatory laws as in South Africa (Dawes, 1985; and Kuper, 1974). Some of the more notorious of these laws which immediately come to mind here are, for example, the **'masters and servants' laws** of the early nineteenth century which placed such severe restrictions on the movement of blacks in this country; the **Mines and Works Act of 1911** which made it illegal for blacks to be employed in skilled jobs on the mines and in certain sectors of the public service; the **Natives Land Act of 1913** which effectively restricted Africans to one-fifth of the land; the **Native Urban Areas Act of 1923** which, amongst others, required all Africans to carry passes in their country of birth; the **Representation of Natives Act of 1936** and the **Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951** which effectively deprived all blacks of an

⁽³⁾ See Davenport (1977), Oakes (1988) and Giliomee et al. (1989) for a more detailed description of these events.

unqualified franchise; the **Population Registration Act of 1950** which was designed to force everyone in this country into a prescribed so-called 'racial' group; the **Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953** which reserved the best public facilities for the exclusive use of whites; and the **Group Areas Act of 1950** which saw millions of blacks summarily evicted from their homes and relocated in the government-created black ghettos and Bantustans (Davenport, 1977; Foster, 1991b; Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989; Oakes, 1988; Rex, 1981; and World Health Organization, 1983).

The laws were legion and, very importantly, their effects were devastating. This is in fact an aspect of racism which cannot be emphasised sufficiently: however racism was articulated in this country and whatever laws were instituted to bolster and institutionalise it, it always had an extremely destructive effect on the lives of its targets.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (1983) and the South African Institute of Clinical Psychology (SAICP) (1986) racism, as it manifested, and continues to manifest itself in South Africa, can be considered to be one of the principal sources of mental ill-health amongst blacks. Not only has it, through the years, caused millions of blacks the stress and anguish of the pervasive threat of police brutality and persecution, detention without trial and the general chaos of black ghetto life but, through its relentless disruption of black family and community life, it can also be held directly responsible for the alarmingly high rates of delinquency amongst black adolescents, the constantly escalating problem of drug addiction currently plaguing the black community and the ever-growing number of abandoned and neglected children teeming in the streets of this country. In addition to this, Dawes (1985), Nell (1990) Seedat (1984) and Whittaker (1990) posit, the special brand of institutionalised racism which the world has come to know as "apartheid", through the psychic mutilation which it has inflicted on its targets, can also be held accountable for the host of other more 'serious' psychological disorders which have come to characterise the psychic fabric of the black community in this country: the internalised oppression, alienation, and the

condition known as "*amafufunyane*"⁽⁴⁾ about which writers such as Bulhan (1980), Whittaker (1990) and Nell (1990) have already written so extensively being but a few of the most telling examples.

It is possible to continue virtually *ad infinitum* detailing the devastating consequences which various writers have in the past attributed to racism. As this aspect of racism will however be considered again in a later section it will not be necessary to elaborate on it at this juncture. Suffice it at this stage to note that the ideology of racism as it manifests itself in South Africa has, as the WHO (1983) and Dawes (1985) so succinctly put it, created "*an anomalous, stressful environment which breeds all kinds of pathology*" (WHO, p 179); "*a situation which amounts to the statutory production of psychopathology under the guise of cultural and group freedom*" (Dawes, p 60).

If such had been the consequences of racism in South Africa, the question which begs to be answered here - and which is central to the present study - is: **how have psychologists, as workers and students in the field of mental health, through the years responded** (at a discursive level, that is) **to racism as it manifests itself in South Africa; or more specifically, what 'meanings' have they over the years normally given to the phenomenon?** Before embarking on an examination of this question, however, it will be appropriate to firstly present a brief overview of a few writers' views on what is theoretically most probable.

Since its birth more than a century ago psychology has, in the words of Nell (1990), virtually always been viewed as the "*bright morning science*" (p 128) and psychologists, as "*eager young scientific evangelists*" (p 129) bringing knowledge and

(4) This is a condition characterised by hysterical behaviour. It is mostly encountered amongst those black women who are directly affected by the migrant labour system. It is speculated that this disorder is essentially a result of the emotional, social and financial insecurity which these women are constantly subjected to (Whittaker, 1990).

striving towards taking humankind towards a "*shining world*" (p 129), free of human suffering and pain.

A perusal of most basic psychology texts penned by South African writers (see, for example, Du Toit and van der Merwe, 1976; Tyson, 1987; and Louw, 1988) and quite a number of 'specialist' texts (see, for example, Strümpfer, 1981; SAICP, 1986; and Kriegler, 1988) would show that while Nell's choice of words might be somewhat unusual he is not far off the mark in his description of the role generally attributed to psychologists and their discipline. A close reading of these texts would show that psychology and psychologists are virtually inevitably seen as playing "*an ... important role in the solving of human problems*" (Atkinson, Atkinson & Hilgard, 1983, p 5) and in striving for "*the preservation and protection of fundamental human rights*" (SAICP, p 34). Is this, however, really the case? Will an analysis of the texts selected for the present study show that South African psychologists have, at a discursive level, at least, always endeavoured to play this salutary role as far as the ideology of racism is concerned? Have they, in accordance with the public appeal made by the SAICP in 1985, always been prepared to be "*responsive to the problems within the [South African] community ... and ... to contribute their professional skills or abilities to ameliorate and remediate the psychological effects of [apartheid] violence*" (SAICP, p 34)?

A reading of the works of writers such as Gramsci (in Hall *et al.*, 1984; and in Simon, 1982), Savage (1981) and Welsh (1981) gives one the impression that psychologists, like other social scientists, rather than playing any meaningful role in the elimination of phenomena such as racism can, at the level of discourse production, instead be expected to play quite a leading role in their perpetuation and reproduction. In fact, according to Dawes (1985) and Savage (1981) there are a range of factors which could in the past (and at present, for that matter) have exerted considerable pressure on South African social scientists in general and psychologists in particular to participate in the discursive reproduction of the phenomenon of racism. It is the consideration of these factors which will now constitute the focus of discussion. *En passant*, it should perhaps be noted here that

apart from constituting an elaboration of the position or views held by the writers cited above, the following discussion should, very importantly, also be seen as an attempt to contextualise the discourses which will be the focus of analysis in the next chapter.

5.2 FACTORS WHICH COULD HAVE INFLUENCED SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGISTS' RESEARCH AND DISCOURSES ON RACISM

5.2.1 Psychologists as interpellated subjects

Psychologists, Dawes (1985) and Savage (1981) very importantly observe, do not function in a social vacuum nor do they start their careers *ex nihilo* or with what one might call a 'blank slate'. Like everyone else, they too are interpellated by the prevailing dominant ideologies and are socialised from the moment of birth already into accepting the dominant group's views of society.

This is a view very similar to that posited by Katz (1976) and Essed (1987) who add that because social scientists (and by implication, psychologists too) are issue of a society that is inherently racist, it is virtually impossible for the latter not to have internalised some aspects of the ruling class's ideology of racism at some point during their development. In fact, as Dawes (1985) and Levett (1989) with specific reference to the South African situation point out, given the class positions of psychologists; the fact that by far the majority of them are members of the dominant white group⁽⁵⁾; and the fact that they are the products of an

⁽⁵⁾ At the end of the 1970's less than two per cent of all registered psychologists in South Africa were black (Ebersohn, 1983) and at the end of the 1980's blacks constituted a mere ten per cent of all registered psychologists (Seedat, 1990).

irredeemably racist society, make it most unlikely that they would not support and, in some ways, reproduce the dominant group's ideology of racism. For this reason, Levett affirms, whatever the majority of psychologists in South Africa would have to say about the phenomenon of racism, would be in keeping with the ruling class's ideology of racism; and should their discourses differ from the dominant ideological discourses of the day, they would differ "*only in small tokenist ways while continuing in the major ways*" (p 6). This is a view similar to that postulated by Essed (1987) and van Dijk (1991a) who state that social scientists are not beyond the influence of the dominant group's ideology of racism but that the ideology in fact has an important influence on them as well as their academic productions. These writers, however, add the crucial observation that in so far as most social scientists in racist societies are generally members of the dominant group and, therefore, amongst the principal beneficiaries of the prevailing racist order, they are very often also important agents in the elaboration and dissemination of the ideology of racism.

The fact that social scientists seem to play such an important role in the reproduction of the ideology of racism does, however, not mean that they do so consciously and that they do not attempt to change or counter this ideology. As previously pointed out, that would be too simplistic a perception of matters to really be of any help (Billig, 1976; and Therborn, 1980).

As observed in **Chapter 1**, social scientists' discourses with regard to racism can in fact be expected to be relatively variable in terms of both form and degree of elaboration and would, at times, outrightly conflict with the dominant ideology (van Dijk, 1987c). This expected variability and dissonance in social scientists' discourses can largely be attributed to the fact that the latter do not constitute a homogeneous group (Therborn, 1980). For example, while the majority of psychologists in this country emanate from the dominant group and can consequently be expected to generally pledge full loyalty to this group and its ideologies (Seedat, 1990), it also has to be anticipated that there would be psychologists who, because of their links with (or, possibly, membership of) non-dominant groups or, maybe, because of the dictates of professional ethics and

traditions (psychology is said to be a 'helping' profession) would not lend the same support to the dominant group and its ideologies (van Dijk, 1991a; and Simon, 1982).

To obviate the potential threat which this latter group of psychologists (as well as other social scientists exhibiting similar tendencies) could pose to the maintenance of existing power relations, the ruling class in South Africa has through the years, however, mobilised a myriad of external restraints or checks to ensure its control over this group as well as the latter's academic productions (Welsh, 1981; Savage, 1981; and Seedat, 1990). This effectively leads to the rest of the factors which can be seen as having had (or having) some influence on South African psychologists' responses to the ideology of racism and its consequences.

5.2.2 Constraints related to the training of psychologists

Most of South Africa's psychologists are trained at its universities; and it is here where the bulk of psychological research and discourses are initiated (Savage, 1981. See also van Dijk, 1992). The ruling class, because of its ever-increasing quest for the monopoly and control of knowledge (cf. Gramsci, in Simon, 1982; and Jansen, 1991) has gone to extreme lengths to create a climate of research and training at universities which would be conducive to the production of the types of ideas and social scientists which would best serve its interests and the maintenance of the prevailing relations of domination.

One of the more important measures employed by the ruling group in South Africa to ensure that such a climate was created was to replicate the racial segregation which prevailed in broader society at the country's universities (cf. Coetzee & Geggus, 1980; and Ralekheto, 1991). And it was essentially to this end that the Extension of University Education Act, which predicated the dispensing of university education along racial lines, was passed in 1959. Not only did this act ensure that universities reflect the racial divisions of broader South African society

but it further ensured that all the other 'racially' based inequalities were also replicated at these institutions and through the latter's academic productions.

With the passing of the Extension of University Education Act whites were allocated the best university facilities while blacks were provided with the poorest. In terms of capital expenditure, approximately four times more money was spent annually on white universities than on black universities (Savage, 1981). This state of affairs, together with the fact that black students generally enter university with a considerable backlog⁽⁶⁾ and in much fewer numbers than whites⁽⁷⁾, of course, then ensured that most of the country's psychologists were white. In the light of the preceding discussion on the psychologist as interpellated subject, the implications which this state of affairs could have on the type of research and discourses on racism emerging from the discipline of psychology in South Africa, should be obvious.

It was, however, not merely through the provision of unequal facilities at the country's universities that the ruling class in South Africa attempted to create the type of academic climate at these institutions which would ensure the production of academic discourses and views which would bolster existing relations of domination. The type and content of courses typically offered at South African universities often also aided in the attainment of this objective. Rather than preparing students to embark on the critical study of prevailing social problems, the courses normally offered at these universities have through the years instead proved to be extremely conservative and consensus-oriented. A perusal of the prospecti of most of South Africa's universities would, for example, reveal that until very

⁽⁶⁾ For very long the professed goal of the ruling group was to provide blacks with an education which would prepare them with a subordinate role in society (Lambley, 1980).

⁽⁷⁾ A recent survey showed that currently, 31,3 per 1 000 whites in South Africa are enrolled at university while the corresponding figures for 'Africans' and 'coloureds' are only 2,6 and 4,6 per 1 000, respectively (UWC Bulletin, 1990).

recently none of these universities offered any substantive courses dealing with any of the major social problems currently characterising South African society (Ralekheto, 1991; and Savage, 1981). In fact, to date, none of these universities have produced a course which deals exclusively with the problems of racism in South Africa; and this is the case for the traditionally black universities as well.

This '*status quo*-preserving' or conservative nature of the courses generally offered at South African universities in the past (and, in many cases, at present) was of course not accidental. The ruling class in general, and the South African government in specific, have over the years gone to extreme lengths to ensure that the type of courses offered to students prepared them to become consenting defenders of the *status quo* rather than critical thinkers who would be prepared to address the plethora of social problems endemic to South African society. Consider here, for example, the fact that for a very long period of time black universities - traditionally considered the hub of political activism and protest - were staffed and controlled virtually exclusively by graduates from the notoriously conservative and pro- (Nationalist Party) government Afrikaner universities (Legassick, 1967; and Ralekheto, 1991). Consider also the fact that most psychology departments at these universities were for a very long period in their history dominated by members of the decidedly racist Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa (cf. Jansen, 1991).

The ruling class did not merely have to depend on the strategic placement of its organic intellectuals at universities considered to be the breeding ground of black radicals to ensure its ideological hegemony. It very frequently also had recourse to various forms of political pressure and persecution, such as, the denial of appointments and promotions and the detention of 'too radical' university teaching staff, to ensure that the courses offered at universities did not pose any serious threat to existing power relations in South Africa (Cloete, Muller, & Orkin, 1986; Cooper, Nicholas & Statman, 1990; and Oakes, 1988).

Given the above and bearing in mind that, as Berger and Luckmann (1984) observe, the socialisation which future social scientists are normally subjected to at universities, entails not only the process whereby certain career-oriented roles are acquired but also the internalisation of certain relatively clearly circumscribed beliefs and semantic fields or discourses, it can be appreciated why writers such as Savage (1981) postulate that it would have been extremely difficult for most of the products of South African universities not to have participated (in some way or the other) in the reproduction of the phenomenon of racism as it manifested itself in this country.

Here it should be pointed out that the conservative nature of the training afforded to students and prospective researchers in South Africa have through the years of course been reinforced, not only by the harassment of opponents of state policy and the appointment of conservative whites at black universities, but also by a vicious system of censorship which effectively prohibited the use of many key works essential for the adequate training of students (Kuper, 1974; and Welsh, 1981).

5.2.3 Legal censorship and censure

Various censorship laws, such as, the **Publications Act of 1974** and the **Suppression of Communism Act of 1950**, have over the years given the state virtually untrammelled powers in preventing a wide range of essential works from being used by students and researchers in psychology. It is estimated that by 1980 a minimum of some eighteen thousand books had already been banned, including many important works related to the study of racism such as, for example, the works of Franz Fanon, R E Simons and I B Tabata (Kuper, 1974; Oakes, 1988; and Welsh, 1981).

Legislation in this country has, however, not only had a very restrictive effect on scholars in terms of the references which the latter were allowed to consult but it has also always been very limiting in terms of the types of discourses and research which it allowed them to produce. There are, for example, several recorded cases

where scholars in South Africa had been harassed by the police and the South African courts of law because their academic productions placed the state and its racist policies in an unfavourable light. Undoubtedly, the most sensational of these cases is the one which involved Barend van Niekerk, a law professor, who in 1970 was prosecuted for publishing his research on racist discrimination in the administration of justice in South African courts of law. The charge instituted against him was that of 'contempt of court' - and this, for allegedly bringing the South African judiciary into disrepute. Van Niekerk was finally acquitted of the charge brought against him (Welsh, 1981).

The most important aspect of this trial, however, was not its outcome but the state's clear warning as to what would happen to scholars who, through their research and discourses, dared to attack or threaten the racist *status quo* prevailing in South Africa (Savage, 1981). This implicit threat was in fact underlined five years later when van Niekerk was once again prosecuted: this time for having defamed the Minister of Justice by implying that racist discrimination played a role in a government decision to recommend clemency for a convicted white murderer but not for a black man convicted for having participated in the same crime. On this occasion van Niekerk was convicted. Given events of this nature, as Savage (1981) observes, it became increasingly unlikely that social scientists would risk incurring the disapproval of the 'powers that be' by undertaking research or maintaining discourses which could be construed as an attack on the state's racist policies. This leads to the next important point which needs to be considered here.

Apart from legal censorship and the South African government's tendency to muzzle or censure dissenting or critical scholars, the censorship which South African psychologists traditionally seem to have imposed on themselves (the ultimate testimony of the power of dominant group ideological control) can also be considered to have had the potential of limiting their ability to respond to issues such as racism in a critical manner (Seedat, 1990). In a content analysis of the articles published in the so-called 'progressive' journal, Psychology in Society, over a five year period, Seedat, for example, noted that very few of these articles in fact

dealt with the issue of racism. Moreover, none of the handful of articles dealing with racism as much as mentioned the contributions in this field of study of any black psychologists of note: not even the works of Bulhan and Fanon who are both acknowledged as pioneers in the field of the psychology of racism (Seedat, 1990).

5.2.4 Research funding

Another potential constraint placed on psychologists interested in undertaking what may be considered as critical studies dealing with the phenomenon of racism is that of funding. Here it should be stressed that the problems experienced by scholars in this regard in most cases do not really stem from the availability of adequate funding for their research but rather from the restrictions placed upon them by the funders who eventually sponsor their research which, in South Africa, is normally the state or big business.

For a long time the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)⁽⁸⁾ was one of the major state agencies providing funds for research and study in the social sciences. Though the HSRC's stated aim is "*to encourage and stimulate research in the social sciences by free and independent scholars ...*" (in Welsh, 1981, p 33), its activities through the years have, however, proved the contrary to be true. Most of the research which the HSRC has funded to date has shown proof of anything but the fact that it encourages critical and independent academic activity. Rather, the bulk of the research which this institution has thus far tended to fund is "*marked by a deep conservatism and at times overt commitment to apartheid*" (Savage, 1981, pp 50-51) (cf. Cloete, 1986). This is hardly surprising if it is considered that for a long period the organisation was controlled by members of the now defunct pro-government and avowedly racist Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa (cf. Louw, 1987) and also if statements such as the following which regularly

⁽⁸⁾ See Cloete *et al.* (1987) for a brief but relatively informative history of the HSRC and its forerunners.

emerged from this organisation's publications are considered:

"... an exceptional intellect can only be utilized to the optimal benefit of society if its possessor ... is guided by a Christian Nationalist philosophy (in other words, the apartheid philosophy of the Nationalist Party) of life" (HSRC, in Savage, p 51).

As Savage (1981) seems to suggest, while the government dealt with those academics who flagrantly criticised its racist policies by persecuting and jailing them, the HSRC appears to have tried to keep the rest in line by means of the bestowal or withholding of the funds which it had at its disposal.

Various academics have in the past in fact openly accused the HSRC of victimising social scientists who were critical of the South African government's policies (especially its policy of apartheid) by refusing to grant them research funding (cf. Cloete *et al.*, 1986). Now, even though it would be difficult to prove the veracity of these allegations⁽⁹⁾, what is important here is the fact that for a very long time many social scientists were firmly convinced of this bias on the part of the HSRC. Needless to say, this factor must have played a very important role in the type of research and discourses on racism which these social scientists produced.

Furthermore, even though it cannot be proved that the HSRC, in its allocation of study grants, was systematically biased against academic endeavours which were critical of ruling-class policy, this organisation has always proved itself to be unscrupulously loyal to the government when editing the reports of projects which it had funded (Cloete *et al.*, 1986). Research reveals a number of instances where the HSRC had in fact refused to publish reports of research conducted with its funds where these reports listed banned publications in their bibliographies or where they were too critical of government policies (Savage, 1981; and Welsh, 1981). This bias is, of course, completely understandable if it is considered that the

⁽⁹⁾ The HSRC only records the studies which it has funded and not those which it had refused to fund.

HSRC's primary sponsor is the government and that it was always controlled by Nationalist Party intellectuals (Cloete & Muller, 1991; and Welsh, 1981).

The South African government had through the years, however, not only influenced research and other academic activities via the funding agencies which fall directly under its control. There exist numerous accounts of how the government had, from time to time, also exerted pressure on the private sector not to fund academic activities which posed a threat to the continuation of its policies. Consider in this regard, for example, the public appeal which Kent Durr, a Nationalist Party Member of Parliament, made in 1978 to the private sector:

"Business men (sic) should prevent their grants to universities being used by socialist [read, all those opposed to the government] thinkers" (in Savage, 1981, p 62).

Not that the private sector had over the years needed much of this type of encouragement because for a very long period in the history of this country it had been a very active and willing supporter of government policies; and this by virtue of the fact that these policies were inordinately suited to its needs (CAL, 1987; and O'Meara, 1983).

5.2.5 Publishing as constraint

Publications can be considered to constitute one of the most vital aspects of academic activity and, in particular, research activity. Publications provide academics with the opportunity to subject their productions to peer evaluation and public scrutiny. Furthermore, publications can also be considered to be of vital importance because they constitute an important criterion for tenure and promotion for most academics. In fact, apart from academic qualifications, publications seem to have always been the single most important measure of academics' worth (Seedat, 1990).

If, however, publications have always represented an important measure of the academic's abilities then, by the same token, they also always constituted one of the biggest obstacles to critical and independent thinking with which the academic had to contend. Precisely because they were so important to academics, publications inevitably became the means whereby the agents of the ruling class (for example, publishing agencies, universities' publications boards and the editorial boards of established pro-government subject journals) could ensure that academics did not detract too much from the prevailing assumptions of the dominant group's ideologies and that they, through their publications, in fact reproduced and legitimised the latter. Consider here, for example, the following illustrations: During the early 1970's, the Oxford University Press decided to excise Leo Kuper's chapter on African Nationalism from its publication, The Oxford History of South Africa; and this simply because it contained too many quotations from banned sources! (Kuper, 1974; and Savage, 1981). In 1965 a post-graduate student at the University of Pretoria experienced similar problems when submitting a thesis for evaluation and publication. Here the problem apparently was that his thesis contained too many quotations from individuals restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act. The University of Pretoria ultimately decided that while the thesis would be examined, the student would not be allowed to have it published (Welsh, 1981). Consider in this regard also the HSRC's reported unwillingness in the past to publish articles which reflected poorly on the government's policies (see Section 1.1.4 of the present chapter).

Faced by this type of pressure, it can be expected that very few academics would have been willing to undertake research on a contentious issue such as racism; and that where they did in fact research the issue that they would not have omitted from their reports those views which they suspected would not be well-received by publishing agencies or else, have distorted their research results and views so as to produce reports that were in keeping with, and supported, dominant views (cf. Chesler, 1976).

5.2.6 Professional organisations

The professional psychology organisations which have thus far operated in South Africa have had a relatively short and not too commendable history. In order to appreciate how these organisations could have influenced South African psychologists' research and discourses on racism, it would perhaps be appropriate to briefly consider some of the more pertinent aspects of this history⁽¹⁰⁾.

The first organisation which attempted to represent and organise psychologists in South Africa, the **South African Psychological Association (SAPA)**, was founded in 1948 (Ebersohn, 1983). At its establishment it had a total membership of thirty-four psychologists, all of whom were white. Soon after its formation, however, SAPA was confronted by a major - and for some, a very embarrassing - problem. Somehow the association, when drawing up its constitution, had omitted to specify whether membership would be restricted to whites or not. When the question of black psychologists' affiliation to SAPA consequently arose, the executive of the association did not know what it stood to do. SAPA's membership itself was effectively split into two. On the one hand there were those who contended that when the association was formed the assumption had been that its membership would be restricted to whites and that the executive therefore had no obligation towards and, indeed, had no right to admit, blacks to the association at that stage. On the other hand there were those who felt that as SAPA's constitution did not make any specifications with regard to membership, the association should be open to anyone wishing to join it (Psygram, 1962). After several years of drawn-out and rather rancorous debate⁽¹¹⁾, SAPA eventually decided to open its doors to black South African psychologists. Very revealing to note here, however, is the fact that one of the more important factors which ultimately led to this decision was the fear

(10) For a more detailed account of the history of these organisations see Cooper *et al.* (1990), Louw (1987) and Nicholas (1990).

(11) A debate in which blacks, it is important to note, were not once asked to present their views on the issue.

of jeopardising the association's membership of the International Union of Scientific Psychology (Louw, 1987; Nicholas, 1990; and Psygram, 1960).

This resolution immediately, however, led to the formation of an 'anti-integrationist' action committee (led by the well-known psychologist T M D Kruger), which embarked on an aggressive campaign to have the resolution revoked. Part of this campaign involved: (i) recruiting as many anti-integrationist psychologists as members of SAPA as possible (so as to overturn SAPA's ruling to admit blacks to the association by means of a majority vote); and (ii) appealing to the then Prime Minister and ex-psychology lecturer, H F Verwoerd, to extend the Group Areas Act to organisational meetings so that "*meetings where blacks and whites were to confer together*" (Nicholas, 1990, p 53) would effectively become illegal. By June 1962, however, when it became clear to the organisers of this campaign that the majority of SAPA members in fact supported the anti-integrationist lobby, these actions were dropped in favour of forming a separate, exclusively white organisation, the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa (PIRSA) (Cooper *et al.*, 1990; Louw, 1987; and Psygram, 1962). The establishment of this organisation, it is very interesting to note, followed very soon after Verwoerd's resignation as honorary member of SAPA in protest against the association's move "*towards ['racial'] integration*" (Louw, 1987, p 347).

What can be considered very telling of white South African psychologists' attitudes with regard to racism at organisational level is the fact that by 1976 SAPA had a total membership of 338, of which less than half accounted for full memberships while PIRSA had a membership of 500, three-fifths of which accounted for full memberships (Cooper *et al.*, 1990).

Here it perhaps has to be noted that even though SAPA and PIRSA remained organisationally divided with each organisation publishing its own journals and organising its own congresses, they did, however, collaborate on a number of issues, such as, the hosting of joint conferences and the establishment of a single statutory council to register psychologists (Nicholas, 1990). And in 1983, just more than two

decades and several changes to the South African political scenario later, the two associations merged to form one organisation, namely, the Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA) which was open to all South African psychologists - not that there were many blacks from whose ranks PASA could recruit (Nicholas, 1990).

It is important to note here that though the three organisations mentioned above, might through the years ostensibly have differed quite fundamentally from one another, they had one important trait in common, namely, their inability or unwillingness to openly and systematically challenge the South African government and its racist policies (Nicholas, 1990). And it is in this sense, Nicholas argues, that these associations can be seen as having had a relatively constraining influence on psychologists in this country and the latter's ability to conduct research of a critical nature on the phenomenon of racism as it manifested itself in South Africa.

Moreover, as Cooper *et al.* (1990) point out, if it is considered that:

- (i) Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid and other vociferously pro-Nationalist Party psychologists, such as, Wilcox were founding, and very influential, members of SAPA;
- (ii) PIRSA split from SAPA because the latter did not adhere to the spirit of Nationalist Party ideology strictly enough; and that
- (iii) the anti-integrationists within SAPA in fact supported the cause of black psychologists very half-heartedly and for decidedly questionable reasons⁽¹²⁾,

then it can be appreciated why it would have been very unlikely that these associations would not have had a relatively constraining influence on their members; or that they would have been instrumental in the 'production' or

(12) As noted earlier and as Cooper *et al.* (1990) observe, "[r]ather than forcefully articulating the moral and scientific issues inherent in a committed and principled anti-apartheid stand, the integrationists focused their concerns upon issues of avoiding censure from the international community of psychologists" (p 6).

mobilisation of a corps of psychologists who would have felt free to challenge the *status quo* by addressing such pressing social problems as racism.

In fact, rather than stimulating their members into addressing the social problems created by Nationalist Party policies, these organisations constantly invoked the former to contribute, via their academic activities, towards the academic legitimisation of these problems. In 1967, P M Robbertse, the then president of PIRSA, for example, made an impassioned appeal to psychologists to conduct research which could provide academic support for the government's policy of apartheid because, as he put it, the very existence of whites in this country depended on it:

"Lede van die Sielkundige Instituut van Suid-Afrika word aangemoedig om op groter skaal op die gebied [van 'rasse' verskille] navorsing te doen, omdat dit gaan oor die wetenskaplike grondslae van afsonderlike ontwikkeling [apartheid] en dit ons aan die wortel van ons voortbestaan raak" (p 11).

And it is not only PIRSA which invoked its members to gear their research towards the academic legitimisation of the government's racist policies. Occasionally, PASA too would seem to have made itself guilty (albeit less flagrantly) of this (mal)practice. Consider here, for example, Biesheuvel's (1987) keynote address to PASA's annual congress in 1986. While not exactly resorting to making an overt appeal to psychologists to support and legitimise apartheid in the way that Robbertse (1968) does, Biesheuvel, in this address, nonetheless, comes very close to doing so. In the sense that he, in this speech, appeals to psychologists not to become involved in 'political' issues such as apartheid, Biesheuvel, for all intents and purposes can be seen here as also invoking psychologists (albeit more subtly than Robbertse) to, through their silence, lend support and legitimacy to apartheid.

SAPA, PIRSA and PASA's constraining influence on psychologists' academic activities should of course not be seen as having been limited to verbal injunctions at conferences. Far from it. Their direct control of the leading mainstream psychology publications, such as, the South African Psychologist (PIRSA), PIRSA

Monographs (PIRSA), Psygram (SAPA) and the South African Journal of Psychology (PASA) and their more indirect control of university publications (see next section), as well as their strong representation on the Professional Board of Psychology, can be seen as having added considerably to the restricting influence which they exercised over psychologists (Nicholas, 1990).

Given the above it should be clear why writers such as Cooper *et al.* (1990), Dawes (1985), Levett (1989), Savage (1981) and Welsh (1981) contend that it was, and is, inevitable that South African psychologists would aid in a significant manner in the reproduction of the ideology of racism as it manifested (and continues to manifest) itself in this country. Having said that, perhaps it is time to consider the discourses produced by South African psychologists which were selected for this study.

Firstly, however, a brief outline of the journals from which these discourses were extracted. After all, to the extent that these journals generally have very specific limits and objectives which they expect writers or would-be writers to subscribe to, they too can be seen as being part of the context of the production of the discourses submitted to analysis (cf. van Dijk, 1987b).

5.3 PUBLICATIONS

For the sake of convenience the publications selected for scrutiny in this study had been divided into two groups, namely, university publications and organisational publications.

5.3.1 University publications

Before presenting these publications it should be pointed out that because of factors, such as, their relatively short life-spans and limited circulation, not much is known, or had been written, about these publications. The descriptions which follow are therefore relatively scant. Perhaps it should also be added here that the

following descriptions should be read with the preceding discussions and specifically, the comments concerning the influence of South African universities and psychology organisations on academic productions or activities (see sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.6), in mind.

5.3.1.1 *Psigoflitse* (1979 - 1983)

Psigoflitse was the official bulletin of the Department of Psychology at the Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys (PUCHO) during the period 1979 to 1983. Apart from providing information concerning developments in this department, *Psigoflitse* also served the function of 'in-house' journal publishing research and theoretical articles written by departmental members. Very interesting to note here is the fact that this bulletin regularly advertised the activities of PIRSA; which should perhaps not be too surprising considering that a large number of the staff members attached to the Department of Psychology at PUCHO were also active members of PIRSA (Editorial, 1981, p 18).

As an aside, it can perhaps be noted here that a significant number of PIRSA's members emanated from the Psychology departments of South Africa's Afrikaans-medium universities, such as, the University of Stellenbosch,⁽¹³⁾ the University of Pretoria and PUCHO; and that these departments were consequently heavily influenced by PIRSA and its doctrines (Louw, 1987). This factor undoubtedly had an important influence on the content of the publications emanating from these departments.

(13) In fact the leading architects of apartheid (the ideology which guided the principles and actions of PIRSA), such as, Wilcox and Verwoerd emanated from the Department of Psychology at the university of Stellenbosch (Louw, 1987; and Nicholas, 1990).

5.3.1.2 *Psyche* (1980 -)

Psyche is the official journal of the Psychology Society of the University of Cape Town. Its aims as set out in the editorial of its first issue can basically be summarised as follows: (i) to encourage "*grassroots interest in Psychology*" (Editorial, 1980, p 2); to provide a forum for criticism and debate on psychology; and (iii) to publish articles and information which would be of interest to lecturers as well as students of psychology. Though essentially produced by student members of the Psychology Society (UCT), *Psyche* publishes the articles of both students and lecturers attached to the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town.

Here it should perhaps also be mentioned that while PIRSA was always strongly represented in the departments of Psychology at the Afrikaans-medium universities in South Africa, the departments of psychology at the English-medium universities, such as, the University of Cape Town, were traditionally the academic institutions where SAPA recruited its members. This obviously also had implications for the publications produced at these universities.

5.3.1.3 *Psigosoma* (1960 - 1986)

Psigosoma, the mouthpiece of the Psychology Society of the University of Stellenbosch, published its first issue in 1960 and ceased publication in 1986. The stated goal of this journal, according to the editorials contained in its first and seventh issues, was simply to acquaint students and the general public with the role of psychology in contemporary society (Maritz, 1960; and van Rooyen, 1974). While essentially managed by the student members of the Psychology Society, *Psigosoma* published the articles of both students and lecturers attached to Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch.

5.3.1.4 Sielkundige Studies (1966 - 1972)

Sielkundige Studies was the official journal of the Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch. As the preface to the first issue of *Sielkundige Studies* indicates, the goal of this journal was to provide lecturers and students in the Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch with a forum to test and exchange their ideas on issues which they considered to be relevant to the discipline of psychology at the time.

5.3.1.5 Psigorama (1968 - 1973)

This publication was the official mouthpiece of the Psychology Society of the Afrikaans-medium University of Pretoria. Its goals, as set out in its first issue, briefly were as follows: (i) to provide students with an opportunity to publish their work; and (ii) to provide lecturers in the Department of Psychology at the University of Pretoria with a forum to share their ideas on what they considered to be topical issues with their students and the public at large.

5.3.1.6 Journal of Behavioural Science (JBS) (1969 - 1978)

JBS was published by the Department of Psychology at the University of Natal which is an English-medium university. Though essentially a University of Natal publication, its board of editors included psychologists from various other universities. In 1979 it merged with the *South African Journal of Psychology*. The objectives of this journal as articulated in its first issue, basically, were: (i) to provide a forum for student publications; and (ii) to create more publication space for qualified psychologists (Seedat, 1992).

5.3.1.7 Unisa Psychologia (1974 -)

Unisa Psychologia is one of the few university based psychology journals still in publication. This journal is published by the Department of Psychology at the University of South Africa (UNISA); a department which, it might be added, seemed to have a relatively close relationship with PIRSA (cf. Louw, 1987). *Unisa Psychologia's* stated aim, as set out in its first issue, is to provide the staff members of this department with an opportunity to share their ideas and research interests with their students and the broader public.

5.3.1.8 Perspectives in Industrial Psychology (PIP) (1975 - 1985)

Though *PIP* was the official journal of the Department of Industrial Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch, it published not only the work of academics attached to this department but also the work of academics from other institutions. Due to the fact that this journal never included editorials in any of its issues, not much is known about its objectives. In fact, the note which appears on the cover of all its issues and which states that the journal aims at providing "*an independent publication medium for scientific contributions in the field of Industrial psychology*", is about the only indication provided of the journal's objectives. In 1985 *PIP* ceased publication and in 1986 it was relaunched as the *Journal of Industrial Psychology* with a new board of editors and advisory members which included a larger complement of academics from institutions other than the Department of Industrial Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch.

5.3.1.9 University of Zululand Journal of Psychology (UZJP) (1985 -)

The *UZJP* is the official journal of the Department of Psychology at University of Zululand. Due to the complete absence of editorials or 'notes from the editor' in all its issues nothing is known about this journal's goals and objectives.

5.3.2 Organisational and other publications

5.3.2.1 South African Journal of Science (SAJS) (1903 -)

The *SAJS* was founded by the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (SAAAS), an association established in 1901 with the goal of providing South African scientists (social as well as natural scientists) with a forum for academic interaction. Though it initially constituted nothing other than a report of the conference proceedings of the SAAAS, the *SAJS* soon developed into a fully fledged journal publishing any articles (fulfilling the journal's minimum requirements, that is) submitted to it by South African scientists irrespective of whether they belonged to the SAAAS or not (Editorial, 1949). In the absence of any South African journals of psychology, the *SAJS*, until the mid-1940's, provided the primary medium through which South African psychologists could publish their work locally. Hence, of course, this publication's inclusion in the present study which is essentially supposed to examine articles published in **psychology** journals. Here it should perhaps be mentioned that though the *SAJS* published its first issue in 1901, it was really only with the publication of Wilcox's article on the conception of intelligence, in 1924, that articles written by psychologists and pertaining specifically to issues related to the discipline of psychology started appearing in this journal with some degree of regularity. Interesting to note here too is the fact that despite the plethora of locally produced psychology periodicals which made their appearance after the early 1960's psychologists, to this day, have continued to publish in the *SAJS*. As mouthpiece of the SAAAS, the *SAJS* basically shared all the former's objectives which, in brief, are as follows: (i) to popularise the claims of science; (ii) to provide a stronger impulse and direction to scientific enquiry; (iii) to promote communication amongst organisations and individuals interested in developments in the scientific world; and (iv) to participate in the creation of conditions conducive to the progress of scientific enquiry in South Africa (Editorial, 1952).

5.3.2.2 South African Journal of Psychology and Education (SAJP&E) (1932 - 1933)

Launched in 1932, the *SAJP&E* was discontinued one year and two issues later. According to the discussion notes contained in its first issue, there were two primary aims which guided the functioning of this journal: (i) providing educationalists and psychologists with information concerning the most recent publications in their disciplines; and (ii) serving as publication medium for these two target groups. Though the editorial of its second issue promised that the journal would "*reappear very shortly*" (Editorial, 1933, p 95), the South African Library records show that this discontinuation was in fact permanent.

5.3.2.3 South African Psychological Review (SAPR) (1946 - 1951)

The *SAPR* was the official journal of the Psychological Society, Johannesburg, an organisation which saw its establishment as the first step towards the formation of "*a South African Psychological Society ... affiliated to which will be various other Psychological Societies*" (Editorial, 1946, p 11). This journal which, according to its first issue and the South African Library records, was the first 'purely' psychology journal published in South Africa, saw its goals as follows: (i) to fill the "*hiatus in [South Africa] where no facilities exist at the moment for the voicing of expert opinion on matters psychological in nature*" (Editorial, 1946, p 1); and (ii) to cater for the interests and needs of psychologists and "*all those to whom psychology can be of beneficial value*" (Editorial, 1946, p 1). Publication of the *SAPR* was discontinued after the appearance of its fifth issue in 1951. No reasons for the discontinuation were provided.

5.3.2.4 National Institute for Personnel Research Bulletin (NIPR Bulletin) (1949-1953), the Journal of the National Institute for Personnel Research (JNIPR) (1955-1961), and *Psychologia Africana* (1962-1983)

In 1949 the first *NIPR Bulletin* made its appearance as 'in-house' journal of the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR); an institute which, it might be added, has frequently been accused of having used the discipline of psychology to assist capitalism in the super-exploitation of blacks in this country. As Whittaker (1990) observes, of all the research organisations which have thus far operated in South Africa, the NIPR can most probably be 'credited' with undertaking the most intensive research aimed at exploiting the labour of blacks as well as justifying such exploitation⁽¹⁴⁾. The *NIPR Bulletin's* stated aims were: (i) to create a medium for the exchange of ideas amongst NIPR staff members; and (ii) to enable the latter to keep in touch with the diverse activities of the institute (Editorial, 1949). By 1955, however, due to the rapid expansion which the NIPR was undergoing and the growing need for a "more firmly established record of ... [the NIPR's] activities ... one which could stand side-by-side with international scientific publications" (Editorial, 1962, p 4), it was decided to 'revamp' or overhaul the journal. In accordance with this decision, the publication was given a new name and a permanent editorial committee was established. It was thus that the *JNIPR* came into being. With an ever augmenting stature in the scientific world and constantly increasing circulation figures the *JNIPR* served as official mouthpiece of the NIPR for the next seven years approximately. In 1962, however, the publication was once again renamed. As a mark of the NIPR's increased research activities in the rest of Africa, the journal was named *Psychologia Africana*. *Psychologia Africana* was published until 1983 when it was incorporated by the *South African Journal of Psychology*.

⁽¹⁴⁾ See Cloete *et al.* (1986), Louw (1987) and Whittaker (1990) for a detailed exposition of these claims.

5.3.2.5 **Psygram** (1959 - 1969)

As official newsletter of SAPA (also see section 5.2.6), this publication mainly contained meeting and conference minutes, organisational reports and other *faits divers*. In the absence of an organisational journal *Psygram*, from time to time, also published various research reports and articles. In 1969 this practice was, however, discontinued with the journal component (that is, research reports and theoretical articles) of the publication subsequently being incorporated into the *South African Journal of Psychology* (Editorial, 1969). The primary aim of *Psygram* was to provide a means of communication amongst South African psychologists on issues relevant to their discipline and profession (Seedat, 1992).

5.3.2.6 **The South African Journal of Psychology (SAJP)** (1970 -)

As official journal of first SAPA and then PASA (also see section 5.2.6), the *SAJP* can be seen as the official mouthpiece of mainstream psychology in South Africa (Seedat, 1990). In its current form it incorporates the *South African Psychologist*, *Psygram*, *Psychologia Africana* and the *Journal of Behavioural Science* - all journals which became defunct as a result of, amongst other things, the changes which the various South African psychology associations underwent over the last three decades approximately. The *SAJP's* objectives as articulated in its first issue can basically be summarised as follows: (i) to enhance the identity of SAPA; (ii) to keep South African psychologists informed of the developments in their field of study and research; (iii) to encourage local psychologists to produce research and articles dealing with social and cross-cultural issues in South Africa; and (iv) to utilise these articles and research as a means of generating international interest and support (Seedat, 1992). The *SAJP* is one of the few South African psychology journals currently still in publication.

5.3.2.7 South African Psychologist (SAP) (1971 - 1977)

The official journal of PIRSA (see section 5.2.4 for a brief history of this organisation), the *SAP* was established in 1971. According to the editorials which appeared in its first two issues, this journal set itself the goals of: (i) providing a forum for the publication of articles produced by South African psychologists; (ii) encouraging South African psychologists to provide critical reviews of the works produced by their peers and which had been published in *SAP*; and (iii) striving towards ensuring as wide a circulation as possible of *SAP* amongst South African psychologists and students of psychology (Seedat, 1992). As indicated earlier, this journal was later incorporated into the *SAJP*.

5.3.2.8 PIRSA Monographs (1963 - 1981)

A publication of the PIRSA, the *PIRSA Monographs* series brought out a total of 263 issues during its nineteen years of existence.

5.3.2.9 Psychotherapeia (1975 - 1988)

Psychotherapeia, the official journal of the South African Institute of Psychotherapy (SAIP), was launched in 1975, three years after the establishment of the SAIP. Very interesting to note here is the fact that its first editorial committee included J H Robbertse and T M D Kruger, both leading members of the now defunct PIRSA. The basic aims of the journal as set out in its first issue were as follows: (i) to inform psychotherapists and other mental health workers in South Africa of the SAIP's activities; and (ii) to provide a publication medium for articles on psychotherapy and related issues (Editorial, 1975). Though its first issues featured several articles written by psychologists, the latter issues were dominated by articles written by psychiatrists and other medical practitioners.

5.3.2.10

Psychology in Society (PINS) (1983 -)

Established in 1983, *PINS* is the most recent addition to the collection of psychology journals obtainable in South Africa. The birth of this journal, Seedat (1990) points out,

"represented the beginnings of an organised effort to create a forum through which psychologists, disillusioned with mainstream psychology, could critically examine dominant ideas on the nature of psychology in apartheid and capitalist South Africa" (p 27).

In the words of the journal's first editors themselves, *PINS* set itself the goal of wresting the discipline of psychology, as it was practised and taught in South Africa at the time, from the deep "conformism" in which it languished so that it could be used in the transformation of "our crippling apartheid society" (Editorial, 1983, p 1).

5.3.2.11

Journal of Industrial Psychology (1986 -)

See under *Perspectives in Industrial Psychology*

At this point it would be appropriate to briefly comment on one very striking feature of the above publications which emerges from the preceding descriptions. A scrutiny of the various publications' objectives as presented above would reveal that virtually all of the publications included in this study seem to have been (or are) totally preoccupied with serving the professional interests of psychologists⁽¹⁵⁾ and that, with the exception of *PINS* and *SAJP*, none of them seem to view or have viewed addressing the major problems confronting South Africa as an objective

(15)

For example, providing psychologists with publication opportunities, enabling communication amongst psychologists and providing psychology lecturers with an additional means of communicating with their students.

worthy of attention. Perhaps this should be seen as an indication of what is to be expected from the actual discourses emerging from these publications⁽¹⁶⁾.



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⁽¹⁶⁾ Indeed, as van Dijk (1987d) and Thompson (1976) point out (and as the former's research in the Netherlands illustrate), the stated objectives and opinions of journals and other public (media) fora exercise a profound influence on the work of those who write for them.

CHAPTER SIX

SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGISTS' DISCOURSES ON RACISM:

THE FINDINGS

6.1 AN OVERVIEW

Before embarking on the discussion of the discourses analyzed in the present section, it should perhaps once again be stressed that if a critical stance is adopted vis-à-vis some of these discourses, this is not done with the intention of criticising the authors of these discourses or to create the impression that all of them are racist. Rather, the primary objective here is to demonstrate how the latter's **discourses** can be seen to contribute to the reproduction of the ideology of racism.

One of the most revealing findings of this study was that of the 1 980 articles screened in the twenty-two selected journals and monograph series, only forty-eight articles (that is, a mere 2,42 per cent) focused on issues related to racism, with the bulk of these articles appearing in the *South African Journal of Psychology*, the *South African Journal of Science* and the *Journal of Behavioural Science* (see **Table 1** for a breakdown of the exact number of articles on racism-related issues in each of these twenty journals and monograph series published since their inception until the end of 1989. See also **Appendix C** for the full corpus of texts). In a country where 'race' and racism form such a prominent and pervasive aspect of the political and social landscape, it is indeed very surprising that research in this area seems to have been so grossly neglected.

Quantitative

Even more surprising, however, is the fact that those journals and monograph series which have always had very close links with the pro-apartheid and racist Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa (cf. Nicholas, 1990), namely, *Psigoflitse*, *Psigorama*, *Psigosoma*, *Sielkundige Studies* and, of course, the *South African Psychologist* and *PIRSA Monographs* together only produced seven of the forty-eight articles on racism related issues (or, 'race relations' issues, as it is most commonly referred to by pro-apartheid intellectuals). Given the unstinting support which the institutions served by these publications (namely, the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa and the universities of Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Stellenbosch) have consistently given to the Nationalist Party government's apartheid policies over the years (see Whittaker, 1990) and given the constant appeals by the leading organic intellectuals of the Nationalist Party that psychologists play a more active role in the academic legitimation of these policies (see, for example, Clark, 1963; and Robbertse, 1967) it could indeed have been expected that these publications would have produced more than a meagre eight articles in this area of research.

Also very surprising to note is the fact that journals such as *PINS* and *Psyche* which have traditionally been linked to the more liberal or 'progressive' sectors of the South African academic world did not produce much research on racism or racism-related issues either. Given that this sector of the academia has always been very vocal about its opposition to racism in South Africa, this finding is puzzling to say the least.

As Table 2 shows, the majority (34 or 70,83%) of the forty-eight relevant articles deal with prejudiced attitudes. In fact, of all the articles published before 1962, only one (namely, the one written by MacCrone, 1937) deals explicitly with the issue of racist prejudice. The rest of the articles included in this study focus on issues such as 'discrimination', the (racist) notion of the alleged inherent differences between 'races', 'race' relations and apartheid. Very interesting to note here is that except for the articles written by Dawes (1985), Leon and Lea (1988) and Nell and van Staden (1988a, 1988b), none of the articles analyzed in this study focus on

issues that can be seen as being of primary and immediate interest to the oppressed in this country, such as, for example, the elimination of the essentially ruling-class created divisions amongst blacks, how the latter can deal with or process the acts of racism with which they are constantly confronted and, of course, the elimination of racism (cf. Essed, 1987; and van Dijk, 1991a).

JOURNAL	*	**	%
Jnl of Behavioural Science	97	7	7,22
Jnl of Industrial Psychology	55	1	1,82
Jnl of the NIPR	73	0	0,00
NIPR Bulletin	109	0	0,00
Perspectives in Ind. Psych.	96	1	1,04
PIRSA Monographs	263	2	0,76
Psigoflitse	46	1	2,17
Psigorama	36	1	2,78
Psigosoma	91	0	0,00
Psyche	60	0	0,00
Psychologia Africana	174	4	2,30
Psychology in Society	69	2	2,90
Psychotherapeia	119	0	0,00
Psygram	46	0	0,00
Sielkundige Studies	33	1	3,03
S A Jnl of Psychology	315	12	3,81
S A Jnl of Psych. & Educ.	7	0	0,00
S A Jnl of Science	65	11	16,92
S A Psychologist	51	2	3,92
S A Psychological Review	19	0	0,00
Univ. of Zululand Jnl of Psych.	37	0	0,00
Unisa Psychologia	119	3	2,52
	1 980	48	2,42

- * Number of articles screened (where it was possible to identify them, articles not written by psychologists were eliminated)
- ** Number of articles dealing with racism or racism-related phenomena (See Appendix B for details of articles)
- % Column** expressed in percentages

TABLE 1: ARTICLES PER PUBLICATION

Also very revealing is the fact that while the majority of the forty-eight articles which were finally submitted to analysis concentrate on the study of the **constituent elements** of the phenomenon of racism, such as, prejudiced attitudes and discrimination, none of them focus on racism in a broader or more global sense (except perhaps for the article authored by Dawes, 1985, which within the framework of a discussion on the position of clinical psychologists in South Africa,

provides a relatively focused - albeit somewhat cursory - analysis of racism as ideology which serves the interests of the ruling class to the detriment of blacks).

CATEGORY	f	%
Apartheid and its consequences	5	10,42
Discrimination and responses to discrimination	3	6,25
Prejudiced attitudes	34	70,83
Race relations	2	4,17
Responses to the notion of 'race differences'	6	8,33
N = 48		

TABLE 2: RESEARCH CATEGORIES

This apparent reticence to deal with the phenomenon of racism in a comprehensive and head-on or focused manner is also reflected in the fact that the term "racism" does not appear in any of the titles (see **Appendix C**) and abstracts of the articles analyzed. In fact, a close scrutiny of the full contents of all the texts reveals that the term appears in only four of them (that is, in Dawes, 1985; and Hayes, 1984; Leon & Lea, 1988; and Nell & van Staden, 1988a, 1998b); and then only a few times per text. Even the term "apartheid" seems to be used relatively sparingly; and when it is employed it is at times inserted between quotation marks (see, for example, Bieshuevel, 1957; and Morsbach, 1973); a discursive move which, as van Dijk (1990a, 1990b) and Essed (1991) observe and as was pointed out in **Chapter 1**, is often employed by 'defensive' dominant group elites who, possibly because of a sense of guilt, try to down-play the seriousness of the phenomenon of racism.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ See also **Appendix C** for a few examples of how this technique is often also employed by the local press to down-play and negate the seriousness of blacks' experiences of racism.

As an aside, it can be mentioned here that this distortion and omission of reference to racism in the articles analyzed is not unique to the academic productions of South African psychologists. Several writers have over the years already commented on the salience of this phenomenon in the published works of psychologists as well as other intellectuals in Europe and North America (see, for example, Brazziel, 1973; Chesler, 1976; Essed, 1987; and van Dijk, 1992).

While (or is it, because?) scant reference is made to the term "racism" and its institutionalised South African variant, "apartheid", in the articles studied, synonyms and euphemistic expressions for these terms abound in these texts. Thus it can be found that instead of using the term "racism", writers would use words and expressions, such as, systematic "cultural bias" (Bhana, 1975, p 115), "[problematic] race relations" (Heaven, 1979, p 30) and "eurocentrism" (Biesheuvel, 1987, p 2); and instead of the term "apartheid", they would employ expressions such as "racial segregation" (Bhana, 1977, p 258; and Morsbach, 1973, p 319), "tradisionele style van rassese segregasie" (van Staden, 1986b, p 27), a system where "a multi-racial (sic) society imposes differential restrictions on its members" (Biesheuvel, 1953, p 309), the "legal boundary of inter-racial behaviour" (Melamed, 1970, p 19), "the unique socio-political structure in South Africa" (Fincham, 1978, p 291), a social system which ensures "die bewaring van [Afrikaanssprekende Blankes] se sosiale identiteit" (Appelgryn, 1986, p 8), "a [system which] is geared along racial lines" (Bhana, 1977, p 258), etc.

As Table 3 illustrates, thirty-four of the forty-eight articles (that is, nearly 71 per cent) dealing with issues related to racism appearing in the journals selected for study were published between 1970 and 1989, with a mere fourteen being published during the period 1924⁽²⁾ to 1969. Interesting to note too, is the fact that between the years 1939 and 1956 (that is, from approximately nine years before to eight years after the Nationalist Party's accession to power and the commencement of legislated apartheid) only one article dealing with a racism-related issue was

⁽²⁾ That is, when the first strictly 'psychological' articles started appearing in the South African Journal of Science.

generated by the ensemble of publications screened. The article was written by MacCrone (1949) and was entitled Race Attitudes and Personality Traits. One can only speculate about the reason for the lack of research on racism during this period. Perhaps it was a result of the fact that South African psychologists considered other issues to be more relevant during this period (cf. Cooper *et al.*, 1990); or perhaps it can be seen as being a consequence of psychologists' fear of retribution from the racist Nationalist Party whose influence and power increased quite dramatically during this period.

Years	f	cf	focus of articles
1924 - 1929	0	0	
1930	1	1	Attitudes
1931	0	1	
1932	1	2	Attitudes
1933	2	4	Attitudes (X2)
1934 - 1936	0	4	
1937	2	6	Attitudes, 'Race differences'
1938	1	7	Attitudes
1939 - 1948	0	7	
1949	1	8	Attitudes
1950 - 1956	0	8	
1957	1	9	Attitudes
1958 - 1962	0	9	
1963	1	10	Race relations
1964 - 1966	0	10	
1967	2	12	Attitudes, 'Race differences'
1968	0	12	
1969	2	14	Attitudes, Apartheid
1970	3	17	Attitudes (X3)
1971	2	19	Attitudes, Apartheid
1972	4	23	Attitudes (X4)
1973	2	25	Attitudes (X2)
1974	0	25	
1975	1	26	Attitudes
1976	0	26	
1977	3	29	Attitudes (X3)
1978	2	31	Attitudes (X2)
1979	1	32	Attitudes
1980	2	34	Attitudes (X2)
1981	2	36	Attitudes, 'Race Differences'
1982	0	36	Discrimination
1983	1	37	
1984	2	39	Attitudes (X2)
1985	1	40	Apartheid
1986	3	43	Attitudes (X2), 'Race' relations
1987	0	43	
1988	3	46	Discrimination (X3)
1989	2	48	Attitudes (X2)

N = 48

TABLE 3: NUMBER OF ARTICLES DEALING WITH RACISM-RELATED ISSUES PUBLISHED PER YEAR.

After this somewhat quantitative overview, it is perhaps appropriate now to progress to a more qualitative appraisal of the meanings which South African psychologists have given to racism or racism-related phenomena over the last sixty-five years approximately.

6.2 MEANINGS GIVEN TO RACISM / RACISM-RELATED PHENOMENA

In an effort to facilitate the appraisal of psychologists' discourses and in accordance with van Dijk's (1987b, 1987c) recommendations for the analysis of relatively large bodies of texts⁽³⁾, it had been decided to maintain the categories outlined in Table 2 during the first stage of the analytical process. In other words, the various research studies and theoretical articles which were included in this study were initially analyzed per topic or category (that is, as part of the "prejudiced attitudes" category, the "race relations" category, and so forth) rather than as individual texts or as part of a single corpus of texts. Only after this initial analysis per topic or category were all the articles scrutinised as part of a single corpus of texts. Here it should perhaps be pointed out that while the primary consideration during this stage of the analysis was the identification of the macro-themes emerging from psychologists' discourses on racism, an attempt was nonetheless made to simultaneously examine the meanings which these discourses produced at a local or micro-semantic level and how these relate to the macro-themes identified.

⁽³⁾ Though the collection of articles dealing with racism-related issues analyzed in this study, numerically speaking, can be considered relatively negligible if compared with the articles dealing with other issues which appear in the publications screened (cf. Seedat, 1990), in "discourse analytical" terms, it nonetheless constitutes a formidable body of texts (cf. Wetherell & Potter, 1988).

6.2.1 ARTICLES DEALING WITH PREJUDICED ATTITUDES

As was mentioned previously, the majority of articles eventually submitted to analysis (thirty-four of the forty-eight articles) dealt with prejudiced attitudes⁽⁴⁾. Of these thirty-four articles a total of twenty-seven (or 79,41%) dealt with whites' prejudiced attitudes (that is, the twenty-one articles dealing exclusively with whites's attitudes plus the six dealing with whites' as well as blacks' attitudes) while only thirteen articles dealt with blacks' attitudes (see Table 4). The possible reasons for this apparent propensity (or bias) on the part of South African psychologists to study whites' attitudes rather than, for example, black people's responses to whites' racist attitudes - or any other aspect of racism, for that matter - will be examined towards the end of this chapter. Right now it might be more appropriate to examine what these psychologists have to say about the genesis of prejudiced attitudes and, very importantly, how they say it. Concerning the issue of 'what' South African psychologists have to say about prejudiced attitudes, the following questions are of particular interest:

- (i) How do these psychologists define the notion of prejudiced attitudes?
- (ii) What is the nature of whites' attitudes towards blacks?
- (iii) What is the nature of blacks' attitudes towards the dominant group?
- (iv) What causes do South African psychologists attribute to (ii) and (iii)?⁽⁵⁾

⁽⁴⁾ Here it should be pointed out that though three of these articles (namely, those written by MacCrone, 1937b; Morsbach, 1972; and Morsbach, 1973) they were nonetheless included in this category; and this for the simple reason that, as Hartmann & Husband (1974) observe, the study of stereotyping is most frequently considered to be one of a number of approaches to the study of prejudiced attitudes. A close scrutiny of these articles reveals that they are in fact treated as such in these articles.

⁽⁵⁾ Where possible, an attempt will be made to address these questions not only when dealing with the articles falling into the present category but also when examining the articles in all subsequent categories.

In short, what are the *'meanings'* (cf. Thompson, 1984) which South African psychologists give to the notion of attitudes and, more specifically, to the notion of prejudiced attitudes?

focus of articles	f	%
'Africans'' attitudes	2	5,88
'Coloureds'' attitudes	1	2,94
'Indians'' attitudes	3	8,82
'Africans', 'Coloureds' and 'Indians'' attitudes	1	2,94
'Africans' and whites' attitudes	4	11,76
'Africans', 'Coloureds' 'Indians' and whites' attitudes	1	2,92
'Coloureds', 'Indians' and whites' attitudes	1	2,92
Whites' attitudes	21	61,76
N = 37		

TABLE 4: RESEARCH ON PREJUDICED ATTITUDES

6.2.1.1 Definitions

As Billig (1988b) and Hartmann *et al.* (1974) observe and as has also been noted in Chapter 2, the field of psychology has thus far produced a reasonably wide range of formal definitions of the notion of prejudiced attitudes. The possibility therefore exists that if, for argument's sake, any two psychologists discuss the notion of prejudiced attitudes they might not necessarily be referring to the same thing; even if, as Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) and Hartmann and Husband (1974) observe, most extant definitions conceptualise it as basically consisting of an affective, conative (that is, action oriented) and/or a cognitive component. It is indeed surprising therefore to note that of the thirty-four articles on prejudiced attitudes

thirty-three do not present any explicit account of what is meant or understood by the term as it is applied in the articles. The only formal definition which emerges from the texts is that produced by MacCrone (1930) and which reads as follows: "*[A prejudiced attitude is] a sentiment, a system of emotional tendencies organised, as the result of experience, round some specific object in the environment ... and expressing itself in characteristic emotional reactions in the presence, or at the idea, of [this object]*" (p 592). It is in fact only after careful scrutiny (by, for example, examining the tests or scales employed to measure 'prejudiced attitudes' and by generally 'reading between the lines') that it becomes at all possible to ascertain what the authors of the majority of the rest of the articles refer to when they employ the term "prejudiced attitudes".

As is the case with the MacCrone (1930) definition, the majority of articles also discuss or present the concept of prejudiced attitudes as though it essentially refers to **individuals'** affective dispositions vis-à-vis certain out-groups (see, for example, Heaven, 1977; and MacCrone, 1949). A significant number of authors also seem to view it as basically referring to certain **individual** beliefs or, beliefs and feelings, with regard to certain other groups (see, for example, MacCrone, 1936; and Morsbach, 1973); and a small number seem to view it in more or less the same manner as Dovidio and Gaertner (1980) and Hartmann and Husband (1974), that is, as referring to certain action-oriented individual beliefs and/or feelings vis-à-vis certain out-groups (see, for example, Fincham, 1978; Le Roux, 1972; and Melamed, 1970c).

What is particularly striking at this stage of the analysis is that while the majority of the writers whose articles had been studied seem to view the notion of prejudiced attitudes as referring to people's beliefs, feelings and/or behavioural dispositions with regard to other **groups**, very few in fact seem to perceive or, at least, present it as referring to **group** beliefs, feelings and/or behavioural predispositions with certain very specific **social** functions.

Before commenting on this omission on the part of the majority of the articles analyzed to pay adequate attention to what was described in **Chapter 2** as the essentially **social** nature of prejudiced attitudes, it would perhaps be apposite to firstly consider the rest of the questions raised at the beginning of this section (Given the nature of these questions, this issue is bound to come up again in any case).

6.2.1.2 WHITES' PREJUDICED ATTITUDES

6.2.1.2.1 Descriptions of whites' attitudes

Here again, it seems as if the 'silences' in the texts analyzed speak louder than the words. Of the various articles analyzed, only the 1930 article authored by MacCrone presents a relatively clear description of what is meant when reference is made to whites' attitudes towards blacks. Although "*very complex*", the MacCrone article states, white South Africans' prejudiced attitudes towards blacks can basically be defined as being an affective orientation "*which expresses itself as a blend of superiority, dislike, contempt [and] fear*" (p 592). While the authors of the rest of the articles seem to agree that whites' attitudes towards blacks are generally 'negative' they seem to be relatively cautious or hesitant about elaborating any further on the nature of these attitudes⁽⁶⁾.

The question which begs to be answered here is: Why this manifest reticence on the part of these authors to describe whites' prejudiced attitudes? Is it because they assume that the readers of their articles will be *au fait* with the nature of these attitudes or is it because of a concern not to present too negative an image of the dominant group?

⁽⁶⁾ This is a phenomenon also identified by Ashmore and Del Boca (1976) and Billig (1988) with regard to research conducted in North America and Europe on whites' attitudes towards blacks.

Evidence emanating from the texts analyzed would seem to favour the latter of these two hypotheses. While, as was pointed out above, most of the authors of the articles analyzed would seem to suggest that whites' attitudes towards blacks are generally negative, there in fact appears to be a relatively concerted effort on their part to avoid actually labelling the attitude as "negative" or, in fact, as "prejudiced". Instead, euphemistic expressions such as the following seem to be employed with remarkable regularity: "*unfavourable attitudes*" (MacCrone, 1937 p 111; Nieuwoudt & Nel, 1972, p 96; and van Dyk, 1989, p 6), "*less positive attitudes*" (Kamfer, 1989, p 19), "*not .. very positive [attitudes]*" (Morsbach, 1973, p 322), "*ethnocentrism*" (Mynhardt, Plug, Tyson & Viljoen, 1979, p 26), "*houdings van weerstand*" (van Staden, 1986a, p 17), "*weerstandshoudings*" and "*swak aanvaarding*" (van Staden, 1986b, p 30). MacCrone (1933b) in his article entitled, The Functional Analysis of Group Attitudes towards the Native, in fact manages to write the entire article by only once making use of an evaluative descriptor when referring to whites' attitudes towards blacks. Throughout the article he consistently refers to the attitudes in question merely as "*the attitude*" or "*the group attitude*" (pp 687-8) and only towards the end of the article does he identify "*the attitude*" as essentially being "*a negative one*" (MacCrone, 1933b, p 688)⁽⁷⁾.

It is, however, not only the consistent use of these euphemistic expressions which creates the impression that a significant number of the authors of the articles analyzed wish to present the dominant group in a relatively positive light. The present study, for example, also found that when certain authors find themselves constrained by their research results to report on the essentially racist attitudes of the dominant group they, in some cases (see, for example, van Dyk, 1989; van Staden, 1986a and van Staden, 1986b), try to mitigate or 'off-set' the contents of these reports by prefacing or concluding the latter with what can be described as

⁽⁷⁾ Here it should be pointed out that while the authors of most of the articles analyzed seem to avoid the use of negative terms to describe whites' attitudes towards blacks, there are some authors who occasionally do employ terms such as "negative", "racial prejudice" etc., to describe these attitudes (see, for example, Edwards, 1984; van Staden, 1986b; and Nell & van Staden, 1988b).

relatively positive statements about the dominant group. Consider, for example, the following comments with which van Staden (1986b) introduces one of his articles which essentially deals with whites' negative attitudes towards blacks and the desegregation of certain public facilities:

"Gedurende die laaste paar jaar het daar merkbare aanpassings in die Suid-Afrikaanse regering se rassebeleid na vore gekom ... Die neiging van regeringskant om tradisionele style van rassesegregasie af te takel ... Die belangrike rol wat plaaslike bestuursliggame in die proses van desegregasie speel, kan geïllustreer word deur die voorneme van die [wit/blanke] Randburgse Stadsraad om publieke terreine vir gebruik deur alle rassegroepe oop te stel" (p 27).

Here it is interesting to note that instead of commenting on the South African government's general and oft decried unwillingness (at the time of publication of the article in question) to abolish the Separate Amenities Act or of commenting on the countless white city councils who consistently and very vehemently argued for the maintenance of apartheid at municipal level, the author concentrates on the governments 'reforms' and on one city council's intention of opening up its facilities to everyone. The obvious bias of these *'faits divers'* combined with their strategic placement at the beginning of an article which of necessity has to report on the essentially racist attitudes of certain whites cannot but create the impression that an attempt is being made to dilute or mitigate the impact which the reporting of these attitudes would have (van Dijk, 1987c). The following statements made at, or towards, the end of articles dealing with whites' attitudes towards blacks, create the same impression:

"Terwyl daar deur die huidige ondersoek 'n poging aangewend is om die aard van persone se gerigtheid teenoor die desegregasie van openbare fasiliteite te ontleed, word die noodsaaklikheid van verdere navorsing veral onderstreep deur verwikkelinge soos die ontugwet wat onlangs uit die Suid-Afrikaanse wetboeke geskrap is, asook openbare vervoer en sentrale besigheidsdistrikte wat in sommige dele van die land oopgestel is vir gebruik en handeldrywing deur alle etniese groepe in Suid-Afrika" (van Staden, 1986b, p 33, emphasis added).

"Afrikaansprekende vroue wat aan hierdie studie deelgeneem het, het 'n besonder gunstige houding teenoor die swart huishulp getoon ... Baie vroue het selfs genoem dat die huishulp vir hulle 'n vriendin en gespreksgenoot is" (van Dyk, 1989, p 7).

"Some two and a half years after the present data were collected, the white electorate voted strongly in favour of the National party's reformist constitution, a result which reveals a clear shift in white attitudes at least towards coloureds and indians" (Edwards, 1984, p 88).

Another technique employed by some of the authors of the articles analyzed to mitigate whites' racist attitudes is the adoption of an attitude of benevolent, non-judgemental 'objectivity' when discussing these racist attitudes. By way of illustration, the following quotation is provided

"In reply to a question which was put to group of 25 advanced students ... in which they were asked to describe their attitude to the black community and to give reasons for their attitude, a variety of factors emerged ... In the first place, we have factors derived from past contacts between black and white and transmitted to the present generation. Rightly or wrongly ... [whites'] interpretation of such contacts emphasizes ... the fact of violent conflict between the two races (sic)" (MacCrone, 1930, p 593, emphasis added).

There are, of course, various other techniques employed in the articles analyzed to mitigate whites' racist attitudes but as these will undoubtedly emerge as the discussion progresses they will not be dealt with here.

6.2.1.2.2 Causes of whites' prejudiced attitudes

As far as the causes or origins of whites' prejudiced attitudes are concerned, four relatively distinct themes emanate from the articles analyzed. These themes are roughly as follows:

- (i) a theme focusing on the personal and social characteristics of blacks as cause of whites' prejudiced attitudes;
- (ii) a theme focusing on the personal and social characteristics of whites as causes of prejudiced attitudes;
- (iii) a theme focusing on a lack of contact between blacks and whites as cause of the latter's prejudiced attitudes; and

- (iv) a theme focusing on whites' prejudiced attitudes as a function of their struggle for social, political and economic dominance.

(i) **Whites' prejudiced attitudes as a function of the personal and social characteristics of blacks**

Though by no means the most dominant of the four themes identified, instances of various characteristics of blacks being cited as cause of whites' prejudices surfaced with sufficient regularity in the articles analyzed to warrant at least some consideration of this theme.

In the few articles locating the origins of whites' prejudiced attitudes in the personal and social characteristics of blacks, the fact that "*blacks outnumber whites*" (MacCrone, 1933b, p 689) is the one cause most commonly given for whites' prejudiced attitudes (see, for example, MacCrone, 1933a, MacCrone, 1933b, Oosthuizen, Barnard & Wissing, 1980; and van Dyk, 1989). Very simplistically put, the basic line of reasoning in this argument is as follows: Knowledge of the fact that blacks outnumber them as well as their constant exposure to tales of "*massacres of unsuspecting whites by savage blacks in this country ... of bloodthirsty savages perpetrating outrages on parties of innocent white men, women and children*" (MacCrone, 1930, p 593)⁽⁸⁾ cause whites to experience a great degree of fear and uncertainty. As a result of this and on the basis of "*the principle that the best form of defence is attack white[s]*" (MacCrone, 1933b, p 687) then develop their prejudiced attitudes towards blacks. In short, therefore, whites' prejudiced attitudes towards blacks are presented here as essentially being a 'defensive' reaction inspired by uncertainty and a fear of what van Dyk (1989) refers to as "*n vae onbekende gesiglose [swart] massa*" (p 7).

⁽⁸⁾ See also Nieuwoudt and Nel (1972) for a similar, albeit a differently formulated, argument.

Whites, according to certain authors, also harbour prejudiced attitudes towards blacks because of the latter's 'unattractive' appearance and their neglect of matters pertaining to personal hygiene. MacCrone (1930), for example, remarks that "in some cases the strongly marked negroid features ... and offensive bodily odour of the black reinforce the belief that he belongs to a lower human order" (!) (p 594). This, together with the fact, he continues, that "'blackness' for every race and in every clime has a sinister connotation, since it is the colour which always has been and still is associated with misfortune, ill-luck, danger, witch-craft, evil or sin" (p 596) cannot but cause whites to have negative attitudes towards blacks. (See also Melamed, 1970b, for a similar argument).

Other characteristics of blacks which are also seen to cause or, at least, to trigger whites' negative attitudes are, amongst others, the fact that blacks are most frequently employed in 'menial' (and, by implication, unenviable) jobs (MacCrone, 1930; and Melamed, 1970b), the fact that they have a penchant for imitating whites (and thereby affirming their own 'inferiority' in the eyes of the latter) (MacCrone, 1930) and because of the fact that they are frequently perceived as 'criminals' or as people who are predisposed to criminal behaviour (MacCrone, 1930; and van Staden, 1986a).

In sum, therefore, what is contended in the various arguments presented above is that whites develop prejudiced attitudes towards blacks through no fault of their own. After all, they cannot be blamed if blacks have 'negroid' (and by implication, 'unattractive') features, have 'offensive' bodily odours and are black! In fact - and though this might not have been the conscious intention of the authors cited above - the use of words or phrases from the lexical registers of criminality and animals or barbarism, such as, "savage blacks" (MacCrone, 1930, p 593), "bloodthirsty savages" (MacCrone, 1930, p 593), "hinderlike ... steurende gedrag ... van anderskleuriges" (van Staden, 1986a, p 18) and "gesiglose massa" (van Dyk, 1989, p 7), to describe blacks and the latter's behaviour, creates the impression that whites are quite justified in harbouring these prejudiced attitudes.

Needless to say, in so far as these 'explanations' exhibit the very prejudices (eg., "Blacks are savage", "Blacks smell", etc.) which they are purporting to clarify, they are, to put it mildly, relatively problematic (cf. Miles, 1989). Furthermore, to the extent that they locate the cause of whites' prejudiced attitudes in the 'victims' and thereby downplaying or negating the central role which power and control play in the development of prejudiced attitudes these explanations, as Chesler's (1976) work and the discussion presented in **Chapter 2** suggest, cannot but be 'partial' and, as a consequence, 'misrepresentative' and misleading (cf. O'Meara, 1983). The fact that they have these limitations, of course, does not mean that these explanations have not in the past been very popular in the social sciences in general and psychology in specific. As Ashmore and Del Boca (1976), Chesler (1976) Doise (1980) and Foster (1991b) observe, these are the types of arguments which social scientists have always found easy recourse to; especially during the 'early days' of research on racism-related issues (see also Barkan, 1992; and van Dijk, 1992).

(ii) Prejudiced attitudes as a function of the personal and social characteristics of whites

By far the most dominant theme (that is, in terms of the causes of whites' prejudiced attitudes) which emerges from this analysis, locates the source of prejudiced attitudes in the personal and social characteristics of whites themselves.

A central tendency which is found in this theme of explanations links the development of prejudiced attitudes to certain personality 'types', such as, the 'authoritarian' personality (see, for example, Nieuwoudt *et al.*, 1972; van Staden, 1986a; and van Staden, 1986b) and the 'insecure' personality who typically displays relatively low levels of self-esteem or high levels of self-rejection (see, for example, Oosthuizen *et al.*, 1980; van Dyk, 1989; van Staden, 1986a; and van Staden, 1986b).

The explanations dealing with prejudiced attitudes as a function of the authoritarian personality can basically be seen as being based on the work of

Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford (1950) which, very simply put, postulates that prejudiced attitudes are developed as follows: Certain parental child-rearing patterns lead to the development of certain relatively clearly defined personality types; one such personality type being the 'authoritarian' personality type which can basically be seen as being a consequence of very rigid and 'controlling' parenting. Individuals who can be classified as being of the authoritarian type, it is argued, are the ones who are most likely to hold racist attitudes. This, proponents of this explanatory model posit, is largely a function of the fact that these individuals normally possess weak characters and are driven by the irrationalities of their psyche. In order to compensate for their inner inadequacies, they are consequently given to idolising 'strong' figures and denigrating and generally harbouring prejudiced attitudes towards those whom they perceive as their 'inferiors' (see Billig, 1988b; and Hartmann & Husband, 1974, for a more detailed exposition of this explanation).

The explanations linking prejudiced attitudes to self-acceptance or -rejection follow a very similar line of reasoning: Parental child-rearing practices and, in particular, parental rejection, lead to the development of self-rejection in the child which in turn predisposes him or her to rejecting or being prejudiced towards others.

Though neither of the above explanations attempt to link racist attitudes to the characteristics of blacks this, however, does not make them any more acceptable or less misrepresentative of the true nature of prejudiced attitudes and racism than the explanations postulated in the previous section; and this for essentially two reasons. Firstly, research findings have thus far been unable to illustrate a direct cause-and-effect relationship between the development of prejudiced attitudes and authoritarianism or self-rejection (and this despite the fact that the field of psychology has over the decades undertaken a plethora of research studies in this field) (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Chesler, 1976; Orpen, 1973; and Louw-Potgieter, 1987). Secondly, if it is accepted that racist attitudes in contemporary society are as pervasive and 'enduring' as they are because of their fundamentally social character, then obviously the above arguments - by virtue of the fact that

they attempt to locate the causes of these attitudes in certain characteristics of **individuals** - certainly are nothing short of untenable. In fact, as Chesler (1976) and Louw-Potgieter (1987) remark, the penchant displayed by certain psychologists to account for racist attitudes in the way that it is done in the preceding paragraphs should be seen as nothing but a relatively transparent attempt by these psychologists to negate the magnitude of the problem of racism; for as they point out, to say that only 'authoritarian' and 'self-rejecting' whites hold racist attitudes is to claim that only a 'deviant' section of the white community is racist and that racism is consequently not deeply embedded in our society. This, he says, is manifestly not true. Racist attitudes are "*not individual aberrations, or pathological exceptions, but structurally rooted [and] shared ...*" (Smitherman-Donaldson & van Dijk, 1988, p 22).

Another type of explanation of prejudiced attitudes which is linked to this general theme and which emerges from the articles analyzed links these attitudes to the psychodynamic process of sexual repression (see, for example, MacCrone, 1930). Very simply, this account of the development of racist attitudes assumes the following line of reasoning: Whites, because of certain very strict social mores are constrained to renounce and repress the free expression of their sexual impulses. An important consequence of this act is the development of a conscious attitude of hostility towards the unconscious (to where the repressed sexual impulses are relegated) (MacCrone, 1930). This hostility, so the argument continues, is ultimately re-directed and aimed at blacks; and this by virtue of the fact that the latter "*who [express their] animal and more particularly [their] sexual impulses with little or no repression, [represent] for the white man that very unconscious with which he himself is always in conflict*" (!) (MacCrone, 1930, p 596-7).

What is very striking about this explanation is that once again blacks are blamed (albeit indirectly in this case) for whites' racist attitudes and it is essentially for this reason that this particular account of the development of racist attitudes has over the years attracted some very severe criticism (see, for example, Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Barkan, 1992; Chesler, 1976; and Foster, 1991b).

According to Chesler (1976), to the extent that the above explanation characterizes prejudiced attitudes as integrated into the personality structures of whites in general, it can be seen as differing quite considerably from the explanations which locate these attitudes in only a 'deviant' section of the white community. However, to the extent that it, in the final analysis, also locates the origins of racist attitudes in the unconscious of the **individual** rather than in the broader social structures, this explanation can be seen as very similar to and - in terms of the discussion in Chapter 2, consequently - virtually as misrepresentative and unsatisfactory as the latter explanations. Here it should perhaps be pointed out that it is not the intention here to deny the role which intra-individual factors could possibly play in the development of racist prejudice. That would certainly be short-sighted (cf. Foster, 1991b; and Pettigrew, 1958). The reason for it being argued that the above explanatory models can be seen as being relatively misrepresentative and unsatisfactory is they they (as presented in the articles analyzed) seem to totally ignore the role played by social variables in the genesis and development of racist prejudice. As writers such as Essed (1991), Foster (1991b) and Louw-Potgieter (1987) stress, any explanatory model which does not simultaneously account for the crucial role played by social variables (such as, power and group privilege) in the production and reproduction of racist prejudice cannot but preclude an adequate understanding of the phenomenon.

A last explanation in this general theme which emerges from the articles analyzed characterises whites' racist attitudes as being a function of certain group norms. This explanation basically postulates that, in the South African context, whites and specifically Afrikaans-speaking whites, are prejudiced towards blacks as a result of the dictates of the norms governing social interaction generated by their group. In the words of Nieuwoudt these norms basically entail "... *die voorskrifte hoe 'n groepslid hom moet gedra en die houding wat hy moet inneem teenoor lede van 'n ander rassegroep*" (p 97). More specifically, according to MacCrone (1933b) and Orpen, (1973) these norms dictate that whites regard blacks as their inferiors and treat them accordingly.

While the notion that the norm of racist prejudice operates particularly strongly amongst Afrikaans-speaking whites (rather than amongst English-speaking whites) appears in quite a large number of the texts analyzed (see, for example, Edwards, 1984; Heaven, 1978; Heaven & Moerdyk, 1977; MacCrone, 1933b; and van Staden, 1986a), hardly any of these texts offer any explanation as to why this is actually the case. In fact, only the articles written by Nieuwoudt and Nel (1972), MacCrone (1933b) and van Staden (1986a) attempt to provide possible explanations for this phenomenon. These explanations are presented below.

According to Nieuwoudt and Nel (1972), a possible reason for the existence of a stronger norm of racist prejudice amongst Afrikaans-speaking whites could be, as he puts it, that "*die Afrikaner se kontak met die Bantoe waarskynlik gewelddadiger as dié van die Engelse [was]. Dit ... is moontlik dat die bantoe in 'n groter mate die rol van 'n tradisionele vyand in die Afrikaanse as in die Engelse kultuur inneem*" (p 97).

MacCrone (1933b), on the other hand, posits that given "*the social heritage of [the Afrikaans-speaking] group which is characterised by its conservative spirit*", the norm serves the function of strengthening "*the feeling of group continuity ... By means of ... [it] ... the group can identify itself more readily with its living past and so stand 'super antiquas vias'*" (p 688).

Van Staden (1986a) again postulates that it is essentially as a result of the conservative influence of certain Afrikaans ecclesiastical bodies that the norm of racist prejudice is particularly strong amongst Afrikaans-speaking whites. The greater degree of prejudice exhibited by Afrikaans-speaking whites in comparison to English-speaking whites, he states, "*word ... duidelik deur die kerkorganisasies se amptelike standpunte ... weerspeël ...*" (p 17).

Because the present type of explanation of whites' prejudiced attitudes focuses on the characteristics of **white groups** rather than on white **individuals** or on **blacks**, it is generally seen as being much less limited or misleading in terms of how it accounts for the existence of these attitudes than the previous explanations viewed

(See, for example, Ashmore *et al.*, 1976; Chesler, 1976; and Foster, 1991a). Indeed, in view of the fact that it seems to attempt to present a **social** explanation of whites' racist attitudes, according to Chesler (1976), this explanation can be considered to present a decided advance on the types of explanations presented thus far. In the case of the articles included in this study and which posit this explanation of whites' racist attitudes, however, this advance is seriously compromised; and this in the sense that various elements of the relatively 'limited' explanations of whites' attitudes presented above are frequently included in and dominate this ostensibly **social** explanation of these attitudes. One such element is contained in the quotation from Nieuwoudt and Nel (1972) which is presented above. A careful reading of this quotation shows that here, as in the first theme presented in this section, blacks are yet again held responsible for whites' racist attitudes. By presenting blacks as the "*tradisionele vyand*" of whites without providing an adequate account of why this is the case, the impression created is that whites alone cannot be held responsible for their attitudes towards the latter. Moreover, by juxtaposing the notion of blacks as the '*tradisionele vyand*' of whites with the notion of '*geweldadige kontak*', the impression is in fact created that whites are quite justified in holding these prejudiced attitudes.

Another element which is very reminiscent of one of the preceding explanations of whites' prejudiced attitudes which emerges from the majority of the articles in this section, is the notion that these attitudes characterise only a certain section of the white population in South Africa, namely, the Afrikaans-speaking whites, and more specifically, according to Nieuwoudt and Nel (1972), Afrikaans speaking whites who are of the "*konformerende persoonlikheidstipe [wat] sy groep se norms sterker sal navolg as die non-konformis*" (p 100). Here it should be pointed out that while it can be accepted that because of the existence of certain group norms a significant number of Afrikaans-speaking whites are more likely than English-speaking whites to **display** their prejudiced attitudes (cf. Pettigrew, 1966), it is certainly more

difficult to accept (as so many of the articles analyzed wish to suggest⁽⁹⁾) that they are the only whites in South Africa harbouring these attitudes; for to accept that only Afrikaans-speaking whites are capable of holding racist attitudes would be to accept the fallacy that racism is not deeply embedded in our society (cf. Foster, 1991a, 1991b; and Louw-Potgieter, 1987). As Chesler (1976) so aptly observes,

"the reflection of [racist prejudice] ... in the white dominated media and in the cultural symbol systems such as art and the movies ... awaken[s] us to the overall attitude structure of our society, not merely to its expression or location in a few special groups of intolerant persons" (pp 25 - 6)

This, incidentally, is a view also expressed by Hartmann and Husband (1974) who observe that racism is intrinsic to white dominated societies. While people, they argue, may differ in the degree to which they express prejudiced rather than egalitarian views and assumptions, this does not mean that racist prejudice is not *"the familiar property of all"* (p 36).

Another shortcoming of this explanation (as presented in the articles analyzed) of course is that it fails to adequately explore the relationship between group norms and the social, economic and political functions which these norms undoubtedly serve (cf. Hartmann & Husband, 1974).

(iii) Whites' prejudiced attitudes as a function of interpersonal contact

Another theme which emerges from the articles analyzed suggests that the development of racist attitudes could be a function of interpersonal contact between whites and blacks. Compared to the preceding themes, this theme can be considered a relatively 'minor' one. In fact, it appears in only six of the articles analyzed (namely, in the articles written by Fincham, 1978; MacCrone, 1930;

⁽⁹⁾ See, for example, Edwards, 1984; Heaven, 1978; Heaven and Moerdyk, 1977; Kamfer, 1989; MacCrone, 1933b; Nieuwoudt et al., 1977; and van Staden, 1986a.

Melamed, 1970b; Oosthuizen *et al.*, 1980; Orpen, 1973; and van Dyk, 1989); and in each of these articles not much is said about **how** interpersonal contact influences the development of prejudiced attitudes.

All six of the these articles, however, seem to agree that the **lack of interpersonal contact** between blacks and whites caused by "*legal restrictions*" (Orpen, 1973, p 95) or the South African "*government policy*" (Fincham, 1978, p 294) and language 'barriers' (MacCrone, 1930), causes whites to hold prejudiced views vis-à-vis blacks. Two of these articles (Orpen, 1973; and van Dyk, 1989) go further and specify that it is particularly the lack of **intimate interpersonal contact** which leads to the development or intensification of prejudiced attitudes:

"... prejudice tends to be lessened if fairly intimate and personal contact is made with members of the minority group ... [however] when contact is fairly frequent but of a ... superficial variety the prejudice actually tends to be increased" (Orpen, 1973, p 95)

"Dit is maklik ... om ... vooroordele te hê ... teen 'n vae gesiglose massa; sodra ons 'n individu uit hierdie groep leer ken, en hy of sy vir ons 'n naam en 'n gesig word, skeer ons hulle oor 'n ander kam en kom ons goed klaar" (van Dyk, 1989, p 7).

Except for the article written by Oosthuizen *et al.* (1980), none of the articles cited above present any reasons why lack of interpersonal contact between blacks and whites produces prejudiced attitudes or why increased contact would help to eliminate these attitudes. According to Oosthuizen *et al.*, increased interpersonal contact helps eliminate ignorance and this then has as consequence the elimination of prejudiced attitudes. In their article which, amongst other things, deals with the impact of white workers' attitudes on the motivation of black workers they, for example, state that white workers who have a reasonable degree of 'positive' contact with black workers, "*het die mees positiewe houding [ten opsigte van swart werkers] ... Hulle repekter die swart werker ook as mens en het ook 'n meer realistiese siening van die Swartman ... Dit is waarskynlik so omdat hulle meer kennis dra van die Swart werker as gevolg van meer kontak met hom* (emphasis added, p 21).

A very interesting feature of the six articles positing the 'contact' explanation of prejudice attitudes is that only **two** of them (Melamed, 1970b; and Orpen, 1973) make any reference (and then only fleetingly so) to the important and widely reported research findings of people such as Allport (1954) and Deutsch & Collins (1951) which show that it is not really the frequency or intimacy of intergroup contact which will reduce whites' prejudiced attitudes towards blacks. Rather, what seems to play a major role in the reduction of whites' prejudiced attitudes, according to these research findings, is whether this contact occurs on an 'equal status' basis and whether it is supported by broader social institutions (such as, the law, schools and communities) and institutional practices.

It is in fact its neglect of aspects such as the influence of power differentials and institutional support in the perpetuation of racist attitudes that greatly detracts from the value of this explanation as reflected in the articles cited above (cf. Foster, 1991a). Certainly, this explanation, as it is reflected in the articles analyzed, does not blame blacks for whites' prejudices as some of the explanations viewed previously do. In fact, a reading of the articles positing this explanation reveals that the majority of them **suggest** that certain governmental and legal (in other words, 'system' inspired) restrictions could be responsible (albeit only indirectly⁽¹⁰⁾) for the development and maintenance of whites' prejudices. However, in so far as these 'system'-inspired restrictions never become the focus of any in-depth or serious consideration in any of the articles analyzed; and in so far as these articles, **ultimately**, generally resort to explaining prejudiced attitudes as being a function of factors such as **ignorance** (Oosthuizen *et al.*, 1980), lack of **friendship** ties (Melamed, 1970b; and van Dyk, 1989), lack of **intimate contact** between blacks and whites (Orpen, 1973) and whites' inability to cross certain language barriers (MacCrone, 1930) (in other words, in so far as they ultimately

(10) That is, in the sense that these 'system' inspired restrictions are not presented as constituting one of the root causes of prejudice. It is merely presented as being the cause of **lack of contact**; which most of the articles analyzed here suggest is the real cause of racist prejudice (see Foster, 1991b, for a relatively detailed critique of this position).

link the development of prejudiced attitudes to individual characteristics and actions), this explanation, in the final analysis, cannot be seen as representing a significant departure from some of the relatively 'limited' or misrepresentative explanations considered in the previous themes.

(iv) Whites' prejudiced attitudes as a function of their struggle for political, social and economic dominance

The final theme which emerges from the articles reviewed links the existence and development of racist attitudes directly⁽¹¹⁾ to the functioning of the prevailing political, social and economic conditions in South Africa - or to what MacCrone (1930) refers to as the extant "*objective factors*" (p 591) - and, more specifically, to whites' struggle for political, social and economic supremacy.

Like the preceding theme, this is a relatively minor theme and emerges from only **four** of the articles analyzed in this section, namely, the articles authored by Edwards (1984), MacCrone (1930; 1933b) and van Dyk (1989). Furthermore, very little is said about how these 'objective factors' exactly influence whites' attitudes. In fact, in none of the articles cited does the discussion of the interaction between prejudiced attitudes and the above-mentioned factors exceed the length of one paragraph. Indeed, in one of the articles (Edwards, 1984) this 'discussion' is limited to a single (and relatively vague) statement:

"Especially where there is a conflict over resources, individuals identify with their own group ... and tend to perceive members of the out-group quite differently from their own group" (Edwards, 1984, p 79).

The discussion presented by van Dyk (1989), as the following quotation (which more or less summarises this discussion) indicates, does not provide much of an improvement on this statement:

⁽¹¹⁾ Or, at least, more directly than any of the explanations viewed thus far.

"Etniese houdings word nadelig beïnvloed wanneer mense begin voel dat hulle sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke 'regte' hulle ontnem word ten gunste van ander groepe" (p 6).

Despite the fact that discussion on the influence of prevailing social, political and economic factors on the development of prejudiced attitudes is relatively sparse and vague, all four articles analyzed here seem to agree that these attitudes, in essence, are a product of the struggle between whites and blacks for political, social and economic power. Unfortunately, however, that is where the argument ends for two of the texts examined. Only MacCrone (1930, 1933b), as the following quotations illustrate, takes the argument further by making the crucial observation that while whites' quest to exploit blacks and to ensure the latter's exclusion from the mainstream of political and social activity is an important cause of prejudiced attitudes, these attitudes are in turn reinforced by the consequences of the realisation of these attempts at marginalising and exploiting blacks and, in so doing, ensure the maintenance of the social, political and economic status quo in South Africa.

"We find that our present economic, political and social structure invariably tends to lay upon the black the stigma of inferiority ... The black man is at the beck and call of anyone with a white skin, his freedom of movement is restricted and all the menial, unpleasant and irksome tasks are performed by his labour ... the white child growing up in such a community invariably tends to regard the black as a menial by nature, as an inferior to be looked down upon with feelings of superiority and contempt" (MacCrone, 1930, pp 593-4).

"...the [prejudiced] attitude serves the purposes of economic and class motives ... [this] attitude that insists upon keeping the native in his place, will, at the same time, provide the white group with an ample supply of labour for the unskilled poorly-paid tasks of the community" (MacCrone, 1933b, pp 688-9).

Because they generally root whites' prejudiced attitudes in the collective functioning of prevailing political, economic and social conditions and because they typically view the control of these attitudes as residing in broader social institutions rather than essentially in individuals, explanations such as those presented within the

framework of the present theme can be seen as being much less misrepresentative of the true nature and functions of racist attitudes than some of the explanations viewed earlier in this section (cf. Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Chesler, 1976; Essed, 1991; Foster, 1991a, 1991b; Louw-Potgieter, 1987; McConahay, 1986; and van Dijk, 1992). As noted earlier, however, the explanations contained in the present theme are relatively poorly represented in the articles analyzed.

6.2.1.3 BLACKS' ATTITUDES

While it had been relatively easy to identify the macro discursive themes emerging from the various articles dealing with whites' attitudes towards blacks this was definitely not the case with the thirteen articles dealing with blacks' attitudes. This can essentially be seen as being a result of South African psychologists' apparent penchant to split the dominated group into what they most commonly refer to as different '*cultural*', '*racial*' or '*ethnic*' groups (see, for example, Bhana, 1976; Bhana & Bhana, 1975; Edwards, 1984; Heaven, 1977; Morsbach, 1972; and Morsbach, 1973). Therefore, instead of attempting to ascertain what the attitudes of the dominated, as single group (united by their common oppression), vis-à-vis the dominant group are, they seem to be more preoccupied by a concern to determine what the so-called 'Indians' or 'Asiatics', 'Coloureds' and 'Africans' or 'Bantu's'⁽¹²⁾ (as separate groups) attitudes towards the latter are. Whether this concern is legitimate or not (an issue to be considered later), it has as consequence the emergence (from the texts scrutinised) of a decidedly scrambled and murky picture regarding the dominated group's (or 'groups', according to the texts analyzed) attitudes towards the dominant group. This obviously did not facilitate analysis. What complicated matters even further is the fact that many of the authors of the articles analyzed seem to be more concerned about how members

(12) Here it is interesting to note the uncritical acceptance and use of the Nationalist Party's divisive labels for the oppressed by the psychologists whose work is analyzed in this section.

of these various (essentially ruling-class 'constructed') groups perceive their 'own' groups and what their attitudes towards 'other' oppressed groupings are.

6.2.1.3.1 Descriptions of blacks' attitudes

While the articles in the previous section were characterised by a paucity of negative or, at least, very negative descriptors for whites' attitudes towards blacks, what seems to characterise articles in this section is the frequent use of a variety of 'race'-related or 'race'-ist - and in terms of the discussion presented in Chapter 2, therefore, racist - terms to describe blacks' attitudes towards their 'own' groups, 'other' oppressed groups and the dominant white group. Consider, for example, the following expressions used in some of the articles analyzed to describe blacks' attitudes towards their 'own' and other groups: "*own race preferences*" (Fincham, 1978, p 294), "*ethnic identification*" (Fincham, 1978, p 293), "*racial preferences*" (MacCrone, 1938, p 413), "*increases in ethnocentric choices*" (Melamed, 1969, p 30), "*racial attitudes*" (Bhana, 1976, p 253), "*exclusiveness on the part of Indians, African, Coloureds ... [and] preferences for their own racial group*" (Melamed, 1969, p 31) and "*cultural bias against a racial group*" (Bhana et al., 1975, p 115).

As evidenced by the following selection of quotations, there seems to be a relatively strong belief amongst the authors of some of the articles analyzed in this section that the members of the various black groups identified above (that is, 'Africans', 'Coloureds' and 'Indians') hold, or can be expected to hold, positive attitudes towards (or identify with) their 'own' groups and negative, or less positive, attitudes towards members of 'other' blacks groups as well as to the dominant group⁽¹³⁾:

"Africans favour their own racial group over the other non-white (sic) groups" (Melamed, 1969, p 26)

⁽¹³⁾ Here it is interesting to note that this premise was in fact not borne out by the results of some of the research studies reported (see, for example, Edwards, 1984; Fincham, 1978; and Morsbach, 1972).

"Africans exhibit marked rejection of Indians ... " (Melamed, 1969, p 26)

"What is perhaps most surprising is that whites are not perceived more negatively by ['Africans'] than is the case here" (Edwards, 1984, p 86)

"['Indian' children] display a negative bias ... [or] attitude towards ['African'] figures" (Bhana, 1976, p 257; and Bhana & Bhana, 1975, p 118)

"Indian university students are closest in racial distance to their own group" (Melamed, 1969, p 26)

"Coloureds ... hold definite negative attitudes towards the dominant group" (Heaven, 1977, p 31)

"[It] was hypothesised that the respondents ['Coloureds'] would view 'Coloureds' more favourably than they do 'Whites'" (Heaven, 1977, p 31)

"One would ... expect to find strong attitude differences between ['Africans' and Afrikaners]" (Morsbach, 1973, p 319)

"['Africans'] ... have a more favourable perception of their own group ... " (Edwards, 1984, p 88) etc.

Surprisingly, apart from the discursive patterns identified above, no other repeating patterns of note regarding blacks' attitudes emerged from the articles analyzed. This, it is believed, can basically be attributed to the essentially technicist nature of most of the thirteen articles analyzed here⁽¹⁴⁾, the latter's apparent preoccupation with merely reporting blacks' attitudes (rather than also describing these group attitudes and their dynamics), as well as to the factors outlined in the introduction to this section (cf. Louw-Potgieter, 1987).

(14) That is, in the sense that one of the foci of a number of these articles (most notably, those written by Biesheuvel, 1957; and MacCrone, 1937b; and 1938) seemed to be the quantification of individuals' attitudes and/or the testing of scales to measure these attitudes.

6.2.1.3.2 Factors influencing blacks' attitudes

The reasons provided in the texts analyzed for the positive 'in-group' and less positive or negative 'out-group' attitudes which blacks can be expected to hold can roughly be divided into two themes:

- (i) a theme focusing on the personal characteristics of blacks; and
- (ii) a theme focusing on certain interpersonal factors as determinants of blacks' attitudes

(i) Attitudes as a function of personal characteristics

Of the thirteen articles dealing with blacks' attitudes five (namely, those authored by Biesheuvel, 1957; Bhana, 1977; Bhana & Bhana, 1975; Fincham, 1978; and Heaven, 1977) make explicit reference to the personal characteristics of blacks as determinants of the latter's attitudes towards their 'own' and other groups. While few in number, the explanations emanating from these articles nonetheless appear to be relatively divergent.

The first explanation emerging from these articles, as evidenced by the following quotations, suggests that blacks' attitudes can essentially be linked to their self-image or self-identity:

"... it was hypothesised that those ['Coloureds'] ... who view themselves negatively would view 'Whites' similarly. The reason for this is that those who view themselves unfavourably may project these negative feelings onto the White man who is seen to be responsible for his present socio-economic situation" (Heaven, 1977, p 31)

"... the development of racial attitudes is clearly related to the establishment of racial awareness and self-identity" (Fincham, 1978, p 294).

A second explanation in this theme which is posited by only one article (namely, the one written by Biesheuvel, 1957) claims that blacks' attitudes towards whites

and the latter's world can basically be seen as being a consequence of "*feelings of fear, or even ... of hostility ... based on feelings of injustice*" (p 309, emphases added).

A third and final explanation which emerges from the articles analyzed and which can be seen as essentially being based on the work of theorists such as Rhine (1958) and Williams (1964), posits that blacks' attitudes towards themselves and other blacks can basically be linked to what Bhana (1977) and Fincham (1978) refer to as 'perceptual factors'. This explanation basically assumes the following line of reasoning. People, through their interaction with their environment, learn to "*perceive the colour black ... as negatively evaluated*" (Bhana & Bhana, 1975, p 115). This negative perception of the colour black together with the perception that black people are generally accorded an inferior and very unenviable status in South African society (Bhana, 1977; and Fincham, 1978) lead to the individual holding relatively negative attitudes towards black people in general.

Needless to say, the above explanations' (particularly the first two's) major weakness can be seen as residing in the fact that they view blacks' attitudes as the product of essentially **intra-individual** processes. Notwithstanding the important role which intra-individual processes undeniably play in the development of blacks' responses to the prevailing social order in South Africa, attitudes, as was stressed before, are very importantly also **social** productions generated within **groups** in response to their social reality (cf. Chester, 1976; Foster, 1991a; and Howitt, 1991). To reduce attitudes to primarily intra-individual processes and to neglect the examination of the influence of the prevailing social conditions on their development is, in the final analysis, to suggest that blacks' negative attitudes towards whites and other blacks, in essence, constitute a 'natural' and ostensibly inescapable consequence of human functioning; which is of course very reminiscent of the racist notion so frequently verbalised in the past by the dominant group in this country, namely, that the animosity (and accompanying divisions) between the various social groupings in South Africa is 'natural' or 'innate' and not socially constructed (cf. Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989).

(ii) **Interpersonal factors as determinants of blacks' attitudes**

The explanations contained in this theme and which emerge from five of the articles analyzed (Bhana & Bhana, 1975; Fincham, 1978; le Roux, 1972; Melamed, 1969; and Morsbach, 1972) focus on certain interpersonal variables in attempting to account for blacks' attitudes.

The first explanation, as evidenced by the following quotations, links the development of blacks' attitudes towards their 'own' and other groups to the interaction within the black family:

" ... all three groups [that is, 'Africans', 'Coloureds, and 'Indians'] probably acquire much of this [ethnocentrism] within the family" (Melamed, 1969, p 31)

"If the ... parents' attitude towards ['African'] figures is negative then the ['Indian'] child takes up this negative attitude ... " (Bhana & Bhana, 1975, p 119).

To the extent that this explanation does not focus on purely intra-individual processes to account for these attitudes it obviously differs somewhat from the explanation viewed above. However, in so far as it focuses on the **black** family it is also very similar to the previous explanation which also focuses primarily on blacks' characteristics in attempting to account for the latter's attitudes. The limitation of this type of explanation should be clear. As was pointed out previously, attitudes are group productions generated in response to certain social conditions. In order, therefore, to adequately understand and account for these productions it is essential to go beyond the characteristics of the group responsible for their transmission.

The second explanation which emerges from the articles analyzed, as the following selection of quotations illustrate, basically views interpersonal contact between blacks and whites as well as **amongst** blacks as an important determinant of the latter's attitudes:

"A surprising tolerance is shown towards [English-speaking whites] by the Indian Ss ... This may be due to the greater degree of ... contact with this group ... " (Morsbach, 1972, p 168)

"[It] is possible that in a situation where members of [different] non-white races (sic) have opportunities to interact on an equal footing, bonds of friendship could be formed across racial barriers" (Melamed, 1969, p 26)

"The present research was undertaken ... to examine whether intimate association with another group can influence the ... attitudes of Indian ... children. It was expected that the intimate contact Indian children experience with ['African'] nannies would modify any cultural bias towards ['Africa'] figures" (Bhana & Bhana ., 1975, p 118)

"The above findings [concerning the absence of negative attitudes amongst 'African' children towards whites] appear anomalous ... When viewed in the context of the South African political-social system they are, however, not surprising. All the ... ['African'] children in the present study live in an exclusively black township some distance away from any whites ... Hence most of these... children are likely to have minimal, if any, contact with whites, especially peers" (Fincham, 1978, p 294).

It is interesting to note here that while the majority of psychologists whose articles were viewed in this section regard the lack of interpersonal contact as a possible cause of negative intergroup attitudes, Fincham (1978) suggests that this lack of contact could actually be conducive to positive intergroup attitudes. Be that as it may, however, most of these psychologists seem to agree that the frequency or degree of contact - and in the case of Bhana and Bhana, (1975) and Melamed (1969), the quality of the contact - amongst members of the different groups in South Africa is a determinant of negative attitudes. None of them, however, present any reasons as to why this is the case.

In so far as this explanation links the genesis of blacks' attitudes to the South African government's policy of "separate development" (Fincham, 1978, p 292) or "racial separation" (Melamed, 1969, p 30) rather than simply to intra-individual processes it, of course, presents a much less 'limited' account of the development of these attitudes. However, in the sense that none of the articles quoted above attempt to adequately explore the relationship between blacks' attitudes and the

racist policy of 'separate development' as part of a broader socio-economic order (which, in the final analysis, benefits from intergroup strife and animosity), they can be considered relatively lacking (cf. Cox, 1948). Moreover, as Ashmore and Del Boca (1976) point out, the 'interpersonal contact' explanatory paradigm alone cannot account for the development of negative intergroup attitudes and as research undertaken during the early decades of this century indicate, blacks' generally negative attitudes towards whites and the much reported antipathy amongst members of the various black groupings in South Africa, certainly did not commence with the institution of the Nationalist Party's policy of legislated 'racial segregation' or apartheid during the late 1940's and the 1950's. There is sufficient evidence that these attitudinal patterns existed long before this period (see, for example, MacCrone, 1936, 1938, 1947).

Apart from fleeting references to the influence of the migratory labour system (Biesheuvel, 1957) and what Edwards (1984) refers to as "*the systematic discrimination against blacks by whites*" (p 86) on the development of blacks' attitudes, the above explanations, more or less, represent the full extent of the accounts of blacks' attitudes as reflected in the thirteen articles analyzed in this section. Curiously too, apart from the following relatively vague statement found in Melamed's (1969) article, hardly anything is said about the influence of the dominant group's racist ideological discourses on blacks' attitudes towards themselves and other blacks:

"the emphasis on 'racial purity' which so pervades South Africa probably influenced all the ['African', 'Coloured' and 'Indian'] subjects['ethnocentric responses']" (p 31, emphasis added).

By way of summarising the present section it might be appropriate here to consider what writers such as Ashmore and Del Boca (1976), Foster (1991a), Howitt (1991) and Louw-Potgieter (1987) consider to be the major problems (indeed, dangers) of the types of research articles (and the discourses which the latter generate and embody) cited in the preceding pages. Firstly, all these writers argue, research on prejudiced attitudes has traditionally always been preoccupied with the role of

individual factors and has always tended to ignore the crucial role played by socio-economic, political and ideological factors in the reproduction of racism. At this juncture it perhaps has to be stressed once again that the intention here is not to create the impression that psychological factors are not implicated in the development of prejudice and racism. On the contrary. As Louw-Potgieter (1987) observes, however, the tendency on the part of psychologists to ignore the crucial role played by political and socio-economic factors in the perpetuation of racism cannot but lead to the decontextualisation and consequent misrepresentation of the phenomenon. Secondly, and as was so clearly the case with the articles analyzed in this section, the "race-prejudice" theoretical and research paradigm normally tends to take ruling-class constituted 'races' or 'groups' as unquestionable givens and, in the process then contributing to the ideological reproduction of these 'races' or 'groups' (Foster, 1991a. See also Fairchild, 1991). A third weakness of the "race prejudice" paradigm, according to Ashmore and Del Boca (1976) and Foster (1991b) is that it normally departs from the erroneous assumption that it is what goes on in individuals heads which causes racism. Given the above, the fact that the majority of articles contained in the corpus of texts analyzed in the present study deal with prejudiced attitudes is a cause for concern, to say the very least.

6.2.2 ARTICLES DEALING WITH RACIST DISCRIMINATION

As Table 2 indicates, only three of the forty-eight articles analyzed deal with the phenomenon of racist discrimination. While one of these three articles deals essentially with how self-efficacy beliefs influence racist behaviour in children (Simon & Barling, 1983), the other two focus on the strategy of affirmative action as response to racist discrimination at South African universities (Nell & van Staden, 1988a, 1988b).

Given that there were only three articles available for analysis and that these articles have two relatively divergent points of focus one consequently cannot

expect the emergence of any major discursive trends in this section. It, however, remains essential to scrutinise whatever discursive patterns do emanate from each of these two sets of articles and to try and see how they relate to the discursive patterns identified in the previous sections of this chapter.

6.2.2.1 Definitions of racist discrimination

Curiously, none of the articles analyzed here provide any formal definitions of what racist discrimination is. However, while they do not produce any formal definitions of the phenomenon, a close reading of the three texts in question shows that all of them basically seem to agree that racist discrimination at least entails the unfair treatment and social ostracisation of blacks and that it is often closely linked to the phenomenon of racist prejudice. Furthermore, as their quotation of the following statement from the work of Fullinwider indicates, Nell and van Staden (1988a) seem to conceptualise the term racist discrimination as including not only the actions of individuals but also broader institutional practices:

" ... discrimination is not merely located at the level of conscious, explicit, racial bias ... [but also] the inertial weight of decades and decades of institutional habits, procedures and practices ... "
(Fullinwider, in Nell & van Staden, 1988a, p 21).

6.2.2.2 Descriptions of South African whites' discriminatory behaviour

In keeping with the trends discerned in the section dealing with whites' attitudes towards blacks, no negative descriptions (for that matter, not even euphemistic ones) of whites' discriminatory behaviour emerged from the article authored by Simon and Barling (1983). The authors of the articles dealing with racist discrimination as it manifests itself at South African universities, on the other hand, seem to have no reservations about employing comparatively (that is, vis-à-vis the articles considered in the previous sections of this chapter) harsh terms, such as, "*evil*" (Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 26), "*repugnant*" (Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p

29), an "injustice" (Nell & van Staden, 1988a, p 20, "undesirable (and immoral)" (Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 23), to describe the phenomenon.

6.2.2.3 Causes of racist discrimination

Owing perhaps to its highly technicist nature, the article written by Simon and Barling (1983) does not present much theoretical discussion on racist discrimination; and, as a consequence, offers very little information concerning the causes of the phenomenon. In fact, the following quotation more or less represents the extent of this article's contributions with regard to the causes of the phenomenon of racist discrimination:

" ... in authoritarian cultures such as South Africa it may be accommodation to cultural norms ... that determine prejudiced behaviour" (p 74).

Nell and van Staden (1988a, 1988b), on the other hand, identify several possible causes of the racist discrimination as it exists at South African universities. These possible causes include the ruling Nationalist Party's "*grand apartheid*' policy" (Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 23), the influence of Afrikaner bureaucracy, South Africa's colonial past and the history and governance structures of these universities. One definite shortcoming, however, is that these authors merely mention rather than discuss the influence of these factors on the existence of racist discrimination.

To the extent that none of the above articles link discriminatory practices to the characteristics of blacks or individual whites they are obviously much less 'limited' or problematic than many of the explanations concerning the existence of the racism-related phenomena viewed thus far. In fact, in so far as the articles written by Nell & van Staden (1988a, 1988b) locate racist discrimination at the level of the governance structures of these institutions and in the history of this country, they definitely represent a clean break from many of these explanations.

With regard to the issue of how widespread these articles represent racist discrimination as being in South African society the picture is however not very clear. Firstly, Simon and Barling (1983) make absolutely no comment on the extent of racist discrimination in South Africa. Nell *et al.* (1988a, 1988b), on the other hand, while stating that racist discrimination at this point in time still constitutes an integral aspect of the functioning of South African universities, as the following rather contentious statements indicate, simultaneously seem to suggest that the phenomenon is not very widespread in the broader South African society in which these universities are located:

" ... for the great majority of South Africans - among them a large number of white South Africans - who believe that statutory racial discrimination is an evil policy ... it is a distasteful task to discover what social goods have resulted from the existing system" (emphasis added, Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 26)

"Racism is very likely more repugnant to South Africans than to any other people ..." (Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 29).

6.2.3 PROBLEMATIC OR NEGATIVE 'RACE RELATIONS'

As indicated in Table 2, there are only two articles in this section, namely, those written by Clark (1963) and Appelgryn (1986). Given the limited number of articles available for analysis, this section (like the previous section) can, of course, not be expected to produce any major discursive patterns. As pointed out in the previous section, however, it is nonetheless important to identify and consider whatever discursive patterns do emerge from these articles.

6.2.3.1 Definitions

While Appelgryn (1986) and Clark (1963) consecrate their entire articles to the examination and discussion of what they variously refer to as 'race relations' and 'intergroup relations' neither of these authors, however, present any explicit definitions of these terms. In so far as both these articles essentially deal with problematic or negative intergroup attitudes as well as intergroup conflicts and tensions, it will consequently have to be assumed that the notion of problematic 'race (or intergroup) relations', as conceptualised by these authors, more or less, includes all these phenomena. As an aside, it should perhaps be noted that these writers' use of the term 'race' relations indicate that both seem to accept the existence of human 'races' (cf. Foster, 1992).

6.2.3.2 Causes of problematic 'race relations'

Though these two articles are ostensibly very different (in the sense that the one appears to be a simple report of an empirical study of the determinants of negative 'race relations' (Appelgryn, 1986) while the other appears to be nothing other than a decidedly strident piece of propaganda in defence of apartheid) both of them seem to present fairly similar views concerning the causes of problematic 'race relations'. Firstly, as the following quotations indicate, both articles appear to locate the origins of poor intergroup relations in blacks:

"Gevoelens van ekonomiese deprivasie oefen nie net 'n negatiewe invloed op swartmense se etniese houdings nie, maar gevoelens van ekonomiese deprivasie teenoor blankes gaan ook gepaard met meer militante houdings" (Appelgryn, 1986, p 7, emphasis added)

"Daar [is] 'n onrusbarende toestroming van plattelandse bantoe na die blanke stedelike gebiede (sic) ... Hierdie toestroming ... moet noodwendig wrywingspunte veroorsaak wat nie bevordelik vir goeie rasseverhoudings kan wees nie" (Clark, 1962, p 3)

"Toestromingsbeheer wat toegepas word om die toevloei van Bantowerksoekers na Blanke gebiede waar daar reeds groot getalle werklose Bantoe aanwesig is, bring hulle in konflik met die [blanke] owerhede ... Beheermaatreëls ... word ontduik deur diegene wat die gebiede onwettig binne kom" (Clark, p 3, emphasis added)

"Werkloosheid en leeglêry [onder swart mense] gee aanleiding tot roof en misdad sodat daar 'nuiters angstige klimaat ontstaan wat spanning en agterdog tussen die bevolkingsgroepe in die hand werk" (Clark, p 4, emphasis added)

"Waar bevolkingsmassas in groot lokasies om die groot stede saamgestrek is, is dit vir ons van lewensbelang dat konflikte vermy word. Ons moet verhoed dat rassegevoel ontbrand en deur middel van opswepery aangeblaas word tot 'n punt waar dit uitloop op 'n Sharpville ... " (Clark, p 2, emphasis added)

"Dit is ... hierdie gevoelens van ekonomiese deprivasie by minderheidsgroepe wat agitators of militante leiers gebruik ... " (Appelgryn, p 8, emphasis added)

"Daar is verset teen die dra van bewysboeke en as gevolg van opstokery en intimidasie ontstaan daar botsings met die gereg" (Clark, p 4, emphasis added).

Problematic intergroup relations, according to these articles, are in essence, therefore, primarily a consequence of blacks' feelings, of their unemployment, of their criminal behaviour, of their invasion of whites' cities and, as the last three quotations indicate, of their susceptibility to the influence of 'agitators'. Through the use of the classic discursive technique of 'reversal' (cf. van Dijk, 1988b), therefore, the 'victims' of racism become the villains, the true cause of racism. The white group and the social, economic and political power which the latter controls, Appelgryn (1986) and Clark (1962), by implication, seem to suggest, cannot be seen to play a role in the development of racism or what they refer to as 'problematic intergroup relations'.

Certainly, if the following two quotations taken from Appelgryn's (1986) article are considered then the impression is gained that this author does in fact recognise the important role played by the dominant group and prevailing economic conditions in the development of negative intergroup relations:

"Suid-Afrika [beleef] 'n potensiaal gevaarlike oorgangstydperk weens 'n toenemende skaarsheid van belangrike bronne. Dit is gedurende sulke tydperke dat mense intens bewus word van die regverdigheid van norme van distribusie" (p 8)

"Volgens die resultate is dit ook opvallend dat die uiters positiewe houding van veral Afrikaanssprekende blankes teenoor hulle eie groepe beduidend gepaard gaan met hul uiters negatiewe houdings teenoor swartmense" (p 8).

A close reading of this article, however, shows that it is not so much the scarcity of resources and whites' attitudes towards blacks which are here seen to cause the development of problematic intergroup relations. Rather, it is blacks' "feelings of relative deprivation" (see pages 6, 7 and 8) which are seen to lie at the heart of the problem.

Clark (1963), in fact, states quite explicitly that whites cannot be held responsible for the development of problematic or negative intergroup relations:

"Op allerlei terreine het daar [met behulp van die blankes] reeds veel tot stand gekom om die lewensomstandighede van ander groepe te verbeter en om daarmee by hulle meer welwillenheid en 'n goeie gesindheid te wek ... fatsoenlike behuising vir die Bantoe in afsonderlike lokasie terreine [is verskaf] ... aparte fasiliteite vir hoër onderwys [is] daargestel vir die opleiding van Bantoe akademië aan hul eie universiteitskolleges ... " (p 3).

Nor, according to Clark (1963), can economic factors be seen as a primary cause of problematic intergroup relations. Blacks would not need to suffer economic deprivation (and thereby come into conflict with whites) if they were capable of showing more initiative in exploiting the existing economic potential of 'their' homelands. Consider in this regard the following quotation as well as the entire section entitled, "Werksgeleenthede en Sielkundige Dienste" (pp 4 - 8) in Clark's article.

"Die Bantoe self is ... nog nie in staat om as werkgewer en entrepreneur aan sy eie mense 'n lewensbestaan te besorg nie. Daarvoor is hy nog afhanklik van blanke initiatief en onderneming" (p 5).

Even though they are formulated in relatively abrasive terms the above arguments, in essence, of course do not differ radically from some of the explanations for the existence of certain racism-related phenomena contained in some of the articles viewed in previous sections (see, for example, MacCrone, 1930; and Melamed, 1970b). The two articles in this section (particularly Clark's), however, differ from these other articles in one very important respect. As some of the quotations presented above and the following two quotations illustrate, neither of these articles seem to view apartheid as a problem or something negative⁽¹⁵⁾:

"Dit is veral ook hier in die stede waar moeilikhede tussen die bevolkingsgroepe maklikste ontstaan. Daarvoor is allerlei faktore verantwoordelik soos maatreëls wat die blanke terwille van sy selfbehoud nodig ag⁽¹⁶⁾, maar wat die indringende groep beskou as irriterend en teenstrydig met die beginsels van menswaardigheid" (Clark, 1962, p 3, emphasis added)

"Die feit dat dit juis gevoelens van regverdigheid oor die eie groeps se sosiale situasie is wat met nie-militante houdings gepaard gaan dui waarskynlik op die waarde wat geheg word aan segregasie (die bewaring van [blankes se] sosiale identiteit en die voorregte wat daarmee gepaard gaan)" (Appelgryn, 1986, p 8, emphasis added).

In other words, according to Appelgryn (1986) and Clark (1962), apartheid should be viewed as constituting nothing other than the legitimate attempt by whites to ensure their own survival.

(15) This obviously does not mean that none of the other articles viewed thus far do not contain any pro-apartheid or racist elements. It is just that the two articles in question here display much less reserve in their attempts to legitimise the South African ruling-class's policy of apartheid.

(16) In other words, **apartheid** 'maatreëls' or measures.

6.2.4 APARTHEID/SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Of the forty-eight articles analyzed in this study five, namely, those authored by Dawes (1985), Erasmus (1969), Hayes (1984), Leon and Lea (1988) and Robbertse (1971) deal with the Nationalist Party's notorious policy of apartheid and the consequences of this policy.

6.2.4.1 Definitions of apartheid

Considering that all the articles in this section focus virtually exclusively on the policy of apartheid and its consequences it is indeed very intriguing to note that only **one** of them, namely, the article written by Dawes (1985) attempts to provide a formal definition of apartheid. According to this article, apartheid can be defined as

"... a political structure ... [which] to some is a rational answer to what they see to be the diversity of peoples (sic) of this land. For others it is a rational answer to the maintenance of privilege and power for some and the maintenance of oppression for the rest" (p 55).

In so far as this definition refers to apartheid as the ruling class's "*answer to the maintenance of privilege and power for some and the maintenance of oppression for the rest*" (p 55) it obviously presents apartheid in a much more critical manner than any of the articles viewed thus far. As will be illustrated later, however, the potential impact of this critique of apartheid is greatly undermined by the manner in which it is presented as well as by the manner in which apartheid is generally presented elsewhere in the text.

As far as the other articles are concerned, perhaps their conception of what apartheid is will become clear in the next few paragraphs.

6.2.4.2 Descriptions of apartheid

Of the five articles analyzed in this section two, namely those written by Erasmus (1969) and Robbertse (1971), adopt a decidedly positive stance towards the Nationalist Party government's policy of apartheid. In fact, so positive is these authors' opinion of apartheid that, as the following quotations indicate, they seem to have no reservations about appealing (albeit somewhat indirectly) to psychologists to contribute towards making his policy more workable:

"Die Sielkunde ... het 'n onmiskenbare taak in die bevordering van Bantoetuisland ontwikkeling ..." (Robbertse, 1971, p 6)

"Uit die bespreking is dit duidelik dat in die toepassing van afsonderlike ontwikkeling daar wel deeglik psigologiese probleme is om te bowe te kom. Dit is dan ook op hierdie terrein waar die toepassing van die beleid verantwoordelik, weldeurdag en oordeelkundig deurgevoer moet word en kan die Sosiale Sielkunde ... in hierdie opsig 'n groot bydrae lewer tot die oplossing van [hierdie] probleme ... en derhalwe ook met die praktiese uitvoering daarvan [d.w.s., die beleid van 'afsonderlike ontwikkelig']" (Erasmus, 1969, p 22).

In his article Robbertse (1971) poses the crucial question of whether it is in fact appropriate or permissible for psychologists to engage in applied research aimed at making the government's policy of apartheid more workable. His answer is, "[Y]es, if the [government's] aims are humane ..." (p 8). Given his appeal to psychologists to contribute towards ensuring the viability of the apartheid inspired homelands system he is, by implication, here of course affirming that apartheid, in so far as it affects blacks, can basically be considered to be 'humane'.

While Erasmus (1969) does not use the term "humane" to describe the policy of apartheid - or, 'separate development', as he refers to it - various statements in his article clearly suggest that this is indeed what he believes apartheid is. Consider in this regard, for example, his questionable - and what some would consider, downright criminal - claim that discrimination, as it manifests itself in apartheid South Africa, can be considered beneficial to the well-being of blacks; and this in

the sense that it ensures the development and self-actualisation of the latter!⁽¹⁷⁾

As he puts it,

"Sou 'n mens ... nie 'diskrimineer' nie, sou die waardesisteme, sosiale rolle, sosiale status, ens., wat in elke samelewing voorkom, geen betekenis hê nie. Dit is inderdaad hierdie rolle, ens., wat die struktuur en funksie van so 'n samelewing verseker en sal 'n gelykmakingsproses [m.a.w., 'n stelsel wat nie op diskriminasie geskoei is nie] daarop neerkom dat vooruitgang en self-verwesenliking inhibeer word" (p 18).

Employing a similar line of reasoning encountered in Robbertse's (1967) article (see section 6.2.5) he adds that discrimination, as practised by the ruling class in South Africa, should be seen as an acknowledgement, not of the "*meerderwaardigheid en/of minderwaardigheid*" (p 19) of people but of the "*anderswaardigheid*" (p 19) of blacks.

Next, Erasmus (1969) suggests that the policy of apartheid can also be considered beneficial as far as blacks are concerned because it minimises contact between this group and whites. Contact between these two groups, he argues, cannot but be accompanied by problems for blacks as the latter will inevitably be forced into relinquishing their 'traditional culture' and adopting a 'Western culture'. The problems which blacks can be expected to experience as a result of this process of 'deculturalisation' and 'acculturalisation', according to Erasmus, include "*onsekerheid, losbandigheid, sosiale patologie [en] vervreemding*" (p 20). This, incidentally, is a view also expressed by Robbertse (1971) who in his article also accords considerable prominence to the problems and "*psigopatologiese verskynsels*" (p 7) which, according to him, usually characterise blacks' exposure to whites' culture.

⁽¹⁷⁾ It is very interesting to note how Erasmus (1969), in his attempts to justify apartheid, tries to transform the relatively negative notion of discrimination into a positive one (see Macdonell, 1987, as well as the discussion related to the differential meanings attributed to the same notions or words by different ideological groupings contained in Chapter 3 of the present study).

By far the most preposterous justification for the policy of apartheid which emerges from Erasmus (1969) and Robbertse's (1971) articles, however, is the former's suggestion that this policy can be considered appropriate for South African society because blacks in any case find democracy unacceptable! As he puts it,

"n Demokratiese regeeringsvorm is in elk geval vir die Bantoe onaanvaarbaar aangesien dit in stryd is met die algemene hoogagting van die afkomstlinies en senioriteitsrangordes" (p 20)

While the above two articles attempt to present apartheid in a decidedly favourable light this, as the following quotations indicate, does not appear to be the case as far as the other three articles in this section are concerned:

"It should be clear ... that we confront a situation which amounts to the statutory production of psychopathology under the guise of cultural and group freedom ... While Savage ... argues that Apartheid and physical health are incompatible, I wish to suggest that the mental well-being of all the people of this country are similarly jeopardised by this policy" (Dawes, 1985, p 60)

"The social practices which go to make up apartheid society most certainly ... have ... negative effects" (Hayes, 1984, p 92)

"... the university ... is experiencing problems generated by ... apartheid ..." (Leon & Lea, 1988, p 7)

Here it should be noted, however, that while all three these articles present apartheid in a relatively negative light the articles penned by Hayes (1984) and Leon and Lea (1988) do not produce much in terms of a description of this policy. In fact, the excerpts from these articles presented above more or less captures the sum total of what these articles produce in terms of a description of apartheid. Perhaps this lacuna reflected in these articles can be seen as being a function of the fact that Hayes's article is essentially a critique of an article authored by the sociologist, Michael Savage (1981), on the effects of apartheid on social research; and that Leon and Lea's article focuses primarily on alienation amongst black students as a consequence of apartheid. However, whatever the reasons for this omission may be it has, as will be argued later, relatively serious consequences.

Unlike Hayes (1984) and Leon and Lea (1988), Dawes (1985) presents a much more detailed description of the policy of apartheid. Apart from the quotation from his article which is presented above, other descriptive statements concerning apartheid which emanates from his article include the following:

"[Apartheid] practices ... are destructive to the mental health of the South African community" (p 56)

"... I will suggest that it is this policy [apartheid] which is psychopathogenic ..." (p 60)

"... our pathogenic government policy ..." (p 60).

However, while Dawes (1985) presents a relatively detailed description of apartheid and while he adopts a comparatively negative stance with regard to this policy there appears to be a nearly tangible 'reserve' in the manner in which he at times presents his description of this policy. Consider, for example, the very first statement he makes in his article:

"South Africa has developed a political structure which has been considered by the rest of the world as inhuman to the majority of its inhabitants" (p 55, emphasis added).

The impression which the phrase, "*political structure ... considered by the rest of the world as inhuman*", of course, creates is that apartheid might not be inhuman. It is merely "*considered*" inhuman. Moreover, by formulating his description of this manifestly evil system in this manner, the distinct impression is also created that the author wishes to distance himself from the criticism which it reflects; for if he had wanted to assume responsibility for this criticism then certainly a formulation, such as, "Apartheid is inhuman to blacks," would have been more appropriate.

The possibility that Dawes (1985), to a certain extent, wishes to temper or mitigate his relatively negative description of apartheid is also reflected in his definition of the phenomenon presented above. Here, instead of stating *tout court* that apartheid can be seen as the ruling class's "*answer to the maintenance of privilege*

and power for some and the maintenance of oppression for the rest" (p 55), he incorporates into his definition the qualifying statement that "To some [however, apartheid] is the rational answer to ... the diversity of the peoples (sic) of this land" (p 55)⁽¹⁸⁾. This juxtaposition of what can be considered as an attack on ruling-class attempts to maintain relations of domination and the type of statement the ruling class typically uses to justify apartheid can very easily be construed as an attempt by the author to assume a neutral stance vis-à-vis the policy of apartheid; a stance which he himself criticises as one whose effect ultimately is to give support to a decidedly destructive policy.

Another instance where it appears as if Dawes (1985) wishes to temper the criticism contained in his description of apartheid is reflected in the following statement:

"The somewhat unequal number of [forced] removals per group does tend to suggest a policy of differential rather than equal treatment and adds credence to allegations of racism" (p 59, emphasis added).

Here it could be asked whether it would not have been more appropriate (and accurate) to simply have stated here that the unequal number of forced removals per group illustrates the racism inherent to South African society rather than casting doubt on black people's very real experiences of unmitigated racism by employing such questionable formulations as, "the somewhat unequal", "allegations of racism" and "differential [instead of discriminatory] ... treatment".

Certainly, to the extent that he labels apartheid as "psychopathological", "destructive" and "inhuman"; and to the extent that his article is primarily geared at illustrating the extremely deleterious effects of this policy on the psychological well-being of South Africans, Dawes (1985) presents a much more critical description of

(18) See van Dijk (1988b) for a description of similar rhetorical moves typically used in the Dutch media to justify racism in the Netherlands.

apartheid and its consequences than any of the articles viewed thus far. However, the impact of this description is greatly undermined by the manner in which it is constructed.

By way of summary it can therefore be stated that the manner in which apartheid is presented in this section is, to put it mildly, very contradictory. While it is presented as a policy with primarily positive implications for South Africans (and particularly as far as the well being of blacks is concerned) in the first two articles discussed, it is presented as a policy which essentially has relatively negative implications for people in this country in the other three articles. However, though these articles may differ in the manner in which they present apartheid, all of them seem to agree that, as Dawes (1985) puts it, "*specific ... human consequences ensue from this policy*" (p 55).

6.2.5 RESPONSES TO THE NOTION OF THE EXISTENCE OF GENETICALLY DETERMINED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN 'RACES'

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the introduction of the notion of 'race' into academic discourse at the beginning of the seventeenth century set in motion a series of protracted debates amongst scholars the world over. The central question around which these debates of course revolved is whether humans could be subdivided into mutually exclusive and hierarchically structured 'racial' categories based on certain biological as well as psychological criteria or not. As Whittaker (1990) observes, organic intellectuals of the ruling-class virtually inevitably seemed to favour the position that people could be divided into different and essentially unequal 'races' and they in fact went to extreme lengths in their attempts to prove this thesis (cf. Lieberman, 1975). As also noted in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, not only did these intellectuals display a remarkable tenacity in their endeavours to prove the existence of different and unequal 'races' but they also seemed particularly intent

on proving the inferiority of the 'non-European' 'races' vis-à-vis the 'races' of European origin.

Though its proponents were always unable to satisfactorily prove its validity and though the post-World War II period saw it becoming increasingly unpopular and difficult to defend, this thesis, as previously noted, until very recently, still held considerable appeal to certain intellectuals; most notably psychologists (Fairchild, 1991; and Whittaker, 1990). In fact, the 1960's and 1970's still saw quite a number of psychologists relentlessly attempting to prove that blacks are intellectually inferior to whites and that this inferiority is genetically determined (see, for example, Jensen, 1973; Robbertse, 1967; and Shockley, 1973). In view of the obvious utility of this thesis as far as the legitimation of blacks' exploitation and oppression in capitalist society is concerned, the persistence of such futile academic endeavours (cf. Lieberman, 1975) should not be very surprising.

The question which logically arises here is: How do the authors of the four articles in this section respond - or, what meanings do they give - to these endeavours by their colleagues to prove that blacks are inherently inferior to whites? Before addressing this question, however, it should perhaps be mentioned that while South African psychology has over the years produced a plethora of research studies and articles trying to lay bare the differences between the various so-called 'races' inhabiting South Africa⁽¹⁹⁾, not much research had been conducted on the existence of this patently racist enterprise. Hence the fact that the twenty-two publications selected for this study only produced four articles dealing with this issue. As the primary aim of this dissertation is to ascertain what meanings psychologists give to racism and racism-related phenomena (rather than analyzing

(19) A cursory perusal of the indexes of the *NIPR Bulletin*, the *Journal of the NIPR* and the *South African Journal of Science* would show exactly how widespread this type of research had been in South Africa over the last fifty odd years (cf. Whittaker, 1990).

research which attempts to establish the differences between 'races') an analysis of these four articles will have to suffice here. Something else which needs to be mentioned before proceeding to examine the question presented above is the fact that because the four articles in this section are relatively diverse in nature and because they do not produce any common discursive themes of note the discussion in this section will be much less 'structured' than had been the case in the previous sections.

Of the four articles in this section one, namely, the article written by Robbertse (1967), comes out in very strong support of the thesis which posits that the world is populated by a number of different and fundamentally 'unequal' 'races'. Not surprisingly, this article emanates from one of the PIRSA publications, namely, the *PIRSA Monograph* series.

Evidently sensitive to the dominant opinion in international scientific circles which had at the time of publication of this article long since abandoned the notion - or, at least the explicit expression - of the inequality of the different so-called 'races', Robbertse (1967) makes a point of stating very early in his article already that he believes in the "*andersheid*" rather than the "*meerder- of minderwaardigheid van rasse*" (p 3). As CAL (1987) and Montagu (1969) correctly observe, however, support for the notion of the differences of 'races' is often only a minute step away from support for the notion of the inequality of 'races'. This certainly seems true for Robbertse's article because while the latter claims not to believe in the "*minder- of meerderwaardigheid van rasse*", various statements emanating from his article seem to indicate the contrary. Consider in this regard, for example, the following statements taken from his article:

"... ons [stem] saam dat *die gelykheidsdogma die wetenskaplike grap van die eeu is*" (emphasis added, p 3)

"... die drogredenasies oor en valse geloof in die gelykheid van rasse ..." (emphasis added, p 3)

"Boas het natuurlik nagelaat om die lang ry reuse op elke terrein van die lewe - Aristoteles, Cicero ... en die duisende ander - wat deur die

Europese Blankerasse opgelewer is, raak te sien en te vermeld en hul gelykes wat deur die Negers opgelewer is daarnaas te stel" (emphasis added, p 2).

Like others of his ilk Robbertse (1967) views blacks' 'inferiority' or, as he apparently prefers to term it, '*andersheid*', as genetically based; a view which he supports, not by providing any new and convincing evidence, but by quoting the research⁽²⁰⁾ of those whom he considers to be the world's most 'eminent' scientists, at great length. Below follows a few examples:

"Shuey kom tot die gevolgtrekking: 'All taken together inevitably point to the presence of native differences between Negroes and Whites as determined by intelligence tests'" (p 5)

"Iemand wat deur sy talle publikasies reeds veel daartoe bygedra het om die onjuisheid van die kultuurhipotese deur wetenskaplike navorsing bloot te lê, is Frank McGurk. In sy talle publikasies toon McGurk duidelik aan dat rasseverskille nie slegs 'n kultuurgrondslag het nie, maar wel deeglik 'n erflike grondslag" (p 5)

"Iemand wat hom oor baie jare met die verskille tussen rasse besig gehou het, is die bekende ... Porteus ... wat ... nie alleen intellektuele maar ook temperamentsverskille tussen verskillende rasse gevind het" (p 5).

Towards the end of this article Robbertse then makes an impassioned appeal to South African psychologists to also undertake research of this nature so as to prove "*die wetenskaplike grondslae van ons [m.a.w., die regerende klas] se opvatting oor afsonderlike ontwikkeling*" (p 8).

As the following quotations indicate, the authors of the remaining three articles do not share Robbertse's (1967) enthusiastic support for the notion of the existence of genetically determined differences (at least not on a psychological level) amongst the various so-called 'races'; and this by virtue of the fact that, as they observe, there appears to be too little scientific evidence which gives credence to this notion:

⁽²⁰⁾ The type of research which had long ago already been totally discredited - even in South Africa (see, for example, Biesheuvel, 1963; and MacCrone, 1937a).

"... scientific evidence available at his stage on the genetic determination of race differences does not justify categorical statements ..." (Biesheuvel, 1972, p 93)

"Behalwe onoorkomlike teoretiese probleme wat die twisgeskil [t.o.v. die gelykheid van rasse] onoplosbaar maak, lewer dit wynig praktiese bydrae" (Louw, 1981, p 6)

"Let us in the interest of clear thinking as well as of fair dealing, once and for all, try to rid ourselves of the dogmas of innate or racial superiority and inferiority and of the myth of racial differences in mentality for which no scientific proof exists ..." (MacCrone, 1937a, p 107).

As these quotations should also illustrate, while none of these authors support the position taken up by the likes of Robbertse (1967), it is only MacCrone (1937a) who calls for an outright rejection of this position. Moreover, it is only MacCrone who really attempts to explore the links between the 'differences-between/inequality-of-races' thesis and dominant group attempts to initiate or maintain existing relations of domination:

"In Europe .. at the present time, one of the most powerful states is deliberately and self-consciously reorganising its entire social and political structure in accordance with a particular race theory which by its adherents is claimed to be scientific. In our own country ... there is no lack of social and political practice which in the last resort can only be justified by a somewhat similar kind of theory ... such a state of affairs might have little or no significance if it were merely confined to the practice of an individual ... But when it serves to regulate the practice of different racial groups (sic) to one another becomes a very different matter, especially where we find a dominant or stronger race (sic) seeking to impose its will upon a subordinate or weaker race" (MacCrone, 1937a, pp 93-4).

Perhaps it is because MacCrone draws this crucial link between the need to prove the 'differences-between/inequality-of-races' thesis and the quest to dominate that he is able to reject this thesis in the manner that he does. Biesheuvel (1972) and Louw (1981), on the other hand, instead of examining this link seem to be content to merely report the findings of research undertaken in the field of psychology in an attempt to discount the 'differences-between/inequality-of-races' thesis. Because an adequate response to this thesis can obviously not be obtained by rigidly

remaining within the realm of individual psychological theory and research (cf. Barkan, 1992), these two writers then cannot but come up with the inane comments presented above. Their response to the work of psychologists like Robbertse appear all the more incongruous if it is borne in mind that the latter are frequently quite open about the political (and, therefore, 'non-psychological') considerations and agendas which inform their work. Consider in this regard, for example, the last quotation taken from Robbertse's article which is presented above and where he, very explicitly and without any attempts at subterfuge, states that it is incumbent upon psychologists to prove the validity of the above-mentioned thesis - not because of his concern for the elaboration of the knowledge base in the discipline of psychology, but so as to provide support for the ruling group's policy of apartheid. It is perhaps because they do not contextualise the question of 'race differences' or 'racial inequality' that Biesheuvel and Louw fail to even mention the broader phenomenon of racism to which this question is so inextricably linked. Not that MacCrone and Robbertse make any overt reference to the phenomenon either. Given the fact that when MacCrone wrote his article the term "racism" was not yet common currency in scientific circles (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986) and given the fact that Robbertse would certainly not attach a term with such negative connotations (cf. Fairchild, 1991) to a scientific project which he obviously holds in very high esteem, this should of course not be very surprising.

At this juncture some attention should perhaps be given to the consequences which the articles analyzed attribute to the racism-related phenomena discussed thus far (that is, racist prejudice, racist discrimination, etc.). Here it should be noted that this aspect had not been dealt with earlier for the simple reason that comments on the consequences of racist attitudes and practices did not emerge with sufficient regularity in each of the various sections dealt with thus far (except, of course, for the section dealing with apartheid) to warrant discussion in each individual section. In fact, as the following paragraphs will illustrate, less than a third of all the articles analyzed present any meaningful discussion on the consequences of racism.

6.2.6 CONSEQUENCES OF RACIST ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

The few observations concerning the consequences of racist practices and attitudes emerging from the articles analyzed can basically be divided into three broad themes. These themes are as follows:

- (i) Racist practices and attitudes affect the psychological integrity of the black individual
- (ii) Racist practices and attitudes affect social relations within the dominated group
- (iii) Racist practices and attitudes affect the educational and employment prospects of blacks

(i) **Racist practices and attitudes affect the psychological integrity of the black individual**

While, as was observed in an earlier section, the articles written by Erasmus (1969) and Robbertse (1971) posit that apartheid and racist discrimination can be considered as essential prerequisites for blacks' psychological well-being, the majority of the other articles dealing with the consequences of racist practices and attitudes argue that these attitudes and practices have a profoundly negative effect on the psychological functioning and integrity of blacks in South Africa.

According to MacCrone (1930) and Bhana and Bhana (1975) whites' prejudiced attitudes towards the dominated in this country are virtually inevitably internalised by the latter. As MacCrone puts it, due to their constant exposure to whites' prejudiced attitudes towards them, blacks cannot but end up accepting the "*odium psychologicum*" of their "*blackness*" (p 593). This view is echoed by Rajab and Chohan (1980) who add that whites' hatred of the dominated ultimately leads to the latter displaying various "*compensatory behaviour[s]*" (p 86) in a quest to be accepted by the former, on the one hand, and a "*hatred of the ... self*" (p 80), on the other. This "*self-hate*", these authors observe,

"... may be explained in terms of the self-fulfilling prophecy which refers to the process by which other people shape our behaviour and influence our self-perception by what they think of us" (Rajab et al., 1980, p 70).

According to the articles analyzed, prevailing racist practices and attitudes do, however, not only lead to blacks hating themselves. As the following quotations indicate, these practices and attitudes, amongst other things, also cause blacks to experience alienation, stress, humiliation, frustration and cynicism:

"[because of apartheid] black students at a predominantly white university experience greater feelings of alienation in that context ..." (Leon & Lea, 1988, p 17)

"[Race classification is] unlikely to raise one's self esteem and positive identity" (Dawes, 1985, p 59)

"There is the stress in losing a home and land settled for generations ... There is the stress of simply being classified Black ... It will be remembered that going to prison [for not having a pass] and losing your house are very stressful life events ... The hundreds of thousands do not suffer this humiliation out of choice" (Dawes, 1985, p 59)

"Hierdie toedrag van sake [d.w.s., diskriminasie in die bedryf] moet noodwendig aanleiding gee tot frustrasie by die Swart werker" (Oosthuizen et al., 1980, p 36)

"[Given their position in South Africa] one can expect coloureds to exhibit traits of psychological marginality" (Heaven, 1977, p 31)

"... the systematic discrimination against blacks by whites ... provides a basis ... for blacks to be cynical ..." (Edwards, 1984, p 86)

In short, the dominant view which emerges from most articles dealing with this aspect of racism is that dominant group racist practices and attitudes, as Dawes (1985) puts it, produce "personality disordered people" (p 59).

(ii) Racist practices and attitudes affect social relations within the dominated group

As illustrated by the following quotations and as also alluded to in the section dealing with blacks' attitudes, racist attitudes and practices, according to the articles

analyzed, also have certain consequences for social relations within the dominated group:

"The Group Areas Act ... [is responsible for the] breaking of family and friendship ties and the distress this caused" (Dawes, 1985, p 59)

"These pervasive negative attitudes of the out-groups are probably responsible for the development of negative intra-group attitudes [amongst 'Indians']" (Rajab & Chohan, 1980, p 79)

"... aggression or hostility which is built up as a result of being the object persecution and discrimination is actually directed towards members of one's own group, because of the fear of reprisals that would follow if resentment were directed against the source of the frustrating object" (Rajab & Chohan, 1980, p 79)

The central notion which emerges from these quotations therefore is that racist attitudes and practices could have damaging effects on social relations within the dominant group. Here it should be noted that of the three themes dealing with the effects of racist attitudes and practices which emerge from the articles analyzed, the current theme is the least significant or substantial.

(iii) Racist practices and attitudes affect the educational and employment prospects of blacks

The final theme dealing with the consequences of racist practices and attitudes, as the following quotations illustrate, concerns the influence of these practices and attitudes on the education and employment prospects of blacks:

"The imbalance between the ethnic composition of staff and students is more marked at the 'tribal' universities ... At the seven universities at which blacks comprised 97% or more of the student body, whites constituted between 54 and 76% of the professional staff ..." (Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 24)

"... black students entering university are disadvantaged because they emerge from an overcrowded and poorly staffed school system which fails to develop, abstract conceptualization and problem solving skills ..." (Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 24)

"... a very large number of black students, disadvantaged products of the divided South African education system, are taken up at tertiary level in

an institution [Unisa] that is the bearer of high educational standards"
(Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 24)

"... difficulties encountered in the transition from school to university, compounded by inadequate educational background, were found to undermine the confidence of black students and to affect their academic performance" (Leon & Lea, 1988, p 7)

"White attitudes ... appear to pose a particular obstacle to the upward mobility of other race groups in South African [industrial] organizations" (Kamfer, 1989, p 16).

In short, what emerges from the articles analyzed, therefore, is that the dominant group's racist attitudes and practices do not only affect blacks' psychological reality but also their socio-economic reality. What is particularly interesting about the observations raised in these articles, however, is that all of them seem to cast blacks into the role of 'victims'; or into the role of people who have problems⁽²¹⁾. Certainly, much of what the articles cited above (with a few exceptions, of course) have to say concerning the consequences of racism is true. Racism as it manifests itself in South Africa has wreaked havoc in the lives of blacks and caused the latter untold misery. To quote Foster (1991a), *"... racism does generate negative psychological consequences ... It ... does ... impair people's dignity, self-worth ... [and] life opportunities.."* (p 41). However, black people, like all other oppressed groupings, for that matter, have the potential to resist and to constructively oppose their oppression (cf. as Foster, 1992; and Levett, 1989). Of all the articles analyzed only two in fact make any explicit reference to this as possible consequence of racism; and in the case of both these articles this possibility is entertained for only the length of a single sentence:

"In the academic departments ... highly placed conservative Afrikaans academics are so dominant that black aspirations are frustrated, leading to a cycle of protests, boycotts, police intervention, and the temporary closing of the university" (Townsend, cited by Nell & van Staden, 1988b, p 23)

(21) See van Dijk (1987a; and 1990) for a discussion of similar caricaturing of the dominated displayed in the works of European intellectuals on effects of racism.

"[Apartheid practices] will also produce the revolutionary guerilla of tomorrow" (Dawes, 1985, p 59).

The article written by Hayes (1984) of course also alludes to blacks' attempts to resist their oppression but, as the following statement shows, he most certainly does not seem to consider these attempts at resistance as being constructive or progressive. Though this statement does not really focus on the consequences of racism *per se* but rather on an opinion expressed by Savage (1981) in this regard, it was nonetheless decided to present it here; if only because it raises an important point which needs to be considered in this section.

"It is arguable whether the work of Fatima Meer, Archie Mafeje, Noel Manganyi, Nimrod Mkele⁽²²⁾ which Savage refers to ... is a radical change to social scientific practice in South Africa today, or when some of this scholarship was presented. It is this journal's intention, in a forthcoming number, to subject Noel Manganyi's work to a thorough and critical assessment in terms of contributing to a science of liberation ... The response to apartheid is not an inversion of its operations" (emphasis added, Hayes, 1984, p 95).

Though not stated explicitly, the attack against the social scientists referred to in the quotation (or, at least, against Manganyi) is nonetheless discernible. Here it should be noted that while it can be accepted that no social scientist should ever be considered beyond criticism, it nevertheless comes as a surprise that these social scientists (referred to in the quotation), all of whom are known for their seminal academic contributions towards the elaboration of a still embryonic anti-racist ideology in South Africa should be accused, as is so clearly the case in the above statement, of being racists. A close scrutiny of the other articles included in this study shows that this is in fact not the only statement emerging from this body of texts which can be seen as attempting to discredit the dominated group's attempts to counter the dominant group's racist ideology. Consider here, for example, the following quotation:

(22) All black social scientists.

"The emphasis on 'racial purity' which so pervades white South Africa probably influenced all the subjects, as has the rise of social movements concerned with Black Power, African Nationalism and Negritude" (emphasis added, Melamed, 1969, p 31).

By juxtaposing the notions of "*Black Power*", "*African Nationalism*" and "*Negritude*" with the ruling-class ideology of "*racial purity*" and by failing to note the fundamental differences between the former and the latter, Melamed (1969), very much like Hayes (1984) seems to imply that blacks' attempts at countering racism can, in fact, be equated with the racist policies of the South African ruling class. Why, it can be asked, is this the case? As stressed in Chapter 2, no matter how they are articulated, blacks' attempts at countering white hegemony, at this juncture, purely by virtue of the asymmetrical relations of power which characterise black/white relations in South Africa, cannot really be equated with white racism. Perhaps the reason for this attempt by the authors quoted above to discredit blacks' attempts at opposing their oppression will become clearer during the ensuing discussion. Suffice it here to state that this denigration of blacks' resistance to white racism does not seem to be unique to these two authors. Writers such as Billig (1988b), Essed (1987), Murray (1986) and van Dijk (1991a, 1992) report a remarkably similar trend in the discourses of British and Dutch dominant group intellectuals with regard to anti-racist discourses. In fact, as Billig (1988b) and Murray (1986) observe, it is always interesting to note to what great lengths dominant group intellectuals would go to illustrate the 'racism' of the more outspoken (black) opponents of the ideology while they normally tend to turn a blind eye to the discourses of the leading (white) advocates of the ideology.

Another issue which needs to be considered at this stage and which can undoubtedly provide further insight into the meanings which the authors of the articles analyzed generally give to the phenomenon of racism concerns the various recommendations which these authors proffer (that is, where they do in fact offer any advice or recommendations) in terms of addressing the problems associated with the racism-related phenomena discussed above.

6.2.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

Firstly, it should perhaps be noted that these recommendations were not presented earlier because they did not emerge with sufficient regularity in the various sections previously dealt with to warrant their discussion in each of these sections.

There are basically four broad recommendations which emerge from the texts analyzed. The first, and by far the most frequently proffered of these recommendations, in essence, suggests that psychologists should undertake more research on the racism-related phenomena discussed previously. More specifically, it is suggested that more research which focuses on the following issues be conducted:

- (i) attitudes (Bhana, 1977; Bhana & Bhana, 1975; Clarke, 1963; Edwards, 1984; Heaven & Moerdyk, 1977; le Roux, 1972; Rajab & Chohan, 1980; van Staden, 1986a; and van Staden, 1986b);
- (ii) the effects of apartheid on mental health (Dawes, 1985; and Leon & Lea, 1988);
- (iii) the effects of self-efficacy beliefs on 'racial behaviour' (Simon & Barling, 1983);
- (iv) the viability of the policy of 'separate development'; and more specifically, research that can prove and ensure the viability of this policy (Erasmus, 1969; and Robbertse, 1971); and
- (v) the innate or genetic differences between 'races' (Robbertse, 1967).

The second recommendation emanating from the texts analyzed while also addressed to psychologists can be seen as being more 'radical' than the previous recommendation; and this in the sense that it essentially constitutes an appeal to psychologists to "*commit ... [themselves] to a policy of non-racialism*" (Leon & Lea, 1988, p 18. See also Nell & van Staden, 1988a, 1988b for a similar though not as succinctly formulated message) and "*to openly challenge our pathogenic government policy*" (Dawes, 1985, p 60).

The third recommendation which emerges from the articles analyzed is directed at the Nationalist Party government. This recommendation which comes from van Dyk's (1989) article is in fact a warning to the government not to proceed too rapidly (!) with its programme of constitutional 'reform' because, as the author puts it, "*hervormingsmaatreëls wat te vinnig geskied en mense bedreig en gedipriveerd laat voel kan juis etniese vyandigheid versterk ...*" (!) (p 6).

The fourth and final recommendation which emanates from the texts is that whites befriend a few blacks so as to minimise their prejudices vis-à-vis the latter. This strange recommendation also emanates from van Dyk's (1989) article.

In sum, therefore, with the exception of the articles written by Dawes (1985), Leon and Lea (1988) and Nell and van Staden (1988a, 1988b), none of the articles cited above make any recommendations which can be seen as really posing a challenge or threat to the racist status quo. In fact, the recommendations emanating from the articles authored by Erasmus (1969) and Robbertse (1969; and 1971), as was previously pointed out already, manifestly favour the maintenance of the *status quo* in South Africa. As the last two paragraphs above should illustrate, the same can of course also be said of the recommendations emerging from van Dyk's (1989) article.

Very surprisingly too (that is, given the fact that the articles in this study are all written by psychologists whose professional goal is supposed to be the alleviation of psychological suffering) none of the articles analyzed attempt to present blacks with any suggestions for processing or dealing with their experiences of racism.

At this juncture it might be apposite to briefly review a central postulate emanating from the works of Essed (1987), Gramsci (in Hall *et al.*, 1978; and in Simon *et al.*, 1982), Levett (1989), Welsh (1980), Thompson (1976) and others which was presented at the beginning of this chapter; and the reconsideration of which will be of primary importance if any sense is to be made of the preceding and subsequent discussions. These writers, as pointed out earlier, posit that social

scientists can be seen as playing a leading role in the reproduction of ideologies such as racism. Here it can of course be asked whether this postulate is true as far as the psychologists whose articles were considered above are concerned? Given their accounts of the racism-related phenomena viewed above, can it be said that these psychologists are or were instrumental in the reproduction of the relations of domination which the ideology of racism entails?

A careful reading of the preceding sixty-odd pages should reveal sufficient evidence emerging from the articles analyzed which would seem to support the view expressed by Essed (1987) and the other writers cited above. Before reviewing this evidence, however, perhaps it will be more appropriate to firstly consider another major discursive theme which emerges from the from the corpus of texts analyzed; and the consideration of which would be vital if anything close to an adequate answer to the last question posed above is to be arrived at. This theme is related to what Boswell *et al.* (1986), Miles (1989) and Therborn would refer to as the 'constitution' of the 'Other' or, in the case of the present study, the dominated; hence, a theme which is inextricably linked to the reproduction of the ideology of racism.

6.3 CONSTITUTION OF THE DOMINATED

An appropriate starting point in terms of an examination of how blacks are typically constituted in the forty-eight articles analyzed would be to examine the labels most often attached to this group in these articles.

6.3.1 LABELS

One of the most outstanding features of the articles included in this study is the relatively large variety of names which they employ when identifying or referring

to the oppressed in South Africa. Below follows a list of those names or labels recurring the most frequently in the texts analyzed as well as the names of some of the authors of the texts in which they occur:

"Africans" (Melamed, 1970b; Morsbach, 1972; Morsbach, 1973)

"Bantu"/"Bantoe" (Erasmus, 1969; Nieuwoudt & Nel, 1972; Robbertse, 1971)

"Blacks"/"Swartes" (Bhana *et al.*, 1975; Oosthuizen *et al.*, 1980)

"Native" (MacCrone, 1930; Macrone, 1932; MacCrone, 1933a; Macrone, 1933b)

"Coloureds"/"Kleurlinge" (Clark, 1963; Erasmus, 1969; Heaven, 1977)

"Cape Coloureds" (MacCrone, 1937b; Macrone, 1938)

"Brown South Africans" (Bhana & Bhana, 1975; Heaven, 1977)

"Indians"/"Indiërs" (Bhana & Bhana, 1975; Morsbach, 1972; van Staden, 1986b)

"Asians"/"Asiate" (Clarke, 1963; Heaven, 1977).

A perusal of this list would show (as was observed on a previous occasion already) that it includes virtually all the labels traditionally used by the ruling Nationalist Party government to categorise and divide the oppressed of this country so as to better dominate the latter (cf. West, 1988). In fact, while most of the authors of the articles analyzed claim to be opposed to the South African government's racist policies, the majority of them employ these intrinsically racist labels relatively uncritically. Only a handful of authors seem to be mindful of the implications of these labels (see, for example, Dawes, 1985; and Edwards, 1984). These writers, when compelled to utilise these labels, as illustrated in the following quotation, then insert them between quotation marks; a custom typically employed by those who wish to question the validity of these labels (cf. CAL, 1987):

"Van Rooy ... commenting on poverty and social pathology among the 'coloured' people is sensitive to their economic conditions ..." (Dawes, 1985, p 58).

Here it however has to be pointed out that while a few authors make use of this technique to question the validity of the labels attached to the dominated group, only one author (namely, Edwards, 1984) provides a discussion in which these labels are explicitly questioned:

"There is a practical problem in South Africa to find a way of referring to members of different race (sic) groups in a way that will be universally inoffensive, because racial labels entrenched in government apartheid legislation are rejected by a large number of people. Zille ... writes, 'Coloured without quotation marks has become an insult, a term that conveys acceptance of the obsession for placing all South Africans in neat racial compartments' ..." (p 79).

Despite the fact that this author apparently still believes in the notion of the existence of different 'races' in South Africa he, at least, seems to take cognisance of the polemical nature of the labels traditionally attached to the oppressed in this country; which is more than can be said of Nell & van Staden (1988a, 1988b). These authors in fact come out quite strongly in support of the use of these labels because, as they put it,

"Redressing racial inequities in a society requires free use of race (sic) labels; polite avoidance of such labels in scientific enquiry ... is ... tacitly supportive of the status quo" (Nell & van Staden, 1988a).

Despite their indisputably commendable intentions these authors here of course seem to be completely oblivious of the consequences of using these labels in the uncritical manner which they do throughout their article. The continued use of ethnic labels when referring to the oppressed - even when such use is intended to counter discrimination - as Greenberg and Pyszczynski (1985) correctly observe, often in fact aids the development of racist prejudice and discrimination. Labels, as they so succinctly put it,

"encourage thinking in terms of in-groups and out-groups ... accentuates the similarities within the out-group[s] and the differences between members of the in-group and members of the out-group[s] ... the use of ethnic labels may promote⁽²³⁾prejudice simply by enhancing the

(23) Note, promote and not cause.

perception of out-group members as like each other and unlike in-group members" (p 76)

Moreover, Nell and van Staden (1988a), by adopting this position, seem to ignore the fact that large sections of the oppressed, as Boonzaier (1988) and Edwards (1984) observe, have always rejected the use of these labels produced by the dominant group to further dehumanise and divide them (cf. Biko, 1988).

This leads to another peculiarity emerging from the articles analyzed. While the term "black" is generally used in anti-racist circles when referring to the oppressed as **single** group (Boonzaier, 1988. See also Biko, 1988), in the majority of the articles analyzed, the term is employed in exactly the same manner as it is normally utilised by the government and other racist institutions and individuals in South Africa, namely, as referring to only a section of the dominated group⁽²⁴⁾; the section variously also referred to as 'Africans', 'Bantu', etc. (See Boonzaier, 1988). Consider the following quotations in this regard:

"The term 'black' refers to those students classified as 'African' in terms of South African legislation" (Leon et al., 1988, p 11)

"In this context the source of ['Indians'] frustration may not only refer to Whites in political control but also to the Blacks who represent a formidable force to be reckoned with ..." (Rajab et al., 1980 p 79)

"... die volgende uiteensetting [het] betrekking ... op Swartes en nie op ander groepe soos byvoorbeeld Kleurlinge, Indiërs en Chinese nie" (Louw, 1981, p 3).

Given the fact that South African academics have, in general, always seemed to be relatively antipathetic towards Black Consciousness (see, for example, Hayes, 1984; Louw, 1983; and Swanepoel, 1979) and given that this movement is generally credited for initiating the use of the term black as it is currently still employed by large sections of the dominated group, this 'choice' of the psychologists referred to

⁽²⁴⁾ See Murray (1986) for a relatively informative discussion on the practice amongst racists to invert or corrupt the terms normally employed by anti-racists and the function which this practice serves in the ongoing ideological struggle between racists and anti-racists.

above to opt for the meaning given to the term by the South African government should of course hardly be surprising.

Instead of using the term "black" when referring to the oppressed as collective these psychologists then employ such terms as:

"minority groups"/"minderheidsgroep" (Appelgryn, 1986; Leon *et al.*, 1988; Orpen, 1973)

"non-Europeans" (MacCrone, 1938: MaCrone, 1937b)

"non-whites"/"nie-blankes" (Mann, 1967; Melamed, 1970b; Morsbach, 1973)

"non-white races" (Melamed, 1969).

Though all these descriptors are equally problematic and objectionable, one, namely, *"minorities"*, needs to be singled out for comment here; if only because it has become a particularly popular term in social scientific circles. Possibly because the other terms referred to above have over the years always been criticised for essentially constituting blacks as "non" persons, the term *"minorities"* has of late been used with increasing regularity by social scientists in South Africa. As Wilson & Gutiérrez (1985) point out, however, though this term might currently be very popular it is in fact no less problematic than the terms which preceded it and this by virtue of the fact that it misleads those using the term as well as those interpellated by it into thinking that the black population is inferior to the white population not only in terms numbers⁽²⁵⁾ but, as the following quotation indicates, also in other important respects:

"['minorities'] is ... a misleading label. It misleads the person using the term to think of those who carry the label as small not only in number, but in importance. It also can make the interests and issues raised by 'minorities' appear to be less meaningful than those of the majority" (p 13)

⁽²⁵⁾ Which in South Africa, of course, is statistically inaccurate.

Here it needs to be pointed out that though the term "*minorities*" is currently being used with increasing frequency amongst South African social scientists, this entire list of collective descriptors presented above is generally employed much less frequently in the corpus of texts analyzed than the descriptors provided at the beginning of this section (namely, 'Africans', 'coloureds', 'Indians' etc.). This can essentially be seen as being a function of the apparent preoccupation displayed by the authors of these texts to split the oppressed into different 'races'; a preoccupation which they of course share with the rulers of this country who, as it had already been mentioned, have always sought to create divisions amongst the oppressed so as to facilitate their domination of the latter (Foster, 1991b).

Earlier in the present chapter it was observed that currently the notion of 'race', in so far as it pertains to humans, is in disrepute in scientific circles the world over and that the majority of progressive social scientists today, when confronted with this notion, would tend to reject it out of hand. Given the content of the articles analyzed in the present study, it would, however, appear as if this observation does not hold true for South African social scientists (unless, of course, the authors of the articles analyzed are more reactionary or conservative than other social scientists in this country) because the term 'race' is applied to human groups in no less than thirty-three (that is, 68,75 %) of these articles. In only three of these thirty-three articles (namely, those written by Biesheuvel, 1972; Louw, 1986; and MacCrone, 1937a) is the term's applicability to human beings questioned. In the rest of the articles the term is consistently used as though it constitutes an undisputed scientific fact or reality. By way of illustration, a few quotations extracted from some of these articles are presented below:

"... *Coloureds (people of mixed racial descent ...)*" (Heaven, 1977, p 30, emphasis added)

"*In South Africa the most salient features for distinguishing between the races are skin colour, the shape of the lips, the type of hair and the shape of the nose ...*" (Melamed, 1969, p 26, emphasis added)

"*The racial composition of the class was as follows: 17 Africans, 4 Coloureds and 20 Indians ... The medium of instruction was English and there was no differentiation between the races in the way they were taught*" (Melamed, 1969, p 27, emphasis added)

"White attitudes to black advancement appear to pose a particular obstacle to the upward mobility of other race groups in South African organizations" (Kamfer, 1989, p 16, emphasis added)

Now, though it is not too difficult to accept the argument frequently posited by South African social scientists that because so-called 'Africans', 'coloureds' and 'Indians' are exposed to relatively different social realities, it is at times appropriate to study these groups independently (see, for example, Leon & Lea, 1988; and Melamed, 1969), it is certainly very difficult to accept that in none of the articles scrutinised any meaningful account is provided of the central role played by the South African ruling class in the creation and organising of these differing realities. In fact, the only article which attempts to account for the 'constructed' nature of these different social realities is the one written by Melamed (1969) who, as the following quotation⁽²⁶⁾ should illustrate, does not say much in any case:

"The structure of South African society also causes differentiation between Africans, Indians and Coloureds. Examples of this differentiation may be seen in the fact that laws exist which only apply to one race (sic) group, e.g. the Urban Areas Act" (p 26)

Here it is very interesting - indeed, informative - to note that the author omits to state who is ultimately responsible for this differentiation between these groups and, very importantly, what functions such differentiation serves.

It can be argued that by failing to adequately account for the role played by the ruling class in the creation of the differing social realities experienced by the various oppressed groupings in South Africa, the authors of the articles analyzed can be seen to contribute significantly to the essentially ruling-class constructed myth that the differences which consequently arise between these groups are the product of natural or normal social processes. Indeed, by presenting these groupings as 'races', as most of these authors do, they can also be seen as aiding in the perpetuation of the myth that these differences are permanent and irreconcilable.

⁽²⁶⁾ which more or less sums up everything she has to say in this regard.

En passant, it should be mentioned here that very little evidence of what Essed (1987) and Fairchild (1991) refer to as the 'culturalization' and what Billig (1988a; 1988b) refers to as the 'deracialization' of the notion of 'race' emerges from the articles analyzed in the present study.

In her study which focuses on racism in the academia in the Netherlands, Essed (1987) observes that there appears to be a growing tendency amongst Dutch academics to avoid the use of the term 'race' and to use more 'neutral' or scientifically less contentious terms, such as, 'ethnic group', 'cultural group', etc. As she points out, however, while these academics may currently avoid using the term 'race' this does not mean that when they employ terms such as 'cultural group' and 'ethnic group' these terms in fact do not embody the same basic meanings and associations as the term 'race'. On the contrary. These more 'neutral' terms have come to assume basically all the functions of the term 'race' (cf Chapter 2 of this dissertation). In fact, the only difference between the terms is that while the latter is normally associated with the discourse of biological inferiority/superiority of certain groups of people, the former are usually associated with the discourse of the cultural inferiority/superiority of certain social groups; hence Essed's observation that the notion of 'race' has merely become 'culturalized'.

While the term 'race' appears to have become increasingly 'culturalized' or 'deracialized' in the academic productions of intellectuals in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe and North America (see van Dijk, 1991a), this tendency is not very evident in the articles analyzed in the present study. Certainly, the term 'race' is at times substituted in the texts analyzed by terms such as 'ethnic group' (see, for example, Nell & van Staden, 1988a; Rajab & Chohan, 1980; and van Staden, 1986b), 'cultural group' (see, for example, Morsbach, 1973) and 'peoples' (see, for example, Dawes, 1985). However, to the extent that the term 'race' still predominates in those texts published most recently it would be incorrect to speak of a 'culturalization' of the notion of 'race' in so far as the corpus of texts analyzed in this study is concerned.

Coming back to the focus of discussion: apart from being constituted as victims (see Section 6.2.6) and as consisting of different 'races', how else are the oppressed in this country constituted in the texts analyzed? There are basically four additional themes concerning the constitution of the oppressed which emerge from the texts analyzed and all of them, like the preceding theme, can be seen as being closely linked to the justification of blacks' oppression by whites.

6.3.2 BLACKS AS THREAT

One of the most dominant themes concerning the representation of blacks which emerges from a number of texts analyzed in this study and which had already been alluded to in the section dealing with whites' attitudes, relates to the latter's vast numbers. By way of illustration, a selection of quotations taken from a few of these texts are presented below:

"With a high birth rate and numerical superiority, this group poses the greatest threat to all long-range segregation plans" (Morsbach, 1973, p 319)

"The presence of non-whites in such large numbers in South Africa ..." (Orpen, 1973, p 95)

"In the Union of South Africa, a relatively small white group finds itself surrounded by a large black group and outnumbered by more than three to one" (MacCrone, 1933b, p 687)

"As ons [blankes] in die gesiglose massa aan die anderkant ..." (van Dyk, 1989, p 7)

"... daar [is] 'n onrusbarende toestroming van plattelandse Bantoe na stedelike [blanke] gebiede ..." (Clark, 1963, p 3)

"... massabetogings deur duisende stedelike Bantoe" (Clark, 1963, p 2)

"Toestromingsbeheer wat toegepas word om die toevloei van Bantoe werksoekers te stuit na Blanke gebiede waar daar reeds groot getalle werklose Bantoe is, bring hulle in konflik met die owerhede" (Clark, 1963, p 3).

Here it can, of course, be asked what the representation of blacks as being vast in number - which is a fact - has got to do with the justification of the latter's oppression. Well, the answer to this question can in fact be found in five of the

above quotations themselves, namely, those extracted from the articles written by Clark (1963), MacCrone (1930) and Morsbach (1973). As previously observed, close scrutiny of these quotations would show that in each of them reference to blacks' numbers is accompanied by words or phrases normally associated with conflict and warfare: words, such as, "*threat*", "*konflik*", "*massabetogings*" and "*onrusbarende*"; and phrases, such as, "*white group ... surrounded by a large black group*" and "*outnumbered by more than three to one*".⁽²⁷⁾

It is a well documented fact that the dominant group in this country has often in the past attempted to justify whites' oppression of blacks by claiming that the latter's survival depended on it; and this because they were and are constantly confronted by the threat of vast numbers of '*hostile*' blacks just waiting for an opportunity to eliminate them (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989; and Kuper, 1976. See also section 6.2.1.2 of the present study). By focusing on blacks' numbers and the potential threat which these numbers entail it can therefore be argued that the articles represented in the present theme are in fact aiding in the perpetuation of this myth; a myth which, in the final analysis, can be construed as postulating that blacks' oppression at the hands of the dominant group should be seen as understandable and indeed legitimate. It is very interesting to note here that this technique of combining information concerning blacks' numbers with words emanating from the lexical register of conflict, warfare and natural disasters is not unique to the authors whose work had been analyzed in this study. Billig (1988b) and Van Dijk (1987c) report the use of the very same technique by parliamentarians and news reporters in Britain and the Netherlands, respectively, in their constitution of 'non-European' immigrants resident in these countries.

(27) As an aside, it is very interesting to note the use of words emanating from the lexical register of natural disasters (!) in the descriptions of blacks' large numbers in two of the quotations presented above. The words "*toestroming*" (inflow) and "*toevloei*" (flood) can, for example, be seen as conjuring up images of threatening aquatic disaster. Very important too, as Kuper (1974) once observed, the use of these types of words in descriptions of blacks effectively reduces the latter to the "*non-status of objects*" (p 14).

The above quotations of course do not represent the only instances in the articles viewed in this study where blacks are portrayed as a threat. There are several other instances; some of which have already been referred to in the section dealing with whites' attitudes and some of which are presented below:

"Hierdie lugleegte [waarin swart mense bestaan] word ... gevul deur sekere verdedigingsmeganismes waarvan aggressie ... een van die belangrikste is, aangesien dit tot gedurige botsings met die [blanke] geregtelike" (Erasmus, 1969, p20)

"Daar is verset teen die dra van bewysboeke en as gevolg van opstokery en intimidasie ontstaan daar botsings met die geregtelike. Werkloosheid en leegleëry gee aanleiding tot roof en misdaad sodat daar 'n uiters ongunstige klimaat ontstaan ..." (Clark, 1963, p 4)

"... gangs of natives endeavouring to assault some of their own members ..." (MacCrone, 1930, p 593)

"... Hinderlike optredes en vreemde of steurende gedrag aan die kant van anderskleuriges ... plus die verhoogte eise om dit te hanteer [m.a.w., om dit te polisiëer].." (van Staden, 1986b, p 18)

"In this context the source of ['Indians'] frustration may not only refer to Whites in political control but also to Blacks who represent a formidable force to be reckoned with by virtue of their numbers" (Rajab et al., 1980, p 79).

These quotations, incidentally, add another important dimension to the preceding discussions; and this in the sense that they represent blacks as not only a threat to whites' well-being and social stability in general but to the black community as well. What better justification for the oppression of blacks, it can be asked, can in fact be found than by claiming that such oppression is for the good of blacks themselves?

6.3.3 BLACKS AS 'INFERIOR' BEINGS

Another theme which emerges relatively strongly from a number of articles analyzed and which has also already been referred to in previous sections, concerns the representation of blacks as basically being inferior to whites. The following selection of quotations illustrate this theme *par excellence*:

"... die bantoe [het] vir eeue 'n ondergeskikte rol [d.w.s., ten opsigte van blankes] gespeel waar andere oor sy lot beslis ..." (le Roux, 1972, p 5, emphasis added)

"Boas het natuurlik nagelaat om die lang ry reuse op elke terrein van die lewe -- Aristoteles, Cicero ... en duisende ander -- wat deur die Europese Blankerasse opgelewer is, raak te sien en te vermeld en hulle gelykes wat deur die Negers opgelewer is daarnaas te stel ... **Ons stem met Garret hartlik saam waar hy beklemtoon dat ... die gelykeïdsdogma [d.w.s., ten opsigte van 'ras'] die wetenskaplike grap van die eeu is ...**" (Robbertse, 1967, pp 3-4, emphasis added)

"**In the African population of the Union, the process of character development runs a more or less imperfect course ...**" (Biesheuvel, 1957, p 309, emphasis added)

"... I have said enough to show that the sexual attraction of the black to the white does exist ... What is the source of this attraction ... for white men ...? (...) it is a well known fact that many men obtain a more complete satisfaction with women who belong to an inferior or lower class than themselves, since with such women they can let themselves go in a way which they find impossible with women of their own class [ie., white women]" (MacCrone, 1930, p 588, emphasis added)

"The black man, who has hitherto always been identified with the savage or uncivilized man ... is regarded as living a life free from the restrictions and inhibitions ... of the civilized ... The savage or black man who expresses his animal and more particularly his sexual impulses with little or no repression represents for the white man that very unconscious with which he himself is always in conflict ..." (MacCrone, 1930, pp 596-7, emphasis added)

"Die Bantoe self is ... nog nie in staat om aan sy eie mense 'n bestaan te besorg nie. Daarvoor is hy nog afhanklik van blanke inisiatief en onderneming" (Clark, 1963, p 5, emphasis added)

"... die Swart werker ... [wat] geen besluite self neem nie en gevolglik van die blanke werker verwag om vir hom te besluit" (Oosthuizen et al., 1980, pp 22-3, emphasis added)

"... the strongly marked negroid features ... and offensive bodily odour of the black reinforce the belief that he belongs to a lower human order" (MacCrone, 1930, p 596, emphasis added).

Blacks' portrayal as generally being 'inferior' to whites is also contained in the numerous statements emerging from the texts analyzed which essentially represent them as naïve and childlike beings who are incapable of making independent or

rational decisions and who need 'agitators' (rather than their oppressive living conditions) to push them towards resisting the apartheid *status quo*. Consider, for example, the following selection of quotations in this regard:

"Waar bevolkingsmassas in groot lokasies om die groot stede saamgetrek is, is dit vir ons van lewensbelang dat konflikte vermy word. Ons moet verhoed dat rassegevoel ontbrand en deur middel van opswepery aangeblaas word tot 'n punt waar dit uitloop op 'n Sharpeville ..." (Clark, 1962, p 2, emphasis added)

"Dit is ... hierdie gevoelens van ekonomiese deprivasie by die minderheidsgroep wat agitators of militante leiers gebruik ..." (Appelgryn, 1986, p 8, emphasis added)

"Daar is verzet teen die ... bewysboeke en as gevolg van opstokery en intimidasie ontstaan daar botsings met die gereg" (Clark, 1962, p 4, emphasis added).

This type of depiction of blacks as 'subservient', 'childlike', 'dependent' on whites, 'savage', 'uncivilized' and as people of 'imperfect character' presented above, clearly has as consequence the inferiorisation of the dominated; an inferiorisation which, as can be noted from the quotations presented in the present as well as the previous section, is at times further reinforced by the use of words from the 'inferiorising' lexical registers (cf. van Dijk, 1990a) of animals (words such as, "savage", "animal", "impulses", "lower class") and criminality (words such as, "leegléry", "roof", "gangs"). This inferiorisation has obvious implications for the justification of this group's oppression. As Kuper (1974) and Miles (1989) observe, if blacks can be 'proved' to be inferior to whites it is much easier for the latter to justify the oppression of the former, for in this case it can always be argued that they do not 'deserve' or are not 'ready' to share in the power and privileges which whites have appropriated for themselves.

6.3.4 BLACKS AS 'DIFFERENT'

Blacks are not always portrayed as being inferior to whites. As the following quotations suggest and as was already alluded to in a previous section, they are

frequently represented as being merely 'different' to whites:

"Om dus nou die Bantoe, wat sy sosialisering in 'n Bantoe-kultuur ondergaan het, te konfronteer met 'n pedagogiese sisteem wat op Westerse grondslae gefundeer is, bring verdere verwarring mee ... Dieselfde redenasie geld vir die toepassing van die Westerse regstelsel op die Bantoe, aangesien sy waardesisteem grootliks van dié van die Blanke verskil" (Erasmus, 1969, p 21)

*"Wat die rol van al bogenoemde faktore, op sigself en in samehang met genetiese faktore is, is egter nog onduidelik. Daar kan dus nie anders nie as om met Biesheuvel ... saam te stem dat **The habits, accomplishments, and personality qualities of Africans differ significantly from those of people reared in Western cultural environments.** Whether these differences are predominantly cultural in origin or contain a genetic element is still an open question ..."* (Louw, 1981, p 5, emphasis added)

"Is die afsonderlike volksgroepe ten gunste van die bewaring van hul eie identiteit en derhalwe van eiesoortige ontwikkeling ...?" (Robbertse, 1967, p 8, emphasis added)

"Aan die anderkant is daar ook diegene ['kleurlinge'] wat kultureel baie vër van die Blanke staan" (Erasmus, 1969, p 22)

"... die Swart werkers op die lae vlak [vertrou] die tradisionele toordokter meer ... as die Westerse medici" (Oosthuizen et al., 1980, p 26)

"Lacking as he [the black person] does the cultural equipment of the white man ..." (MacCrone, 1930, p 594).

While this representation of blacks as being 'different' might appear to be relatively innocuous or, at least, less offensive than the representation of this group which emerges from the theme presented above this, as was previously mentioned, does not mean that it possesses less legitimating value as far as the ideology of racism is concerned. On the contrary. As van Dijk (1987c) observes, in so far as it is less crude (and, therefore, more 'reasonable') than the representation emerging from the previous theme, this representation of blacks in fact has much more persuasive potential as far as the legitimation of blacks' oppression is concerned (cf. Bozzoli, 1987). Indeed, was it not by invoking blacks' 'differentness' that the dominant group in South Africa so frequently in the past attempted to justify the 'differential' and, ultimately, unequal treatment always meted out to black people in this country

(Giliomee *et al.*, 1989)? As Foster (1992) and Kuper (1974) observe, in much the same way that theories of the culture of poverty may serve the function of blaming the poor for their poverty, discourses of cultural differences may serve to blame blacks for their status (and suffering) as dominated. These discourses, Kuper (1974) notes, "*provide legitimation for domination and they justify racial discrimination*" (p 16).

This then leads to the final theme of note concerning the constitution of the oppressed in South Africa which emerges from the texts analyzed.

6.3.5 BLACKS AS 'ALIENS'

Of all the discursive themes concerning the constitution of blacks the present theme is perhaps the most dissimulated. However, though it is not very explicitly formulated, the notion that blacks living in this country are not really South Africans, emerges with sufficient clarity from the articles analyzed to warrant the theme's presentation here. In this regard, consider the following selection of quotations:

"... the latter consisted mainly of Afrikaans- and English-speaking white South Africans. Relatively little is known about the Indians' view concerning Africans, Coloureds ..." (Morsbach, 1972, p 161, emphasis added)

"Specifically, white South African children's racial behaviour was studied ..." (Simon *et al.*, 1983, p 74, emphasis added)

"White South African children ... black males and females ..." (Fincham, 1978, p 292, emphasis added)

"Die besluit om die ondersoek tot Suid-Afrikaanse blankes te beperk ... die meerderheid van die Swart bevolkingsgroepe ... en tot onlangs ook die kleurling- en Indiërgroepe ..." (van Staden, 1986b, p 29, emphasis added).

Earlier it was noted that the articles analyzed generally employ a diversity of labels to interpellate or identify (as well as divide) the oppressed in South Africa. As the quotations presented above should illustrate, however, there is one label or

descriptor which, as a rule, is not used to identify or interpellate blacks in this country. Blacks may be referred to as 'Indians', 'coloureds', 'blacks' and by the plethora of other labels referred to earlier but not as 'South Africans'. In fact, careful scrutiny of the entire corpus of texts included in this study shows that with the exception of one article written by Heaven (1977)⁽²⁸⁾ blacks are never referred to as or interpellated as 'South Africans'. Judging by the quotations cited above, this label or descriptor appears to be reserved for whites. The underlying message contained in these quotations (and indeed the entire corpus of texts), needless to say, is that while whites can be regarded as South African citizens blacks can not. This message is in fact underlined by statements such as the following which also emerge from the texts analyzed:

"Africans ... now have some form of self-rule in their own areas" (Melamed, 1970a, p 202, emphasis added)

"... motivating Bantu people to participate in measures aimed at the economic development of their homelands" (Robbertse, 1971, p 7, emphasis added)

"... it is therefore proposed that sociocultural factors should be relatively more important ... in a setting such as white South Africa" (Orpen, 1973, p 91, emphasis added).

Though it might admittedly not have been the conscious intention of some of the authors cited above to create the impression that blacks are 'aliens' in this country, this is certainly the message conveyed by their discourses and, particularly, by their use of rhetorical constructions, such as, "*white South Africa*", "*their homelands*", "*their own areas*" and the inevitable juxtaposition of the terms "*white*" and "*South African*", while the latter term is virtually never employed in conjunction with the many labels normally utilised to designate blacks. What is particularly interesting about the basic message emerging from the present theme is its remarkable resemblance to one of the central arguments used in the past by the ruling Nationalist Party to defend its apartheid policies. This argument, very crudely put, is that the majority

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In this article Heaven (1977) once makes reference to "South African coloureds (sic)" (p 30) and once to "Brown (sic) South Africans" (p 30).

of blacks living in South Africa cannot make any claims to citizenship or equal rights to whites in this country because they already have 'their own' 'countries' or homelands where they can enjoy these rights (cf. Foster, 1991a; and Giliomee *et al.*, 1989). Here it should perhaps be pointed out that the only blacks to whom some concession in this regard was always made by the architects of apartheid, are those generally referred to as 'coloureds'. Though this group never enjoyed full citizenship in South Africa, for some reason or the other (most probably in furtherance of the government's policy of divide-and-rule), no attempt was ever made to banish them from their country of birth or to relocate them in 'their own' 'country' or homeland (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989). This perhaps explains why the only article which juxtaposes the term "South African" with one of the labels generally attached to the various black groupings in South Africa should specifically juxtapose it with the label "coloured" (See footnote ⁽²⁷⁾).⁽²⁹⁾

By way of concluding this section it should be reiterated here that, as was stressed in **Chapter 2** and as should have been obvious in the preceding paragraphs, the constitution of the dominated is virtually inevitably accompanied by an opposing representation of the dominant group (cf. Cohen, 1992; Miles, 1989 and Tajfel, 1978). Thus it can be found that the relatively negative representation of blacks as 'victims', 'aliens' 'backward', a 'threat' to social stability and as essentially 'inferior' beings which emerges from the preceding discussions is simultaneously accompanied by a representation of whites as 'victors' (see, for example, le Roux, 1972; and Nieuwoudt & Nel, 1972), the **only legitimate citizens of South Africa** (see, for example, Fincham, 1978; and Orpen, 1973), 'progressive' (see, for example, Nell & van Staden, 1988b; and Robbertse, 1967), 'guardians' of social stability (see, for example, Erasmus, 1969; and Robbertse, 1967) and as essentially 'superior' beings (see, for example, le Roux, 1972; and Robbertse, 1967). Here it needs to be pointed out that this latter representation need not always be explicitly

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As an aside: the further this analysis proceeds, it seems, the greater the resemblance between the Nationalist Party's official discourse on apartheid and the discourse which emerges from the articles included in this study appears to be.

formulated for, as should be evident from the foregoing discussions, it is virtually inevitably refracted from whatever representation is presented of the dominated group. Dominant group ideological representations of the dominated, Miles (1989) posits, inevitably has

"a dialectical character in so far as the representation of the Other [the dominated] serves simultaneously to refract a representation of ... [the dominant group] ... the negative characteristics of the Other mirror the positive characteristics of ... [the dominant group] ..." (p 79).

As this representation of the dominant group should have emerged relatively clearly from the preceding discussions and from most of the quotations dealing with the constitution of blacks presented in this section, it will not be elaborated upon here. Suffice it at this juncture to state that, as is the case with the ideological representation produced of the dominated group, this representation can also be seen as being inextricably linked to the justification of existing relations of power.

This then leads back to the question posed earlier: Given the content of the articles viewed in this study, can it be said that the authors of these texts are or were instrumental in the reproduction of the relations of domination that racism entails? Well, judging by the preceding discussion, it would appear as if most, if not all, the psychologists whose work had been included in this study can in fact be accused, if not of having been (or being) instrumental in the reproduction of the ideology of racism then, at least, of producing a discourse containing various elements which can be seen as having as consequence the reproduction of racism. It is the consideration of the most dominant of these discursive elements which will constitute the focus of attention in the ensuing paragraphs.

By way of introducing the discussion of these elements perhaps it would be appropriate to reiterate an important point raised in the introductory section of this chapter. This point, very briefly, is that social scientists' contributions towards the reproduction of ruling-class ideologies (for the reasons discussed earlier), in general, are relatively 'uneven' and, at times, quite contradictory; or, as van Dijk (1991a) so aptly puts it, social scientists *"are not unified in their participation in the*

racist system" (p 6). This is something which should in fact have been very apparent from the preceding discussions on the meanings given to the racism-related phenomena considered in this study and which emerged from the articles analyzed. If a comparison should, for example, be made between the articles written by, for arguments sake, Dawes (1985), Edwards (1984), Leon and Lea (1988) and Nell and van Staden (1988a; and 1988b), on the one hand, and the articles authored by Clarke (1963), Erasmus (1969), le Roux (1972) and Robbertse (1967; and 1971), on the other, then it would be quite clear that the latter group of articles contain many more notions and arguments which can be construed as being central to the reproduction of the ideology of racism than the former group of articles. In fact, as should have been apparent from the preceding discussions and as will be commented upon again at a later stage, the first group of articles referred to above contain quite a number of notions and ideas which can be construed as undermining rather than supporting the reproduction of the ideology of racism; notions and ideas which can in fact be seen as contributing towards the formulation and elaboration of an anti-racist discourse. Think here, for example, of the relatively strong appeals made to other psychologists by Dawes (1985), Leon and Lea (1988) and Nell and van Staden (1988b) to work towards the elimination of the conditions which make racism possible. Consider also the relatively critical analysis provided by MacCrone (1933b) with regard to the pivotal role played by economic factors in the development of whites' racist attitudes (see section dealing with whites' attitudes). As van Dijk (1991) observes, while they are undeniably the major (re)producers of racist discourses, social scientists are *sometimes "also those who preformulate the major tenets of anti-racism"* (p 6).

Even though the articles included in this study may, in certain respects, differ quite fundamentally from one another, all of them, to a greater or lesser extent, however, exhibit certain common discursive elements which, it will be argued, can be seen as contributing significantly towards the reproduction of the relations of domination which the ideology of racism entails. Here it is necessary to reiterate an important point which was made earlier, namely: if social scientists in general and South

African psychologists in particular, through the discourses which they produce, contribute towards the reproduction of racism, this may not necessarily be intentional or conscious. As Essed (1987) observes,

"Tempting as it may seem to think that scholars have always full control of the implications and consequences of their ... [discourses], this assumption would be problematic in a discussion of racism ... It would contradict the point of view ... that racism as an ideology is often reproduced unwittingly" (p 10).

In other words, and as previously noted, the consequences of discourse very frequently do not coincide with the discourse-producing subject's intentions (cf. Miller, 1979). In fact, the participation of social scientists in the reproduction of racism is often in direct conflict not only with their intentions but also with their espoused beliefs or convictions (van Dijk, 1987a). Consider in this regard, for example, the articles written by Dawes (1985), Leon and Lea (1988) and Nell and van Staden (1988b). Though the intention of all these writers, as reflected in the introductory sections and the general tone of their articles, is to illustrate the evils of apartheid or racism and also to demonstrate the importance of anti-racism, their articles, as shown in the previous sections, nonetheless contain various elements which can be seen to have as consequence the legitimation and dissimulation of racism as it manifests itself in South Africa. (Many of the other articles analyzed contain similar contradictions.) Here it however has to be noted that it is not so much what the intentions, beliefs or convictions of the psychologists whose work had been analyzed are which is of central concern in this study but rather what the latter have to say and how they articulate it; for, as was reiterated on several occasions already, it is essentially at the symbolic level that they contribute (or do not contribute) towards the reproduction of racism (Thompson, 1984; van Dijk, 1987c; and Wetherell & Potter, 1988).

After this somewhat protracted parenthesis it is perhaps time to consider the discursive elements referred to above.

6.4 DISCURSIVE ELEMENTS CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS THE REPRODUCTION OF RACISM

As the contents of the preceding sections of this chapter should have shown, there is in fact quite a diversity of discursive elements which can be seen as contributing towards the reproduction of the ideology of racism which emerge from the articles analyzed. A close scrutiny of these elements shows, however, that though they appear to be relatively diverse they can in fact be organised into two broad categories, namely, (i) a category of discursive elements whose primary function seems to be the denial of racism and (ii) a category of discursive elements whose main aim seems to be the justification of racism. Though these categories are obviously interrelated (cf. van Dijk, 1992) it was nonetheless decided, if only to facilitate the ensuing discussion, to employ them as framework for this discussion. Moreover, to the extent that the ideology of racism, as Thompson (1984) asserts, is essentially reproduced (in discourse) through denial and justification, the utilisation of these categories as discursive framework can only aid in answering the question posed earlier in this section, namely, whether the authors of the texts analyzed can be seen as being or, having been, instrumental in the reproduction of racism.

6.4.1 DENIAL OF RACISM

A close scrutiny of the various articles in this study reveals that all of them, to a greater or lesser extent, are traversed by various elements of denial: for example, the denial of the causes of racism, the denial of the consequences of racism and the denial of the extent (and even the existence) of racism in South African society. The denial of racism, as should have been clear from the foregoing discussions already, indeed occurs at various levels of explanation and assumes various forms.

6.4.1.1 denial of the true causes of racism

As reiterated *ad nauseam* already but, as needs to be stressed once again, the genesis and existence of racism should be seen as being inextricably linked to past and prevailing relations of domination and the social conditions in which these are embedded. In fact, a reading of most of the authoritative contemporary writings on the ideology of racism shows that while most of these works may differ quite dramatically in terms of their analysis of the ideology, all of them agree on at least one point: racism is first and foremost a social phenomenon which is closely linked to the reproduction of asymmetric relations of power (see, for example, Barkan, 1992; Billig, 1976; CAL, 1987; Chesler, 1976; Cohen, 1992; Essed, 1991; Foster, 1991a; Miles, 1989; Louw-Potgieter, 1987; and van Dijk, 1992). It is consequently very interesting to note that in the majority of articles analyzed in this study the origins and existence of racism are most often linked to the intra- and interpersonal functioning of individuals rather than to what O'Meara (1983) refers to as the ensemble of existing material and social conditions and the relations of power which these entail. Certainly, there are several articles included in this study which make mention of the pivotal role played by these social conditions in the reproduction of the ideology of racism (see, for example, the articles written by Dawes, 1985; Hayes, 1984; and Nell & van Staden, 1988a, 1988b). A close study of the corpus of texts reveals, however, that the explanations which attempt to account for the central role played by prevailing social and material conditions in the genesis of racism are, in most cases, relatively underdeveloped and completely overshadowed by those explanations which link the development of racism or the various racism-related phenomena examined in this study primarily or exclusively to black and white individuals' personal characteristics. Consider here, for example, the various explanations attempting to link the development of racism to blacks' alleged 'inferiority' and 'offensive' behaviour and appearance which were referred to earlier (see, for example, Clark, 1963; Erasmus, 1969; MacCrone, 1930; and van Staden, 1986a). Consider too the numerous explanations linking the genesis of racism to white individuals' inability or unwillingness to make personal contact with blacks and the former's ignorance and unresolved intrapsychic conflicts

(see, for example, MacCrone, 1930; Nieuwoudt & Nel, 1972; van Dyk, 1989; and van Staden, 1986b).

Perhaps this penchant displayed by the psychologists whose work had been analyzed in this study to frame their explanations of racism in predominantly 'individual' terms can be seen as being a consequence of their bias for conducting research on prejudiced attitudes⁽³⁰⁾. As Foster (1991a) Hartmann *et al.* (1974) observe, though racist prejudice can be considered as essentially being a social phenomenon, psychological research in this area traditionally always seemed to have conceptualised prejudice as concerning individual affect, cognitions and/or behavioural predispositions.

Whatever the reasons may be for the authors of the articles examined to try and link the genesis of racism primarily to black or white individuals' personal characteristics, however, this bias has as consequence, as Billig (1988a) Chesler (1976) and Louw-Potgieter (1987) observe, the concealment of the true nature of racism⁽³¹⁾ and the relations of domination which the ideology entails.

In a very similar vein Hartmann *et al.* (1974) argue that by "*equating racist prejudice with individual psychological states, institutional racism becomes a logical impossibility*" (p 106); and by making institutional racism a logical impossibility this type of discourse can be seen as contributing in an important way to the maintenance and reproduction of the ideology of racism.

⁽³⁰⁾ A bias which, it might be added, does not appear to be unique to South African psychologists but which seems to characterise the work of psychologists the world over (cf. Billig, 1988; and Hartmann & Husband, 1974).

⁽³¹⁾ namely, that it is essentially institutionalised and system-controlled.

6.4.1.2 denial of the extent of racism

According to writers such as Essed (1987) and King (in Katz, 1976), racism can be seen as being a phenomenon which is deeply embedded in white dominated society. As the latter so pertinently remarked in his 1967 address to the American Psychological Association, "*The problem [of racism] is deep. It is gigantic in extent and chaotic in detail*" (p 4). This is in effect a view which is echoed in most contemporary works dealing with the phenomenon (see, for example, Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Chesler, 1976; Miles, 1989; and van Dijk, 1992). A reading of the corpus of texts examined in this study, however, reveals what seems to be a systematic denial of this embeddedness of racism in white dominated societies in general and South Africa in particular. Careful scrutiny of these texts in fact uncovers a range of discursive strategies or techniques which seem to have as objective the mitigation, if not the complete negation of the extent of racism in South African society. Three of these techniques which recur most regularly in the texts analyzed are presented below.

The first (and most frequently employed) of these discursive strategies involves the **attribution of racist actions and attitudes to certain clearly defined and relatively insignificant sectors of the dominant group**. It can be found that in a number of articles racist attitudes and actions are presented as being prevalent primarily amongst conservative Afrikaners (see, for example, Edwards, 1984; Heaven, 1978; MacCrone, 1933b; and Nieuwoudt & Nel, 1972) and authoritarian and self-rejecting (in other words, amongst 'deviant') individuals (see, for example, Nieuwoudt & Nel, 1972; Oosthuizen *et al.*, 1980; van Dyk, 1989; and van Staden, 1986b). It can be noted here that while these articles concede that racism exists in South Africa, by presenting it as essentially being a feature characterising the attitudes and actions of only certain 'deviant' or marginal groups or individuals, they simultaneously seem to deny that it constitutes an integral aspect of South African society. This strategy, incidentally, is one of the most commonly used to mitigate the extent of racism in contemporary society (Billig, 1988a; Essed, 1991; and van Dijk, 1992)

A second strategy employed to negate the embeddedness of racism in South African society involves the **presentation or description of the phenomenon as only affecting certain sectors of the oppressed community**. So then, in a number of articles it can be found that racist attitudes and actions are described as essentially being directed against 'Africans' rather than against the oppressed group as a whole or against all those who do not form part of the dominant group (see, for example, Edwards, 1984; Kamfer, 1989; Leon & Lea, 1988; MacCrone, 1933b; and Nieuwoudt & Nel, 1972). Here it has to be added that apart from negating the extent of racism in South Africa, this strategy importantly also has as consequence the creation of further divisions amongst the oppressed and thereby contributing towards the maintenance of white hegemony. Discourses of this nature can, as Cox (1948) and Ranger (1982) suggest, effectively lead to those sectors of the oppressed not labelled 'African' to falsely believe that they are not "that bad off" and those sectors of the oppressed labelled as 'African' to sometimes direct their frustration and anger towards their fellow oppressed rather than against the system (and those who control it) which makes their oppression possible.

The embeddedness of racism in South Africa, as the following quotations illustrate, is frequently also negated in the texts analyzed by the implicit suggestion that racist attitudes and actions are primarily directed at black men as opposed to the entire black community:

"In some cases the strongly marked negroid features ... and offensive bodily odour of the black reinforces the belief that he belongs to a lower human order ..." (MacCrone, 1930, pp 594 - 595, emphasis added)

"On the principle that the best form of defence is attack, the white group tends to take advantage of its superior position to keep the native in his place ..." (MacCrone, 1933b, pp 687 - 688, emphasis added)

"Die aantyging word dikwels gemaak dat ons teen die Nie-Blanke ... 'diskrimineer' ... Sou 'n mens egter nie diskrimineer nie, sou waardesisteme, sosiale rolle, sosiale status, ens. ... geen betekenis hê nie ... Die mens is tog immers lid van 'n groep en kan hy homself nie sodanig beskou indien hierdie groep geen struktuur en funksie het nie ..." (Erasmus, 1969, pp 18 - 19, emphasis added).

As Essed (1991) and Levett (1989) suggest, the ideologies of racism and sexism seem to be inextricably linked to each other.

Another strategy frequently employed in the texts analyzed to deny the extent of racism in South Africa is located at the level of local semantics. Consider here, for example, the apparent reticence on the part of the authors whose articles had been included in this study to label whites' attitudes as racist. As pointed out in the section dealing with whites' attitudes towards blacks, rather than describing these attitudes as racist, these writers most frequently employ such euphemistic descriptors as "*unfavourable*", "*less favourable*", etc. (see section dealing with whites' attitudes for further examples). Consider also these writers' tendency to speak of 'racial' attitudes rather than racist attitudes; thereby, of course, not only contributing towards a discourse which negates the extent of racism in South African society but, at the same time, also giving credence to, or reaffirming the notion of the existence of human 'races'. The occasional use of rhetorical moves (or what Billig, 1988a, refers to as distance or doubt markers), such as, the insertion of the term "apartheid" between quotation marks (see, for example, Biesheuvel, 1957; and Morsbach, 1973) and the juxtaposition of the term "racism" with the phrase "allegations of" (see, for example, Dawes, 1985; and Clark, 1963) further underlines these writers' attempts to deny the extent - if not the existence - of racism in South Africa (cf. van Dijk, 1987b). Perhaps this denial of the existence of racism in South Africa can in fact be seen as being the reason for such a negligible number of articles dealing with the various racism-related phenomena studied which emerged from the publications screened; and perhaps also why **none** of these publications produced any articles explicitly dealing with racism over the last few decades.

This lack of research conducted by South African psychologists on the phenomenon of racism had of course already been commented on by various psychologists in the past. In fact, when taking cognisance of the paucity of research on racism MacCrone (in Welsh, 1980) as early as 1958 already felt compelled to direct an

urgent appeal to psychologists to stop dragging their feet and to commit themselves to conducting more research in this important field of study.

This appeal was echoed in the early 1980's by Dawes (1985) and Tyson (1983) who stated that because the problems caused by the phenomenon of racism, in the final analysis, are so deleterious to people's psychological integrity, it deserved much more attention than what psychologists had accorded it until then. Similar appeals later came from Foster (1986), Levett (1988), Louw-Potgieter (1987) and Seedat (1990) who in fact added that failure on the part of psychologists to undertake "*research which systematically examines ... the nuances [which] surround the exclusion and marginalization of blacks [in other words, racism]*" (Seedat, 1990, p 23), can be construed as nothing other than an illustration of their complicity in the reproduction of institutionalised racism in South Africa.

This, incidentally, is a view very similar to that posited by van Dijk (1987b; and personal interview, 17 February, 1992), who observes that by refusing to give adequate attention to the phenomenon of racism, social scientists can be seen as aiding in an important way in the perpetuation of the alarmingly widespread myth that racism is not an important problem in today's society.

6.4.1.3 denial of the consequences of racism

As noted earlier, racism potentially has quite severe and far-reaching consequences as far as the psychological well-being of its targets is concerned. An analysis of the texts included in this study however shows that very scant attention is in fact paid to the consequences of racism. Certainly, a number of articles do make reference to some of the psychological, social and economic consequences of the phenomenon. However, if the articles which do not make any mention of these consequences are also taken into account then the contributions emerging from the corpus of texts as a whole with regard to the devastating effects of racist oppression and exploitation appear to be very meagre indeed. Moreover, those articles

dealing with the consequences of racism, it will be noted, in most cases merely refer to, rather than thoroughly discuss this aspect of the ideology. Here it is perhaps necessary to point out that in this regard the article written by Dawes (1985) constitutes a notable exception to this tendency discernible in the texts analyzed.

The denial of the potentially devastating effects of racism is of course not only characterised by the inadequate discussion of the topic but also by the various claims emanating from the texts analyzed that the phenomenon ultimately in fact serves the interests of the dominated! Consider here, for example, Robbertse's (1971) suggestion that apartheid racism is 'humane' and Erasmus's (1969) claim that it ensures the development and self-actualisation of blacks. Clearly such distorted reasoning cannot but have as function the dissimulation of the true nature of racism.

The denial of the serious effects of racism is, to a certain extent, also reflected in the types of recommendations proffered by the authors of the articles analyzed in terms of addressing the problems generated by the racism-related phenomena discussed earlier. It will be remembered that instead of calling for the elimination of racism in South Africa *tout court*, the majority of these authors merely recommend that more research be conducted on 'racial attitudes'! The distinct message which is obviously conveyed by a recommendation of this nature is of course not only that a solution to the problems of racism can be found in the psyches of individuals or groups of individuals but also that a solution to these problems is not all that urgent; and by implication, therefore, that the consequences of racism in South Africa are not all that serious. This leads to the next related point. As already pointed out, the major topic of research amongst the psychologists whose work had been analyzed is that of attitudes and, more specifically, the measurement of whites' attitudes.

This obsession on the part of psychologists with measuring whites' attitudes does not only take the focus away from the structural supports of racism and racism-

related phenomena in South Africa, but very importantly also obviates any indepth discussion of the manner in which blacks are affected by these phenomena (cf. Hartmann & Husband, 1974; and Louw-Potgieter, 1987).

The most revealing feature of the articles analyzed in regard to the consequences of racism is perhaps the virtually complete absence of discussion on the constitution of the oppressed - and indeed of the dominant group - as consequence of the ideology of racism. Therborn (1980), as pointed out earlier, suggests that one of the primary consequences - and, indeed, functions - of the ideology of racism is the constitution of whites as dominant and those groups not regarded as white, as dominated; in other words, the constitution of individuals who will more or less submit to the existing relations of domination which the ideology of racism entails (see also Boswell *et al.*, 1986; Fanon, 1990 and Howitt, 1991).

Given the fact that the constitution of human subjectivity is one aspect of the study of the ideology of racism which indisputably falls within the scope of psychology's traditional field of research, the relative paucity of discussion in this area is quite puzzling to say the least.

A scrutiny of the corpus of texts shows that apart from a few very cursory comments in the articles written by Bhana and Bhana (1975), MacCrone (1930) and Rajab and Chohan (1980), none of the other articles in fact make any comment of note with regard to this important aspect of the ideology of racism. Given the discursive trends emerging from the articles included in this study which have thus far been identified, one is tempted to state here that it is perhaps because a thorough discussion of this aspect of racism cannot but expose the relations of domination which the ideology entails that the authors of these articles have tended to stay clear of it.

A reading of several recent research studies in the field of racism reveals that the denial of the extent, causes and consequences of racism in contemporary society which appears to characterise the articles analyzed in the present study is not

unique to these articles but seems to characterise academic discourse the world over. Barkan (1992), Billig (1988a, 1988b), Essed (1987, 1991), Howitt (1991), Miles (1989), Murray (1986), Seidel (1988) and van Dijk (1987a, 1987b, 1990d, 1991a, 1992), for example, all comment at length on this phenomenon in their respective studies. In fact, as van Dijk (1987a) so succinctly puts it: **the most striking feature of all contemporary intellectual discourses on racism is the consistent denial of the phenomenon.**

According to the writers cited in the preceding paragraph, in so far as dominant contemporary discourses are characterised by the denial of racism, they do not only serve to dissimulate the true nature of the ideology but, through this dissimulation, are also instrumental in the maintenance and reproduction of the relations of domination which the ideology entails.

The question which logically arises here is: How can the denial or the dissimulation of racism aid in the reproduction of the ideology; or more specifically, on what basis can the denial of racism exhibited in the articles examined in this study be construed as being instrumental in the reproduction of the ideology? The answer to this question is in fact quite simple.

Previously, it was observed that one of the primary functions of the ideology of racism is the concealment of existing 'race'-determined relations of domination (cf. O'Meara, 1983). To the extent that the majority of articles analyzed in the present study (to a greater or lesser degree) deny the existence or the true nature of racism, they can therefore be seen as participating in the elaboration and, consequently, the reproduction of the ideology.

Moreover, the denial of racism can also be seen as reproducing the phenomenon in the sense that it effectively obstructs and deligitimises all attempts at changing the power relations which the phenomenon entails. As writers such as Essed (1991), van Dijk (1992) and Foster (1992) argue, to the extent that racism entails the inferiorisation and domination of certain groups it cannot but have as

consequence a degree of resistance amongst the latter. However, when the dominant consensus is that racism is not widespread and institutionalised or that racism in fact does not exist, it becomes very difficult for the targets of racism to even start to challenge the ideology or, indeed, to be taken seriously when they do challenge it. The denial of racism, as van Dijk (1992) so pithily observes, is a discursive strategy of ideological self-defence and self-perpetuation *par excellence*.

As was alluded to earlier, it is not only through the various forms of denial described above that the discourses maintained in the articles analyzed can be said to aid in the reproduction of racism. They can also be said to be instrumental in the reproduction of racism on the basis of how they justify the ideology and the relations of dominations which it serves to maintain.

6.4.2 JUSTIFICATION OF RACISM

As should be clear from the data and discussions presented earlier, the justification of blacks' domination at the hands of whites in South Africa seems to be very closely linked to the constitution of the former. In fact, careful scrutiny of the relatively wide range of arguments to justify racism which emerge from the texts analyzed shows that if they have one thing in common then it is the fact that they are inextricably linked to the constitution of the oppressed. Instead of once again presenting these arguments it might perhaps be more appropriate to briefly reconsider the question of the constitution of the oppressed and how this ties up with the justification of the ideology of racism.

As illustrated earlier, the oppressed in South Africa is variously represented in the articles analyzed as consisting of different 'races', as 'divided', 'different' (vis-à-vis whites, that is), 'inferior', 'savage', 'given to criminal behaviour', and as a threat to social order and whites' survival in South Africa. While ostensibly quite diverse, these various images of the oppressed can of course be seen as serving the common

function of justifying blacks' continued oppression. As was previously observed, while blacks are constituted as being 'different', 'inferior', 'savage', etc., it is always very easy for the dominant group to argue that the former 'deserve' or, in fact, 'benefit' from the 'differential' treatment and inferior position afforded to them in a racist society (See, for example, the works of Erasmus, 1969; and Robbertse, 1971, in this regard) (cf. Cox, 1948; Howitt, 1991; and van Dijk, 1987c).

As an aside, it is perhaps of interest to note here that it is not only in terms of allowing for the justification of blacks' oppression and exploitation that these images of the dominated constructed (or reconstructed) by the authors of the texts analyzed aid in the reproduction of the ideology of racism. As already alluded to earlier, these images can also be seen as being instrumental in the reproduction of racism in the sense that they, in the final analysis, also contribute to the ruling group's constant attempts at (re)constructing blacks as 'different', 'inferior', 'savage', etc. humans; in other words, as the type of human beings who would accept the inferior position in South African society enforced upon them without offering too much resistance (cf. Boswell *et al.*, 1980). In the words of van Dijk (1991a), these representations of blacks can be seen as aiding in the reproduction of racism in that they help in organising blacks' consent in their own domination (cf. Cox, 1948).

In the final analysis, therefore, instead of fulfilling the altruistic goals normally attributed to their profession by helping to combat racism, the psychologists whose work had been analyzed in this study can be seen to contribute in an important manner to the perpetuation of the ideology. In so doing they consequently give credence to the claims made by writers such as Cooper (1990), Levett (1989) and Seedat (1990), as well as to the central postulate contained in the first working hypothesis presented in **Chapter 1**, namely, that psychologists, like other academics, can in fact be expected to play quite an important role in the reproduction of the ideology of racism. Here it should perhaps once again be stressed that this participation in the reproduction of the ideology of racism may not necessarily be the result of a conscious decision on the part of the authors of the texts analyzed. It is just that the discourses which they have produced can be seen to have as

consequence the reproduction of the ideology. To quote Wetherell and Potter (1988) once again: "*discourse often has repercussions which may not have been formulated*" (p 168) or intended by its producers.

6.5 TIME-LINKED CHANGES OR TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE DISCOURSES ANALYZED

A scrutiny of the full corpus of texts included in this study reveals that there are not really any major or meaningful shifts in psychologists' discourses with regard to the phenomenon of racism during the period 1924 to 1989; at least not any shifts of the extent or nature reported by overseas researchers such as Billig (1988a; 1988b), Essed (1987; 1991) McConahay (1986) and van Dijk (1992). For example, whereas these researchers, as previously noted, generally report an increasing 'culturalization' or 'deracialization' of academics and other elites' discourses on racism, this does not appear to be the case as far as the discourses analyzed in the present study are concerned. A reading of the texts analyzed in fact shows that words emanating from the lexical register of 'race' appear with virtually the same regularity in the articles written during the 1970's and 1980's as they do in the articles written during the 1930's and 1940's.

It is not only in regard to the use of words emanating from the lexical register of 'race' that the discourses analyzed reveal scant changes over the last six decades approximately. As **Table 3** illustrates, the topics which dominated psychologists' research and other academic endeavours before the 1950's were also the dominant ones after the 1950's. Whereas the number of articles written on racism-related issues increased after the 1950's, it essentially remained as meagre as before the 1950's. Furthermore, as a reading of the preceding discussions should have shown, whereas attempts to link the development of racism (or the various racism-related phenomena studied) to individual characteristics dominated psychologists' discourses before the 1950's, they also dominated psychologists' discourses after the

1950's. In short, and as the preceding discussions - and, particularly, the numerous quotations provided - should have illustrated, the participation of the psychologists whose discourses had been analyzed in the reproduction of the ideology of racism, in general, appears to have shown relatively little variation over the years. Given the relatively small number of texts analyzed, the even smaller number of authors who wrote these texts,⁽³²⁾ and given the fact that by far the majority of articles analyzed focus on the same issue or topic (namely, attitudes), it should obviously not be too surprising that the present study failed to uncover the time-linked discursive variations reflected or referred to in the studies of the fore-mentioned European researchers or local researchers such as Boonzaier (1988), Foster (1991b) Giliomee and Schlemmer (1988) and Louw-Potgieter (1989).

While there are no fundamental shifts discernible in the discourses analyzed in this study, these discourses do, however, reveal a few minor time-linked variations. For example, it will be noticed that labels such as 'native', 'bantu' and 'Cape Coloured' which were fairly widely used in the articles published during the 1930's and 1940's gradually gave way to labels such as 'African' and 'coloured'. So too, it will be noticed that the caricaturing of blacks as 'savages' and a threat to white survival, with the passage of time, gradually became less explicit or blatant. The following two descriptions of blacks (the one drawn from an article written during the 1930's and the other drawn from an article written during the 1970's) constitute a case in point:

"... massacres of unsuspecting whites by savage blacks in this country ... of bloodthirsty savages perpetrating outrages on parties of innocent white men, women and children" (MacCrone, 1930, p 593)

"Dit ... is moontlik dat die bantoe in 'n groter mate die rol van 'n tradisionele vyand in die Afrikaanse ... kultuur inneem" (Nieuwoudt et al., 1972, p 97).

⁽³²⁾ Many of the authors whose work had been analyzed had written more than one of the articles included in this study. MacCrone, for example, wrote eight of the forty-eight articles analyzed (See Appendix A).

Here it can be noted that while in both quotations blacks are described as being a threat to whites, the description contained in the latter quotation appears to be much less crude than the one contained in the first quotation. If viewed against the backdrop formed by the dominant discursive patterns emerging from the texts analyzed these discursive patterns, as noted above, are however relatively minor.

In the final analysis it would therefore appear as if the prediction concerning psychologists' discourses on ideologies such as racism which emerges from Levett's (1989) work holds true as far as the present study, at least, is concerned: the prediction being that though these discourses might vary (synchronically as well as diachronically) they will do so "*only in small tokenist ways while continuing in the major ways*" (p 6).

6.6 THE IMPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGISTS' COMPLICITY IN THE REPRODUCTION OF RACISM

Although it had been referred to on several occasions earlier in this dissertation, the implications of academics' complicity in the reproduction of racism, at this juncture perhaps need to be reconsidered one more time - if only to place the foregoing discussions into perspective and to allow for a better understanding of the next section of this study which deals with the meanings which black lay persons give to the phenomenon of racism.

According to van Dijk (1987c, 1990b, 1991), of all the elite groups, academics can perhaps be viewed as being the most influential in so far as the reproduction of the ideology of racism is concerned. This, he states, can basically be attributed to the fact that academics and particularly, social scientists, are generally regarded as being the best equipped to provide the 'facts' and answers as far as intergroup relations or interactions are concerned. As a result, they are usually the ones who 'set the tone' -and, consequently, the limits - as far as the discourse of intergroup

relations is concerned. This is a view very similar to that expressed by Moscovici (1981) who suggests that because in contemporary society "*the degree of participation in the representation of society is determined ... by the level of qualification [of the participants]*" (p 187), social scientists' discourses will tend to exert a much greater influence than the discourses produced by most other groups. Important to note here too, is the fact that the influence of these discourses is not short-lived or transient but, as van Dijk (1991a) observes, generally endures for a very long time. These discourses are frequently still used by other intellectuals long after they had first been emitted or produced. The notion that different 'races' have different personality make-ups is a case in point. Though this notion had to be discounted (See **Chapter 3** of the present study) soon after its introduction into psychological discourses at the turn of this century, it still persists in contemporary discourses (cf. Billig, 1988b; Fairchild, 1991; and Zuckerman, 1990).

Obviously, the discourses produced by social scientists are not as influential as they are purely as a result of the latter's perceived status and role in society. Social scientists' discourses are as dominant as they are also because of these intellectuals' preferential access (that is, vis-à-vis other social groups) to the existing means of symbolic reproduction; in other words, to all forms of mass media, schools, universities, etc. (van Dijk, 1990b).

Though social scientists' influence in the realm of symbolic reproduction is enormous it is, however, not limitless. There are certain social (and, in certain countries, legal) restrictions to this symbolic power. Social scientists do not function in isolation but form part of an international scientific community; a community which, as was previously observed, ostensibly is opposed to racism. So, even if social scientists may not have sufficiently internalised certain human rights norms, they will, if only to avoid ostracization by the broader scientific world, at all costs avoid being perceived as racist (cf. van Dijk, 1991). This obviously does not necessarily mean that if they hold racist views that they will not express them (for the content of the majority of articles included in the present study clearly proves the contrary to be true). They will only be more careful as to how they formulate

these views. Consider here, for example, the following quotations:

"Hoewel politieke hervorming in Suid-Afrika uiters noodsaaklik is, moet 'n mens nie die komplikasies wat daarmee gepaard gaan uit die oog verloor nie. Hervormingsmaatreëls wat te vinnig geskied en mense bedreig en gedipriveerd laat voel, kan juis etniese vyandigheid versterk ..." (van Dyk, 1989, p 6).

"A fourth group of factors affecting the attitude of the white to the black are of a pseudo-scientific nature. The native is regarded as a child in mental development. Lacking as he does the cultural equipment of the white man, he comes to be regarded as one who is incapable of acquiring that equipment ... In some cases the strongly marked negroid features - thick lips, heavy jaw and broad, flat nose - and offensive bodily odour of the black reinforce the belief that he belongs to a lower human order, as well as excite a feeling of repulsion" (MacCrone, 1930, pp 594 - 595).

"Die Sielkunde dan, het 'n onmiskenbare taak in die bevordering van Bantoetuislandontwikkeling en kan hom aldus rig op een van Suid-Afrika se mees aktuele menseprobleme - indien nie dié mees aktuele menseprobleem van Suid-Afrika nie ... Dink maar net byvoorbeeld aan die psigopatologiese verskynsels wat gepaard gaan met akkulturasie; of dink maar net aan die invloed van Westerse beskawing op die Bantoe se persoonlikheid, of op sy houdinge (byvoorbeeld sy houding teenoor gesag of teenoor sy familie)" (Robbertse, 1971, p 7).

"Die aantyging word dikwels gemaak dat ons teen die Nie-Blanke op grond van velkleur alleen 'diskrimineer' ... Sou 'n mens egter nie 'diskrimineer' nie sou die waardesisteme, sosiale rolle, sosiale status, ens. ... geen betekenis hê nie. Dit is inderdaad hierdie rolle wat die struktuur en funksie van so 'n samelewing verseker en sal 'n gelykmakingsproses daarop neerkom dat vooruitgang en persoonlike selfverwesenliking inhibeer word. Die mens is tog immers lid van 'n groep en kan hy homself (sic) nie as sodanig beskou indien hierdie groep geen strukture en funksie het nie. Die groep dien dan geen doel meer nie en is die individu vir die bevrediging van sy basiese behoeftes op homself aangewese ... Dit impliseer dan onder andere 'n verlaging in die ontwikkeling van kultuur ... Dit is geen vryheid nie, maar eerder 'n bandeloosheid" (Erasmus, 1969, pp 18 - 19).

In the first quotation the writer evidently realises that if she simply states that the pace of political reform in South Africa should be slowed down she might be criticized as being racist. In anticipation of such possible criticism she consequently prefaces this statement with the qualification, *"Hoewel politieke hervorming in Suid-Afrika uiters noodsaaklik is ..."*. Incidentally, this rhetorical move, in discourse

analytical parlance, is known as that of 'apparent denial' (van Dijk, 1987b). It is termed 'apparent denial' due to the fact that while the writer appears to deny his/her support of prevailing racist practices, he/she simultaneously expresses a relatively positive opinion in regard to these practices. The texts analyzed, as the preceding discussions should have amply illustrated, produce quite a large repertoire of such apparent denials.

In the second quotation a virtually identical form of prolepsis is employed. At the beginning of the quotation the author seems to make a point of dissociating himself from the racist prejudice displayed by his group by typifying this attitude as being 'irrational' (ie., in the sense that it is based on factors which are "pseudo-scientific" in nature) and by making use of the rhetorical move of 'passivization'⁽³³⁾: For example, instead of stating, "*The native is ...*", and thereby exposing himself to the accusation of being racist or intolerant, he utilises the formulations, "*The native is regarded ...*" and "*... he [the 'native'] comes to be regarded as ...*". Having thus distanced himself from the attitude in question, the way is then clear for him to formulate the decidedly racist description of blacks as offensive and, 'therefore, partly to blame for whites' attitudes towards them.

The message contained in the third and fourth quotations, for the reasons noted earlier, can also be seen as being undeniably racist. In contradistinction to the authors of the first two quotations who preface their racist remarks with an ostensibly 'anti-racist' statement, the authors of the third and fourth quotations cited above, however, attempt to offset possible criticism by adopting a tone of 'reasonableness': The function of the homelands system and apartheid, they (sophistically) argue, is not the oppression and exploitation of blacks. Instead, it is to guarantee the latter's psychological well-being, progress and freedom!

An examination of the articles analyzed in this study reveals various other similar examples where an obviously racist statement or discursive element is counter-

⁽³³⁾ See van Dijk (1992) for explication of this rhetorical move.

balanced by a statement or rhetorical style which is seemingly anti-racist or 'humanitarian' in nature.

As an aside, it is interesting to note here that the apparent 'ambivalence' vis-à-vis the phenomenon of racism contained in the quotations presented above, emerges relatively consistently from the ensemble of articles analyzed. In fact, if there is one consistency - other than the denial of racism, that is - which emerges from all the articles analyzed (ie., from 1930 to 1989), then it is the fact that racist notions or ideas contained in these articles are seldom, if ever, expressed in a completely uninhibited manner. In this respect, the findings of the present study can be seen as relatively consistent with those of obtained by Billig (1988a, 1988b) and as somewhat contradicting the views of writers such as Essed (1987, 1991) McConahay (1986), Murray (1986), Seidel (1988) and van Dijk (1992), amongst others, who seem to present this ambivalence as essentially being a feature of 'modern' (ie., post-World War II) racism.

It is important to note here that in whatever way the racist views contained in the articles analyzed are dissimulated or veiled, they are still racist in nature and that they have the same (if not worse) consequences as those racist views that are more crudely articulated.

Given the influence attributed to social scientists' discourses by the writers cited at the beginning of the present section, the implications of the distorted - and, at times, blatantly racist - meanings given to the racism-related phenomena examined in this study which so consistently emerged from the texts analyzed, appear all the more serious. As Essed (1987) so pithily remarks, the greater the status of the discourse-producing subject, the more serious the consequences of his or her racist discourses.

6.7 BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

Though quite a lot has been said in this section, the analysis can in no way be considered to be exhaustive. In fact much more can be said about the psychologists' discourses analyzed. However, while the analysis is not exhaustive, it definitely demonstrates the validity of the central premise contained in the first working hypothesis presented in **Chapter 1** of this dissertation, namely, that the discourses produced by the psychologists whose work had been analyzed, to varying degrees reinforce prevailing racist myths or myth systems; myths or myth systems which can be seen as ultimately serving the function of perpetuating the existing relations of domination which exist in South Africa. The most prominent of these myths being:

- (i) that racism is not all that widespread in South Africa;
- (ii) that racism is essentially caused by certain intra-individual factors;
- (iii) that blacks are inferior to or at least, differ fundamentally from whites;
- (iv) that blacks in this country can be categorised into certain discrete or clearly definable 'races' or groups;
- (v) that certain racist practices which are essentially aimed at oppressing and exploiting blacks had been instituted for the latter's own good or else, to protect whites; and
- (vi) that blacks do not really belong in South Africa

(cf. Foster, 1991a, 1991b; and Miles, 1989).

CHAPTER SEVEN

BLACK PARENTS' DISCOURSES ON RACISM:

CONTEXTUALISING THE DISCOURSES

"We [psychologists] should ... respect ... the integrity ... of people ... validating people ... suffering, people's experience, their own definitions of reality which are often negated and denied" (Bulhan, 1990, p 75, emphasis added).



7.1 INTRODUCTION

It can be stated without the risk of contradiction that most black adults in South Africa have been exposed to racism for most of their lives. As CAL (1987) observes, racism is the one constant in blacks' lives in South Africa. They are confronted by it in classrooms, in hospitals, in shops, on factory floors, in restaurants, on sports grounds; in fact, in all areas of their lives. In the words of Cooper (1989), racism, in its many manifestations, follows and accompanies blacks in South Africa "*from the womb to the tomb*" (p 27). Now, if blacks are confronted by the phenomenon of racism on virtually a daily basis then it would be safe to assume that they would frequently reflect on it or try to give it some meaning (Essed, 1991). And it is the meaning which they characteristically give to the phenomenon which will constitute the focus of the present section.

Before presenting the analysis of the discourses produced by the black parents who had participated in this phase of the present study, a brief description of these participants as well as certain other contextual factors relevant to the production of the said discourses would, however, be appropriate.

7.2 A WORD ON THE PARTICIPANTS

As pointed out previously, twenty-six black parents participated in this phase of the study with none of them having had any formal training in Psychology. These parents participated in this study as part of the following groups:

Group 1

Group 1 consisted of six members serving on a PTA committee of a pre-school in Bishop Lavis, a working-class community. The names which they adopted for the purposes of this study and their respective occupations were: Allie (a clerk), Carmen (a factory worker), David (a factory worker), Hannah (a pre-school educator), Patricia (a factory worker) and Rita (a factory worker). Despite very limited participation on the side of David and Rita this group was generally characterised by very lively and open discussion.

Group 2

This group consisted of the following seven young adult members of a church group in Bishop Lavis: Carol (a housewife) and her husband, Donovan (a storeman), Wayne (a clerk) and his wife Laura (a clerk) and Cora (a housewife), Iris (a housewife) and Wesley (an electrical worker). With the exception of Iris, all this group's members participated relatively readily and openly to the group discussions.

Group 3

This group consisted of the following middle-aged friends residing in Lansdowne: Amelia (a housewife), Doreen (a housewife), Daphne (a housewife) and the latter's husband, Sidney (a pensioner). This group too was characterised by relatively easy and very frank discussion.

Group 4

Group 4 consisted of the following three members of the same family resident in Bridgetown, a working-class township close to Cape Town: Ursula (a clerk), her mother, Merle (a housewife) and her grandmother, Eileen (a pensioner). The participants in this group proved to be very withdrawn. Despite constant probing and intervention on the part of the interviewer, it was extremely difficult getting them to discuss the given topic. It is essentially for this reason, therefore, that the interview with this group produced relatively little information.

Group 5

This group consisted of the following six adults participating in an out-reach programme conducted by the University of the Western Cape for unqualified pre-school educators and interested parents: Jeanne, June, Leila, Leona, Norma and Susan. Apart from June who was a housewife, the rest of the participants in this group were full-time preschool educators or aides. The interview with this group which was conducted during a class period proved to be relatively lively and informative.

7.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE PARTICIPANTS' DISCOURSES

There are basically three factors relevant to the further contextualisation of the discourses on racism analyzed in the present section which will be discussed here. These factors are as follows: dominant group discourses; the role of the family; and

current political events as context of black people's discourses on racism. Obviously, factors such as the history of racism in South Africa and the constitution of people issue of a racist society can also be seen as having influenced the discourses to be analyzed in this section in quite a profound manner. However, as both these factors have already been dealt with in detail in previous sections and as they will no doubt be broached again in subsequent discussions they will not be discussed at this stage.

7.3.1 Dominant discourses as context of dominated groups' discourses

As pointed out previously, there are basically two very specific questions which will be dealt with in regard to black parents' discourses on racism, namely: (i) What are the primary characteristics of these discourses; and, more importantly, (ii) How do these discourses compare with those produced by the dominant group and its elites (such as, psychologists) with regard to the phenomenon of racism? It is only fitting, therefore, that the contextualisation of black parents' discourses commences with a discussion of what various theorists have to say about the potential influence of dominant group discourses on the discourses produced by dominated or subordinated groups. Before presenting this *exposé*, however, it should perhaps be pointed out that because nothing substantial has thus far been written on the influence of dominant discourses on the discourses on racism produced by dominated groups, much of what is said in the following paragraphs had been arrived at through deduction.

According to writers such as Campbell and LeVine (in Billig, 1976), in any society characterised by relations of domination, the dominated will virtually inevitably reproduce the discourses of the dominant group and its elites with regard to matters pertaining to their domination. This, they argue, can essentially be seen as being a consequence of people's innate tendency to strive towards the elimination of cognitive dissonance. As dominant group discourses are in general aimed at justifying - and therefore congruent or in keeping with - existing relations of domination, the

dominated group or groups will inevitably reproduce these discourses rather than producing a *status quo*-challenging or liberatory discourse which, Campbell *et al.* (in Billig, 1976) maintain, cannot but lead to cognitive dissonance.

Strains of the above argument posited by Campbell and LeVine (in Billig, 1976) also emerge relatively strongly from Bulhan's (1985) work entitled, The Psychology of Oppression (see specifically Chapter 6 in this regard). Very much like Campbell and LeVine, Bulhan also argues that in order to avoid cognitive dissonance and to live with themselves dominated group members frequently assume dominant group discourses vis-à-vis their domination; discourses which, as the writer observes, inevitably serve the interests of the dominant group while they further "*entrap and frustrate the [dominated]*" (p 123). As will be pointed out later, however, Bulhan's conception of the relationship between dominant and dominated groups' discourses on racism differs in at least one important respect from that of Campbell and LeVine.

Though essentially approaching the issue of the relationship between dominant and dominated groups' discourses from positions radically different to that assumed by Campbell and LeVine (in Billig, 1976), writers such as Hall *et al.* (1984), Marx and Engels (in Billig, 1976) and Poulantzas (in Boswell *et al.*, 1986), as the following quotations should illustrate, arrive at much the same conclusion as the former:

"ruling [class discourse] .. tend to form the outer limit and horizon of thought [and discourse] ... in a society" (Hall *et al.*, 1984, p 154)

"all ... [discourses] are constructed ... within the existing fields of [dominant group] explanation .. the socially maintained [discourses] objectivated over time" (Hall *et al.*, 1984, p 166)

"the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Marx *et al.*, in Billig, 1976, p 253)

*"the dominated classes live their conditions of political existence through the forms of dominant [group] ... discourse ... often they live **even their revolt against domination** ... within the frame of reference of dominant legitimacy"* (emphasis in text, Poulantzas, in Boswell *et al.*, 1984, p 9).

This suggestion that dominant group discourses inevitably set the limits or parameters for dominated groups' discourses, as noted in **Chapter 6** of this dissertation, also emerges relatively strongly from the works of writers such as Moscovici (1981) and van Dijk (1987a).

Now, while the group of writers cited in the preceding two paragraphs may reach the same conclusion as Campbell and LeVine (in Billig, 1976) with regard to the nature of the relationship existing between dominant and dominated groups' discourses they, as alluded to previously, arrive at this conclusion from a theoretical position which is radically different to that postulated by Campbell and LeVine.

According to Althusser (1971), Hall *et al.* (1984), Kuper (1974), Marx and Engels (in Billig, 1976), Poulantzas (in Boswell *et al.*, 1986) and van Dijk (1990b), dominated groups' adoption of dominant group discourses on issues linked to the former's domination is a function, not so much of cognitive dissonance, but of the enormous power inevitably wielded by dominant groups in societies characterised by social inequality. In such societies, these writers argue, the dominant group has the power to shape the dominated's discourses through a number of discourse regulatory mechanisms which it controls: most notably, through the use of direct censorship and the restriction of access to the means of discourse dissemination⁽¹⁾.

There is a direct correlation between social power and access to the means of discourse dissemination, Billig (1976) and van Dijk (1990b) argue. The powerless, van Dijk posits, only have access to personal conversation and are generally relegated to a position of mere passive participants (or recipients) in the major forms of discourse

⁽¹⁾ When this does not succeed in getting the dominated to produce the types of discourses which accords with dominant discourses, the dominant group can always employ more overtly repressive measures (Althusser, 1971) as it has always been wont to do in the South African situation (Kuper, 1974).

dissemination (cf. Austin, 1976; and Thompson, 1984). The dominant group, on the other hand, generally has

"... organized, institutional access to all important decisive discourse genres ... [such as] mass media discourse, meetings, reports, press conference[s], literature, etc. ... thereby they set the agenda of public [discourse] ... and the boundaries of legitimate opinion ..." (van Dijk, 1990b, p 14).

Due to the fact that the dominated are constantly bombarded by the dominant group's discourses and the versions of reality which these discourses project and due to "*a lack of mass mediated alternative [discourses]*" (van Dijk, 1987a, p 49), van Dijk seems to argue, the dominated cannot but reproduce the dominant group's discourses on phenomena such as racism (cf. Sallach, in Billig, 1976).

Writers such as Althusser (1971), Hall *et al.* (1984), Marx and Engels (in Billig, 1976) and Poulantzas (in Boswell *et al.*, 1986) also differ from the likes of Campbell and LeVine (in Billig, 1976) in another important respect. While the former group of writers acknowledge the important influence which dominant group ideology and discourses have on the discourses of dominated groups, they do not view this influence as absolute. Unlike Campbell and LeVine who appear to adopt a relatively deterministic position with regard to dominated groups' responses to the prevailing dominant group discourses on domination, all these writers stress the ability of the dominated subject to resist and counter prevailing dominant group discourses. It is in this respect that Bulhan (1985) too differs from Campbell and LeVine (in Billig, 1976). Bulhan, like the other writers cited above, also invests the dominated with the capacity to oppose their domination.

The view that dominated groups are not merely passive recipients of dominant group discourses but, at times, actively oppose these discourses is a theme which also traverses various other authors' writings. Billig (1976) and Kuper (1974), for example, even though they suggest that under certain conditions the dominant group will have

the power to shape the ideology and discourses of dominated groups, assert quite emphatically that in the final analysis this hegemony is less than total. Dominated groups, they contend, actively attempt to oppose dominant ideology and discourses. According to Billig this active opposition mounted by dominated groups in the face of their domination can be seen as arising not only from the human subject's innate resilience and implacable need to survive but also from the gaps and contradictions which emerge from dominant group discourses themselves (See Chapter 6).

Employing much the same arguments as Billig (1976), Essed (1986) and Therborn (1980) too posit that though the dominated groups' discourses will inevitably contain elements of dominant group discourses (ideology and discourse having no fixed limits), the former's discourses will, to varying degrees be the site of resistance⁽²⁾.

Gramsci (1978; in Bobo, 1988; and Hall *et al*, 1984), in his seminal writings on the notion of ideological hegemony, also attributes a greater role to human agency and like the writers cited above, also emphasises the indeterminate nature of the relationship between dominant and dominated groups' ideological discourses. He advances that though dominant groups inevitably attempt to propagate and ensure the dominance of ideas and discourses that secure and advance their interests, such ideas and discourses seldom reign without some challenge from dominated groups. Here the ascendancy of Black Consciousness organisations and discourses in South Africa during the 1970's when the racist Nationalist Party government seemed to be at its strongest can be seen as a case in point (Kuper, 1974).

Gramsci (1978; and in Simon, 1982), it has to be pointed out here, does not see the opposition displayed in dominated groups' discourses to dominant group discourses as

⁽²⁾ The fact that resistance to dominant group discourse will vary can, as will be illustrated later, be seen as being a function of varying social and subjective conditions.

arising merely from the former's need to survive or the contradictions which inevitably emerge from dominant discourses. According to him dominated groups' opposition to dominant discourses is ultimately dependent on whether these groups had generated their own organic intellectuals who can help them formulate and organise their opposition to dominant ideologies and discourses⁽³⁾:

"A human mass does not 'distinguish' itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in the widest sense, organising itself; and there is no organisation without intellectuals, that is without organisers and leaders" (Gramsci, in Simon, 1982, p 99).

In the final analysis, therefore, there seems to be basically two views which emerge from the literature reviewed with regard to the questions posed at the beginning of this sections: the one being the view that dominated groups inevitably reproduce dominant group discourses and the other, whilst acceding to the power of dominant group discourses, attributing a greater measure of volition to the dominated in so far as the elaboration of their own discourses and ideologies are concerned.

While at this stage not wishing to pre-empt later discussion it should perhaps be stated here that one of the basic assumptions of the present study is that, as Gramsci (in Bobo, 1988) postulates, dominated groups' discourses are seldom a photocopy of dominant discourses (cf. Cabral, in Kuper, 1974). To a certain extent, subordinated groups would always attempt to establish their own discourses - in opposition to, and in defence against, dominant group discourses (Abu-Chazaleh, 1992; and Kuper, 1974). Here it however has to be added that though dominated or subordinated groups' discourses will to varying degrees reflect their struggle against the dominant group and its discourses, the former's discourses can also be expected to be shot through with elements derived from dominant ideologies and discourses. This can largely be seen as being a result of the fact that subordinated and dominated groups do not construct

⁽³⁾ This view is of course very reminiscent of that expressed by Lenin (1902) in his essay "What is to be done?"

their accounts of, or discourses on, social phenomena, such as, racism out of nothing. They work with the elements of discourse which are already available; which, in most cases, are the elements of dominant group discourses. Given the dominant group's control over the means or apparatuses of discourse dissemination, it is of course difficult to imagine that this would not be the case (van Dijk, 1987c). To quote Hall *et al.* (1984) once again,

"ruling [class discourses] ... tend to form the outer limit and horizons of thought [and discourse] .. in a society ..." (p 154).

Furthermore, as had been the case with the discourses analyzed in the previous section, it can be expected that blacks' discourses on racism will be relatively variable and, at times, in fact, quite contradictory (Essed, 1986; and Gramsci, in Hall *et al.*, 1978). Despite this variability, however, it can be expected (as had also been evident in the analysis of psychologists' discourses) that certain identifiable core themes would emerge from these discourses. Before an examination of these core themes and other features of the discourses in question is undertaken, however, it would be apposite at this stage to briefly consider the potential influence of the remaining factors on these discourses.

7.3.2 The family as context of dominated groups' discourses

The discourses on racism produced by the group of black parents who had participated in the present study can be expected to have been influenced not only by the pre-eminence of prevailing dominant group discourses on racism in our society, but also by these participants' role as parents. This role held by these representatives of the oppressed community in South Africa would, as a reading of most of the extant studies or works on the family seems to indicate, virtually inevitably affect the types of discourses they will (or can) produce in regard to the phenomenon of racism.

According to Althusser (1971; in Boswell *et al.*, 1986; and in Therborn, 1980) and Reich's (1972) works, parents as the heads and, indeed, the embodiment of 'the family' - one of the more important ideological apparatuses at the disposal of the ruling class - are predestined to play a very central role in the "*reproduction of ... relations of exploitation [/domination]*" (Althusser, 1971, pp 149 - 150). More specifically, as Althusser's (1971) essay, Ideology and the State, seems to suggest, at a discursive level, black parents can be expected to play a pivotal role in the reproduction of blacks' domination in racist societies. This, it would appear, can be seen as being the result of primarily two factors.

Firstly, as Althusser (1971) points out, it is unlikely that parents who are issue of a society characterised by inequality would escape the influence of the interpellations of prevailing dominant group ideologies. To the extent that dominant group ideologies interpellate people to "*more or less submit to the existing social order*" (Althusser, in Boswell *et al.*, 1986), dominated group parents would therefore be predisposed to producing a discourse which is consistent with existing relations of domination. If this argument is taken to its logical conclusion then black parents who are issue of a racist society such as South Africa would, because of their interpellation by the prevailing dominant group ideology of racism, in all likelihood then produce a discourse which in large measure accords with their position in society; in other words, a discourse which would be '*more or less*' consistent with dominant discourses on racism. In fact, according to Reich's (1972) reasoning, it is virtually inevitable that black parents will reproduce the existing racist *status quo*. This, Reich's work seems to indicate, could be seen as essentially being a result of the manner in which human subjects, issue of societies characterised by oppression and repression, from infancy already internalise and learn to defend existing relations of authority. This respect for authority, he posits, is deeply embedded in the human psyche and has its origins in the manner in which relations of authority in the families of which parents are issue, are constructed (See Poster, 1976; and Reich, 1972, for a more detailed exposition of this position).

Secondly, dominated group parents will be predisposed to reproducing dominant group discourses because of their **interpellation as parents** (Althusser, 1971; and Reich, 1972). In fact, as Grier and Cobbs (1980), Poster (1976) and Waters (1979) argue, given the fact that in contemporary society parents are held (and made to feel) responsible for their families' well-being and survival; and given the fact that the world is generally a very treacherous, if not outright dangerous, place for blacks, black parents are constrained, as it were, to reproduce dominant group discourses with regard to prevailing relations of domination.

Black parents know, Grier and Cobbs (1980) posit, that to maintain discourses which challenge racism, or dominant group discourses on racism, might lead to their children emulating these discourses which will ultimately then expose the latter to various forms of retribution from the dominant group. Given the fact that we live in a society where the ideology of '*parentism*' still reigns supreme, this is an eventuality which most parents would normally try to avoid at all costs (Poster, 1976). It is essentially for this reason, Grier and Cobbs (1980), Poster (1976) and Waters (1979) argue, that black parents would be more likely to maintain pro-dominant group discourses rather than anti-dominant group discourses on matters relating to their domination. In this way they can at least increase their children's chances of survival in a society which, in essence, is very hostile to blacks.

The above line of reasoning also emerges relatively consistently (albeit less explicitly) from the works of Althusser (1971; and in Therborn, 1980), Cooper (1989) and Erikson (1983) who argue that in societies characterised by relations of domination, the ruling class, through the use of the various forms of repression at its disposal, virtually always succeeds in coercing parents into producing the types of discourses which would not threaten existing relations of domination:

"the State apparatus secures by repression (from the most brutal physical force, via administrative commands and interdictions, to open and tacit

ensorship) the ... conditions for the action of the Ideological State Apparatuses [such as the family/parents]" (Althusser, 1971, p 150).

This also seems to be the view expressed by Burman (1986) who adds that in exploitative societies, dominated group parents in fact count amongst the leading social agents who,

"enable [existing] mechanisms of power to function. Phenomena of repression or exclusion [such as, racism] have their instruments and logic at the ... level of the family, of the immediate environment, of the most basic units of society" (p 7).

At this stage it has to be pointed out that though all the writers cited above acknowledge that dominated group parents' role as protectors of their families might cause them to reproduce dominant group discourses on existing relations of domination, with the exception of Poster (1976) and Waters (1979), none of them seem to view this eventuality as definite or inescapable. In fact, as Grier and Cobbs (1980) seem to imply, while the need to protect their children might motivate some black parents to reproduce dominant discourses on the phenomenon of racism, other black parents might for the same reason be motivated to *'tell it like it is'*; in other words, maintain discourses which are critical of, or essentially antagonistic to, dominant group discourses on the phenomenon. Some black parents, Grier and Cobbs argue, know that it is only by *'telling it like it is'*, that is, by maintaining discourses which expose the true nature of racism, that they will be able to ensure the survival and adequate functioning of their children in a racist society (cf. Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 1985). As Richardson (in Peters, 1985) puts it,

"Black [parents] ... know that their children will ultimately experience racism. They believe that racism experiences can be devastating and destructive if the child has not been prepared to recognize or develop techniques or strategies for coping with these experiences ... [They] also know that black children will ultimately have to know that they are black and understand what a black identity means in a racist society" (p 164).

There are various other writers, such as, Essed (1991), Therborn (1980) and Wilson (1987) who also highlight the role of black parents in the communication of discourses which are essentially antagonistic to the phenomenon of racism and to dominant group definitions of the phenomenon. However, as Therborn (1980) advances, though dominated group parents are frequently very important "*producers and diffusers*" (p 89) of discourses which challenge dominant group discourses on prevailing relations of domination, the former's discourses are virtually inevitably intertwined with elements of dominant group discourse; and more specifically, elements of discourse which ultimately cannot but serve the interests of the dominant group.

7.3.3 Current political events as context of the dominated's discourses

While the discourses analyzed in the previous section of this study were produced during the period 1930 to 1989, the discourses analyzed in the present section were all produced during the period 1991 to 1992. The difference in the time period in which these two sets of discourses were produced, it is believed, could have had an important influence on the nature of these discourses; particularly the latter set of discourses. The discourses analyzed in the present section, it has to be remembered, were produced after De Klerk, the leader of the Nationalist Party government in South Africa, initiated his much publicised political reforms; political reforms which affected the articulation of racism in this country in a very dramatic (though, as will presently be illustrated, by no means profound or revolutionary) manner.

By the beginning of 1990, after forty-two years in power, the Nationalist Party was faced by several paralysing crises. These included increasing bickering and strife amongst its leadership, a quasi-total ostracisation of South Africa from the international community, unabated and mounting revolutionary activity from within the ranks of the dispossessed in this country to topple the government, the latter's loss of control over Namibia and, most importantly, a deepening economic recession which

was threatening to destroy it (Alexander, 1985; "Bumpy Ride," 1992; Basson, 1991; Collinge, 1992; Foster, 1991b; and Lotta, 1985).

Faced by these crises and the threat which they posed to its continued rule, the De Klerk government evidently came to the realisation that the time had arrived for it alter its apartheid policies. Hence the introduction of its reform proposals at the beginning of 1990 which heralded, as Basson (1991) puts it, the birth of the so-called "*era of reform*" (p 10); or, in the words of Alexander (1985), the "*era of enlightened despotism*" (p 27). (See also Haysom, 1992; and Lotta, 1985). Apart from preparing the way for negotiations with the government's opponents, unbanning illegal organisations and releasing political prisoners, De Klerk's reform proposals was ostensibly also aimed at dismantling the so-called pillars of apartheid. To this end then notice was given at the beginning of the 1990 (all-white) parliamentary session that the notorious Group Areas Act, the Land Acts, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act (see Chapter 5 for details) would forthwith be scrapped and that 'all-race' structures at local government level would be accorded official status ("Bumpy Ride," 1992; and *Démantèlement*," 1992).

Though these measures undeniably announced a significant departure from previous Nationalist Party-inspired apartheid policies and dogma they, however, did not really bring about any meaningful change in apartheid practices ("Racial Bias," 1992; Municipal Reporter, 1992; Free Azania, 1989; and Lotta, 1985). As Collinge (1992) observes, while the scrapping of the Population Registration Act might have created the impression that one of the central pillars of apartheid had been destroyed, in practice this was not really the case. The scrapping of this act might have meant that people would henceforth no longer officially be classified according to 'race'. However, those already so classified were still stuck with their 'racial' labels. As Collinge (1992) so pertinently puts it, "*non-classified South Africans would have to be born, they did not exist*" (p 10).

Similarly, while the Land and Group Areas Acts were officially scrapped, this did not lead to any meaningful change in people's living conditions; and this because the scrapping of these acts was strategically accompanied by a white paper issued by the government which explicitly declared the latter's opposition to any planned redistribution of land and to any programme of restitution for the countless victims of these acts (Collinge, 1992).

Then too, while the government's stated intention was to allow for the development of non-racial local government structures, this did not spell the end of apartheid at municipal level; and this for the simple reason that the introduction of the Nationalist Party-sponsored Interim Measures for Local Government Act left the deracialisation of municipal structures as a voluntary measure, thereby, of course, allowing white councils to keep their municipal structures white where they so desired (Collinge, 1992).

In terms of improving South Africa's image internationally and averting further economic sanctions against this country the implementation of these reform measures proved to be of inestimable value to the white ruling class. However, while this might have been the case, these reforms, as should be evident from the content of the preceding paragraphs and as Collinge (1992), Foster (1991) and "Racial Bias" (1992) also point out, did not alter, in any meaningful manner, the oppression and systematic (super)exploitation to which blacks continue to be subjected in this country (cf. Staff Reporter, 1992). In fact, as Foster and "Racial Bias" ominously observe,

"[A]partheid has changed in form ... However, many of the core strands of apartheid ideology remain intact in the 1990s ..." (Foster, 1991, p 371)

"After the demise of grand apartheid, ['de facto'] racial discrimination is bound to remain a part of the South African reality for a long time" ("Racial Bias," 1992, p 1).

Here it however has to be acceded that while the Nationalist Party reforms did not and will not change blacks' oppression and exploitation at the hands of the white ruling class in any meaningful manner, they did, as Foster (1991) observes, change or 'modernise' apartheid's face (and quite dramatically so); and it is with this important point in mind that the discourses analyzed in this section should be considered. The change in the manner in which institutionalised racism in this country was articulated, it is believed, can be expected to have had at least some influence on the discourses produced by the black parents who had participated in this study.



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CHAPTER EIGHT

BLACK PARENTS' DISCOURSES ON RACISM:

THE FINDINGS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Right at the outset it can be pointed out that the discourses on racism produced by the black parents interviewed revealed a number of remarkably distinct core themes. Before describing and commenting on these themes it should perhaps be reiterated here that (because the method of discourses analysis is qualitative) these themes are considered distinctive not in terms of statistical significance but because of their relative prominence in the discourses analyzed. The first set of themes which will be considered here concerns the attempts made by the participants in this study to specify exactly what racism is.

8.2 ATTEMPTS AT DEFINING THE PHENOMENON

One of the most striking features of the discourses analyzed is the numerous attempts made by the participants in this study to define the phenomenon of racism as it presents itself in South Africa or at least to specify what it entails. It is from these attempts to define the phenomenon that the first set of themes which are presented below emerges.

8.2.1 Racism concerns prejudiced behaviour and attitudes

The most common or popular definition of racism which emerges from the corpus of texts analyzed in this section is relatively vague and, in terms of the discussion in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, relatively limited. As the following selection of quotations should illustrate, in a number of cases racism is seen as merely involving prejudiced behaviour or discrimination and attitudes; discrimination perpetrated and attitudes harboured by unspecified social agents vis-à-vis unspecified targets:

"[Racism refers to] discrimination against people ..." (June, Interview 5)

"It's [racism is] a form of discrimination" (Jeanne, Interview 5)

"Racism is when a person is not recognised for what he or she is ... or can perform" (Leona, Interview 5)

"[Racism refers to] not wanting to mix with different races as such" (Amelia, Interview 3)

"It [racism] distinguish people because of their colour ... their creed and their behaviour" (Leila, Interview 5)

"[Racism] is when people don't want to mix with others or ... when they regard themselves as better than others who differ from them only in appearance" (David, Interview 1)

"Racism is when you are judged by the colour of your skin" (Hannah, Interview 1)

"Racism is people thinking they're superior to the next person" (Laura, Interview 2).

8.2.2 Racism concerns prejudiced attitudes and behaviour involving certain clearly specified social agents

While the social agents are not specified in the preceding set of definitions viewed, they are clearly identified in definitions such as the following which also emerge from the discourses analyzed:

"[Racism is about whites] ... believ[ing] that white comes before black"
(Rita, Interview 1)

"[Racism is about] ... them [ie., whites] thinking they can get away with anything" (Hannah, Interview 1)

"[Racism is about whites] ... believ[ing] that everything is theirs ... and that you as a so-called coloured or black is a lesser person ... unlike what they are ... to them it is a natural reaction to act in the way they do" (Allie, Interview 1)

"I think racism is just a discrimination ... against other races ... whichever way you look at it ... we can be racists ... we can be racist upwards as well. If you refuse to have anything to do with whites ... that is being racist in my opinion ... if you drive along a road and you seen a guy stuck and you drive past him ... just because he's white"
(Wayne, Interview 2)

This last quotation leads to another relatively substantial discursive theme which also emerges from the discourses analyzed and which can perhaps briefly be considered here, namely, that blacks' prejudiced attitudes and behaviour can be equated with those of whites. This theme which is further illustrated by the following selection of quotations of course echoes a view commonly represented in ruling-class discourses on racism (cf. Essed, 1986, 1987):

"If you, for example, don't like the whites you're also racist ... and also within the same ... type of ... classification" (Ursula, Interview 4)

"It's [discrimination is] not just from their [ie., whites'] side, it's from our side too because we also do not want to mix with whites" (Doreen, Interview 3)

"It's [racism is] like discriminating against people ... and as Wayne says, you can be racist against whites ... but, I think, it's just ... like, anger in this case ... because of the things that you had to endure and ... and the privileges that you couldn't perhaps share ... so, it's just like anger coming out, I'd say" (Carol, Interview 2, emphasis added)

As the last quotation presented above should show, the notion that, in situations where whites constitute the dominant group, blacks' attitudes and behaviour towards whites can be equated with the latter's attitudes towards blacks, does not

go uncontested. Though not stated explicitly, there is some hint in this quotation that the speaker does not quite agree with the idea that, in the South African context, blacks' negative attitudes and behaviour vis-à-vis whites can be likened to whites' attitudes and behaviour towards them. Initially, she does state that "*blacks can be racist against whites*"; but then she, however, adds the significant qualification: "*but, I think, it's just ... like, anger in this case ... I'd say*" (Carol, Interview 2, emphasis added). In other words, blacks' attitudes and behaviour towards whites is justifiable and, by implication, differs from whites' attitudes and behaviour towards blacks.

While the opposition to equating blacks and whites' attitudes and behaviour towards each other is only hinted at in the last quotation presented above, it is expressed relatively explicitly in some of the other discourses analyzed in this section. Consider in this regard, for example, the following conversations extracted from Interviews 1 and 2:

Carmen: ... You know, we were not supposed to go out with whites.

David: Isn't that also racism?

Hannah: No, it isn't

Carmen: I mean, that is just the way we grew up. You know, it's the whites who are the cause of it. (Interview 1)

Wayne: ... If you refuse to have anything to do with whites ... that is being racist in my opinion ... if you drive along a road and you see a guy stuck and you drive past him ... just because he's white.

Don: I'll probably think, "That bugger's white, so I'll pass him" ... I wouldn't feel ... uh, free to stop and give him a helping hand ... whereas if it was a black guy I would stop and give him a hand.

Carol: And I wouldn't call that racism. I think it's more because of anger within you because of what the whites ... perhaps ... privileges you couldn't share ... or maybe the way you had been treated in the past.

Wayne: I didn't say it's wrong to feel like that ... it's probably a natural retaliation after all these years. (Interview 2)

In short, therefore, blacks' prejudiced attitudes and behaviour towards whites is seen to differ from the latter's prejudiced attitudes vis-à-vis blacks - and this in the sense that these attitudes and behaviour exhibited by blacks is essentially a reaction (borne out of "anger") to whites' racism. It is perhaps for this reason that some of the participants in this study sometimes refer to the "anti-white" rather than "racist" attitudes of blacks vis-à-vis whites in this country (see for example, Allie, Interview 1).

As a last point here it should perhaps be pointed out that whites (rather than blacks) are most frequently identified by the parents interviewed as being the chief social agents responsible for the (re)production of racism. In fact, as Allie (Interview 1) observes, being racist, is "a natural reaction" for whites in South Africa.

8.2.3 Racism is about the privileges enjoyed by whites

Racism as Doreen and Daphne (Interview 3) insist, is not merely about whites' prejudiced attitudes and behaviour but, very importantly, it is also about the privileges which whites in South Africa enjoy and blacks do not:

"They [the whites] get all the privileges" (Doreen, Interview 3)

"I think there is a lot of whites ... they know this is wrong but because they've also had the cream of the land ... and the privileges they're reluctant. They just don't want to let go ... then they're going to lose all their privileges and fringe- benefits, or whatever the case may be" (Daphne, Interview 3).

Exactly what the privileges are that whites enjoy are spelt out by various participants in the five interviews conducted. Consider here, for example, the following selection of quotations:

"I'm sure this white was just taken off the streets and asked to work there ... without any qualifications ... while there are black people with qualifications walking the streets in search of jobs" (Ursula, Interview 4)

"About ten years ago I wanted to go to a cinema in Sea Point with a Jewish friend ... and he phoned to book ... and I don't know what made him ask if it was open to everyone [ie., whether it was open to blacks too] ... and it wasn't" (Wayne, Interview 2)

"When I've got a matriculation certificate then I can't get the same job as a white with a Standard eight certificate" (Carmen, Interview 1)

"There were quite a lot of officers who were due for leave ... but my son was booked for the flight. But when he wanted to board there wasn't place for him ... only for the white officers" (Rita, Interview 1)

Here it is important to point out that while many of the participants in the group discussions conducted commented on the fact that the phenomenon of racism enables whites in South Africa to enjoy certain privileges which blacks do not, none of them raises the important point that whites can enjoy these privileges largely because of blacks' oppression and exclusion from the mainstream of South African society (cf. Miles, 1989).

By way of terminating this section dealing with black parents' definitions of racism it should be noted here that while quite a number of the black parents interviewed attempted to define the phenomenon of racism a considerable number did not. According to Essed (1991) this can perhaps be seen as being an indication of the general inability or unwillingness on the part of black lay persons to theorise in the abstract about the ideology. This, she states, can be seen as largely being a function of the fact that in contemporary western society information about racism is only *"marginally integrated into the systems of education and mass communication"* (p 88). In other words, black lay people do not theorise in the abstract about racism because they generally are not exposed to theories of racism.

The fact that blacks frequently do not or are not able to theorise about or define racism should, however, not be interpreted as a total lack of understanding on their part of what racism is; for as Essed (1991) and Louw-Potgieter (1989) observe, the stories which blacks frequently relate about their experiences of racist events more than attest to their understanding of the phenomenon (cf. van Dijk, 1990b). This leads to another important finding of this study. While a number of the

participants in this study did not or could not provide a succinct definition of what racism is, all of them had a number of stories to relate about racist incidents to which they had been exposed. In fact, as a reading of the interview transcripts (See **Appendix C**) would show, on the odd occasion when the participants were pertinently asked to provide a definition of the phenomenon of racism, a number of them frequently provided an account of a racist incident in *lieu* of the requested definition.

Apart from the discursive themes presented above, the discourses analyzed also produced a plethora of other core themes. Because these themes emerged from the reactions of the participants in this study to the vignettes presented to them rather than from their attempts to define the phenomenon of racism, they will be presented separately. Here it needs to be pointed out that this separation of the discursive themes identified is merely for the sake of convenience; for as will presently be seen, the themes which will be presented below, in some cases overlap to a considerable degree with the set of themes presented above.

One of the more prominent discursive themes which emerged from the reactions of the black parents who had participated in this study to the vignettes with which they had been presented concerns the extent of racism in our society. It is this set of themes which will now be considered.

8.3 THE EXTENT OF RACISM IN OUR SOCIETY

There are essentially two core discursive themes which emerge in this category, namely, a theme which presents racism in South Africa as essentially being restricted to specific individuals or groups of individuals; and a theme which presents racism as being relatively widespread in this country.

8.3.1 Racism is limited to certain individuals or groups of individuals in this country

A small, but not insubstantial, number of the participants in this study, as the following excerpts and quotations should illustrate, seem to view racism as essentially being a function of people's 'mentality' or mental state, their age, where they stay and whether they are 'conservative' (or right-wing extremists) or not:

Allie: Not all whites feel so strongly about it like this person on TV ... [Refer to **Appendix D, Vignette 2**].

Hannah: Only the **low mentality** ones (Interview 1, emphasis added)

"I noticed that the younger generation [whites] mix easier [with blacks]. The older [whites] are more settled in their ways. I noticed at our branch that the younger generation ... it's easier for them to mix" (Don, Interview 2).

"It's the older ones [whites] who are the tough [most racist] ones" (Cora, Interview 2)

"Places have opened like [ie., they no longer discriminate on the basis of 'race']. And one can't compare a place like De Aar and a place like Sea Point, for example. I've been to De Aar and I didn't want to make use of the shops there because I knew what to expect. In Sea Point I will be freer ..." (Ursula, Interview 4).

"... it's like really sick that you couldn't sit on a bench because it was for whites only ... but in places like Mossel Bay it's like more ... apartheid ... like when we used to go on trips we couldn't go into the restaurants and we had to make use of the window ..." (Laura, Interview 2).

"I believe that it will come right [ie., that racism will be eradicated] ... I know with the AWB it will never come right" (Iris, Interview 2).

Merle: My Vadertjie! Mud races! It is especially the boere who believe things like this.

Ursula: Yes, people like Terreblanche ... Treurnicht ... (Interview 4)

"This [racist discourse described in Vignette 2] is the view of total extremists ... radicals that is completely on the right side of the political scale ... Fortunately, these people are in the minority at the moment. They exist and ... the tragedy is they actually believe things like this ... it borders on the line of lunacy" (Wayne, Interview 2).

To the extent that the speakers quoted above view racist acts and attitudes as essentially being limited to 'low mentality' or 'lunatic' whites, to whites in rural areas, to 'boere' (that is, Afrikaners)⁽¹⁾, and to 'conservative' whites or 'right-wing extremists', such as, Treurnicht and Terreblanche, it can of course be concluded that they do not view racism as being very widespread or deeply embedded in South African society. The last speaker quoted above in fact states so quite explicitly. As he puts it on more than one occasion, "*[racist] people are in the minority at the moment*" (Wayne, Interview 2).

By way of concluding the discussion of this theme it can be noted that there seems to be a remarkable similarity between the views presented above and the dominant academic discourses analyzed in Chapter 6 with regard to the extent of racism in South Africa. As noted previously, for example, the view that racist opinions and actions are basically encountered only amongst 'conservative' whites, Afrikaners (as opposed to English-speaking whites) and other social 'deviants' is one which is expressed by a significant number of psychologists cited in Chapter 6.

8.3.2 Racism is widespread and deeply embedded in South African society

The second discursive theme related to the extent of racism in South Africa which emerges from the discourses analyzed in this section, in brief, posits that the phenomenon of racism as it exists in South Africa is extremely widespread. Very interesting to note here too is the fact that this view is represented much more broadly in the discourses analyzed than the preceding theme.

⁽¹⁾ And by implication, therefore, not English-speaking whites.

In all the group discussions the participants, if they had not already addressed the issue, were presented with the question: How many whites in South Africa hold views similar to those expressed by the speaker referred to in **Vignette 2** (See **Appendix D**)? Despite the fact that the views expressed by the speaker in question were very extreme, most of the parents who had participated in this study responded that the majority or, at least, many whites do. By way of illustration, a selection of the responses given is presented below:

"There are many whites who believe the things that the person on TV said" (Allie, Interview 1)

"About eighty per cent of whites believe this" (Leila, Interview, 5)

"I think there are many whites in South Africa who believe the things this man said" (Doreen, Interview 3).

Moreover, as two of the participants in this study pointed out, though many whites might not express the views of the speaker in **Vignette 2**, this does not mean that they do not share these views:

"My one son was at the German High School ... and he learned ... in his matric year that there is a big difference between being refined and not being racist ... because as the end of the matric year approached the racist feelings of people that they camouflaged in order to succeed at the school started emerging and that was traumatic for him ... to come to terms with his classmates' racism" (Jeanne, Interview 5)

"I think there's quite a lot of whites that believe things like this. Although, when confronted with the situation they ... they don't speak up what they really think" (Wesley, Interview 2).

Not only did a significant number of the participants in this study express the opinion that many whites in South Africa hold such extremely racist views as those expressed in **Vignette 2**, but like the following speakers, many also expressed the belief that racist practices are still very much part of South African life:

*"You get the people who still practice [racist] discrimination ... we read about it **so often** ..." (emphasis added, Daphne, Interview 3)*

"... it was a despicable deed [referring to Vignette 1] ... but being in South Africa [one] become[s] accustomed to this sort of ... occurrence" (Wayne, Interview 2).

A very revealing finding of this study is the fact that many of the speakers interviewed go beyond affirming that many whites in South Africa are racist and in fact state that racism is so deeply embedded; that it is so "common" or such an "everyday experience" (Don, Interview 2) in South African society in specific and the world in general, that it is virtually ineradicable:

"Racism cannot be eradicated" (David, Interview 1)

"I don't think that racism can be wiped out because overseas where there are no racism laws there is still racism" (Allie, Interview 1)

"Racism is definitely not going to disappear. Even in open countries [that is, in countries where racism is not bolstered by openly discriminatory legislation] you still find it" (Susan, Interview 5)

"We cannot really get rid of racism but we can try. I remember reading about this black student who went to study in America ... but being there did not ensure that he is being treated better than in South Africa. He's still a black person. He was looked upon as a black man. So I don't think we will get rid of racism" (Carmen, Interview 1).

Very interesting - and, indeed, informative - to note at this juncture is the fact that while, as will be illustrated later, a number of the interviewees considered existing legislation and government policies (see, for example, the statements made by Ursula, Hannah and Allie in Section 2.2.5.3) as being important determinants of the extent of racism in our society they, like Susan (Interview 5), Carmen and Allie (Interview 1) (see quotations above), consider racism as being capable of functioning without the existence or support of these laws and policies.

Another important set of discursive themes which emerges from the responses of parents who had participated in this study concerns the questioning of the legitimacy and rationality of the ideology of racism.

8.4 THE ILLOGICAL AND IMMORAL NATURE OF RACISM

A reading of the discourses analyzed reveals that implicit in most of the accounts provided by the participants in this study of their understanding and experiences of racism in South Africa is a critique or judgement of the ideology. The two core themes in this regard which emerge from the discourses can be summarised as follows: (i) racism as it manifests itself in South Africa is based on certain assumptions which are relatively illogical or, at least, problematic; and (ii) racism as it exists in this country is morally untenable.

8.4.1 Racism as it manifests itself in South Africa is based on illogical assumptions

Though it is frequently not explicitly formulated, a recurring discursive theme which emerges from the discourses produced by the participants in this study is that the racist policies practised in South Africa are based on decidedly nonsensical, or at least questionable, assumptions or criteria. Consider in this regard the following quotations:

"I wonder who named it actually 'whites', 'blacks' ... I mean the races. Where did it all start? There are in fact no clear distinctions between the people but if you bring that up the [the whites] will go crazy" (Amelia, Interview 3)

"Racism is something implemented by the government ... where there is a distinction between so-called black and coloured" (emphasis added, Allie, Interview 1)

"I mean, I would tell my child that races are categories the government has created but that doesn't mean that it's true" (emphasis added, Ursula, Interview 4)

"I mean, why must we be degraded ... just because our skin is black you can't go here and you can't go there. I mean, who do they think they are? We are all God's creation. All our blood in our veins is all red. Ours isn't black and theirs isn't white" (Doreen, Interview 3)

"I have this one friend who has a sister who is very fair and one day she is standing in a queue when a white policeman comes up and tells her she was not standing in the queue for whites. Then she said, 'But I'm not white I'm pink'" (Carmen, Interview 1)

"Maar hulle't 'n bloody cheek! [referring to Vignette 2] Ek is verdom nog witter as wat hulle is!" (Merle, Interview 4)

Though it is not explicitly or, for that matter, very eloquently formulated the criticism of the notion of 'race' on which the ideology of racism is based should be apparent to anyone who reads the above quotations carefully enough. Consider here particularly the content of the first two quotations presented above and the cited speakers' use of the word "*people*" rather than 'race' and the expression "*so-called black and coloured*" rather than simply 'coloured' and 'black' (or 'African'). A close reading of the above statements in fact shows that not only is the notion of 'race' criticised or questioned but the manner in which it is employed to categorise people (as well as the labels used to categorise people), is thoroughly ridiculed in the last two quotations presented above. Consider in this regard, for example, the following two statements taken from these quotations: "*Ek is verdom nog witter as wat hulle is!*" (Merle, Interview 4). "*Then she said, 'But I'm not white I'm pink'" (Carmen, Interview 1). The fact that both these statements are followed by laughter (see Appendix D) is obviously also very significant. The concept of 'race', as one of the participants in this study so appropriately remarks, does not really make sense. "Race", as she puts it, "*is incidental!*" (Jeanne, Interview 5). It merely constitutes a means to exploit and marginalise people. It is not "*race*" which causes differences between people, she says, but the material and social conditions under which they live their lives:*

"It so happens that all your coloureds live together and all your whites live together or all your blacks live together ... So, when you put them together you will notice the differences. It is because of where they stay or the economic conditions" (Jeanne, Interview 5).

A reading of the full corpus of the texts included in this study would show that the line of reasoning postulated above is not unique to Interview 5 but in fact emerges

relatively consistently from some of the other group interviews conducted as well (See Appendix D).

8.4.2 Racism as it exists in South Africa is morally untenable.

As the following quotations illustrate, some of the speakers who had participated in this study go beyond criticising racism and its institutionalised South African variant, apartheid, as illogical but also characterise it as 'wrong' and 'despicable'; in other words, as morally untenable:

"Racism is something implemented by the government ... where there is a distinction between so-called black and coloured ... Actually it is law. We don't have to enforce it. They have to ... but it's wrong to place people into categories" (Allie, Interview 1)

"... they think that we are not supposed to be on the same level as what they are ... because of the colour of our skins ... and I would tell my child that it is wrong ..." (emphasis added, Carmen, Interview 1)

"I read this particular piece [referring to Vignette 1] in the newspaper. It was quite a ... well recorded incident and... from our point of view ... from any human being's point of view ... it was a despicable deed" (emphasis added, Wayne, Interview 2).

Even though statements such as those presented above recur relatively frequently in the discourses analyzed, this core theme, it should be noted, is one of the less dominant themes emerging from the corpus of texts scrutinised. A theme which is however relatively dominant concerns the changing nature of the phenomenon of racism as it manifests itself in South Africa; and it is this theme which will now be considered.

8.5 THE CHANGING NATURE OF RACISM

Various writers have thus far commented on the constantly changing nature of the ideology of racism and the increasingly subtle manner in which the ideology is expressed today (See, for example, McConahay, 1986; Essed, 1987; and Miles, 1989. See also the chapters 5 and 6 of the present study). As Essed (1987) McConahay (1986) point out, and as had previously been observed, due to a variety of factors⁽²⁾, contemporary racism has become much more sophisticated or, in the words of the authors cited above, much more 'symbolic' and 'modern'.

A reading of the texts included in this study shows a relatively high level of awareness amongst the majority of participants in regard to the changing nature of the ideology of racism as it manifests itself in the South African situation (See, for example, Allie, Interview 1; Doreen, Interview 3; and Don, Laura and Wayne, Interview 2). Very interesting to note at this juncture, however, is the view expressed by most of the participants in this study, namely, that the changes which racism underwent in this country should not be seen as being the result of an increasing awareness on the part of the ruling class that racism is bad or fundamentally evil. Rather, these changes should be seen as being a consequence of the ever mounting internal as well as external pressures exerted on the latter to modify its racist policies (so that they, at least, appear more humane). These pressures, as the first two of the following excerpts indicate, are primarily of an economic nature:

"Someone was saying that ten years ago things were already changing but I think that then it was a case of money because I can remember cases where Muizenberg was open during the year ... they allowed coloureds to play on the mini-golf course and so on but when it came to the festive season, they weren't allowed ... so it definitely was a case of money ... and when there was whites to attend, coloureds could not enter" (Don, Interview 2)

⁽²⁾ See Essed (1987) and McConahay (1986) as well as the preceding two chapters of this dissertation for a detailed exposition of these factors and the influence which they have had on the manner in which racism is articulated.

"Even with the sports, it wasn't because they were thinking of the community at large ... it was because of outside pressure ... I mean, [economic] sanctions ... the cumulative effects of all these things forced them to change ... to release Mandela, etcetera" (Wayne, Interview 2)

"I think whites are suddenly improving their attitudes [towards blacks] to get sanctions lifted. Sometimes I feel like this because they see that they need to get sanctions lifted. Sometimes I think it is just a farce. I wonder whether it will ever end" (Carmen, Interview 1)

"They did not [intend to change] ... but they have to ... before they used to include one or two blacks in their sports teams ... but that was all window-dressing" (Laura, Interview 2).

Apart from recognising the changes which the racist policies of the ruling class underwent, the quotations presented above also highlight another important discursive theme which emerges relatively consistently from this study. The gist of this theme basically is that though the phenomenon of racism as it exists in South Africa might have undergone several changes over these last few years, **these changes did not really affect or alter the asymmetric relations of domination existing between blacks and whites** in this country; in other words then, that racism is effectively still a reality for blacks in this country. In fact, as Laura (Interview 2) puts it, racist incidents still occur *"all the time"* (cf Essed, 1991; and Louw-Potgieter, 1989). Of all the statements screened in the present phase of this study, the first, third and fourth statements presented above as well as the following two statements best illustrate the essence of this theme:

"[Though some schools are now 'open'] the majority of our [ie., black] parents cannot send their children to better schools ... to white schools ... because of the money. They still have ways of keeping our children out. So things are still not equal" (emphasis added, Doreen, Interview 3).

"Here's a guy who is brave enough to express what he feels ... what he really believe. He's maybe one of the few that does that ... the majority ... [no longer] really say it in so many words but the ... actions show it, you know. You see that all over. I mean ... I see it in my work situation ... every day. They don' say it in so many words but ... you can see in the way they react ... that they ... [still] ... think nothing of you" (Don, Interview 2).

Despite the various changes which the phenomenon of racism had undergone in recent years in South Africa, Sidney (**Interview 3**) states - and very optimistically, it might be added - that

"... it's still going to take twenty more years for this thing [referring to racism in South Africa] to come right" (See also Wayne, **Interview 2**, for a similar statement).

The next set of themes which emerged from the texts analyzed and which will be considered here deals with the causes or origins of racism.

8.6 CAUSES OF RACISM

Before presenting the various themes dealing with the causes or origins of racism it should perhaps be pointed out that the content of these themes can be expected to overlap to a considerable degree with the content of the themes already discussed earlier in this section; particularly the themes dealing with the extent of racism in this country and those emerging from the attempts by the participants in this study to define what racism is.

As should have been noted previously, the participants in this study, in their attempts to define racism and the extent of the phenomenon, frequently also referred to, and elaborated on, the factors which cause racism. The discursive themes dealing with the causes or origins of racism and which will be presented in this section have, for the sake of convenience, been organised into the following thematic categories:

- (i) themes focusing on the actions and characteristics of blacks as causes of racism;
- (ii) themes dealing with the actions and characteristics of whites as the causes of racism; and
- (iii) a theme focusing on racism as a function of broader systemic or institutional factors.

8.6.1 Racism as a function of certain actions and characteristics of blacks

In essence there are two core themes emerging from the texts studied which fall into this category. They can be summarised as follows:

- (i) racism is a function of blacks' actions; and
- (ii) racism is a function of blacks' skin colour.

If compared with the other discursive themes emerging from the texts analyzed in this section, these themes can by no means be considered as being the most dominant. Nevertheless, the notions that certain actions and characteristics of blacks are at the root of racism recurs with sufficient regularity in the discourses scrutinised to at least warrant some consideration of these themes here.

The first discursive theme in this category - and which, incidentally, must be one of the most minor themes to emerge from the discourses analyzed - as the following quotations illustrate, seems to attribute the phenomenon of racism as it manifests itself in South Africa to certain actions (or lack of action) on the part of blacks:

"... our country is in the state that it is ... because our parents who are of Hannah's age ... they just kept quiet when they [the whites] introduced apartheid" (Allie, Interview 1)

"Well, like some people say ... and I quite agree with them ... We saw something at Muizenberg Beach which wasn't very nice, you know ... but then it wasn't only African, it was coloureds also ... so the obvious thing to say is, 'Dis daarom wat die wit mense nie vir ons tussen hulle wil hê nie' ..." (Amelia, Interview 3)

"... I think it's right that they are standing up now but I think if we had to do it that time we were children our country would have been a better place" (Doreen, Interview 3).

Though, in the first statement presented above, the speaker acknowledges that whites in this country played a pivotal role in the genesis and elaboration of racism and, specifically, apartheid (for as she puts it, "... they [the whites] introduced apartheid"), a very clear message which emanates from her statement is that

apartheid would not have survived if blacks had opposed its introduction with sufficient vigour. Though the historical inaccuracy of the view that blacks "*just kept quiet*" when confronted by the introduction of apartheid is obviously disconcerting, what is even more disquieting is the fact that the speaker here seems to hold blacks responsible for this ruling-class policy. It has to be conceded, however, that blacks are only **partly** blamed for the existence of apartheid.

Now, while the first statement presented above does not hold blacks exclusively responsible for the existence of racism in this country the second statement certainly does. Though the speaker here does not say what she saw at Muizenberg Beach, the general tone of her statement gives the impression that she must have witnessed certain blacks 'misbehaving'. This presumed misbehaviour on the part of blacks, to her then, as the following utterance would seem to indicate, justifies the ruling class's past policy of beach apartheid: "*Dis daarom wat die wit mense nie vir ons tussen hulle wil hê nie.*" By arguing thus she effectively echoes one of the most commonly employed ruling-class justifications for its racist apartheid policies, namely, that the separation of the 'races' in South Africa is essential because 'blacks do not know how to behave themselves. They are savages' (cf. academics' discourses in **Chapter 6** of this dissertation).

The second theme in this category, though it does not commit the error of attributing the genesis or existence of racism to blacks' actions, commits the equally grave mistake of linking it to blacks' appearance.

A refrain which traverses all but one of the group interviews conducted (**Interview 4**) is that whites harbour racist attitudes towards, and discriminate against, blacks because

"... of the colour of our skins" (Carmen, **Interview 1**; and Daphne, **Interview 3**. See also Patricia and Rita, **Interview 1**; Laura, **Interview 2**; and Leila and Susan, **Interview 5** for variations of the same theme).

The implication of this line of reasoning should be obvious. Racism would not have existed if blacks did not have a dark skin colour. Though this might not have been the conscious intention of those participants who had contributed to this discursive theme their utterances lead to blacks once again being blamed for their domination at the hands of whites. Though skin colour admittedly plays a pivotal role in racist practice and ideology, it cannot be held out as being the cause of racism. As pointed out in **Chapter 2** there are other more crucial factors which can be held more directly responsible for the genesis and existence of racism; factors such as the need to appropriate and exploit the resources which blacks have historically had at their disposal. To attribute racism only to blacks' skin colour, as Cox (1948) stresses, is ultimately (albeit indirectly) to blame the 'victims' for their own exploitation and oppression and to deny the essentially "*practical exploitative nature*" (p 332) of the ideology. As he points out with regard to the oppression and cruel exploitation of the so-called American 'Indians' and 'Negroes' during the days of slavery,

"This [exploitation and oppression of 'Indians' and 'Negroes'] did not develop because Indians and Negroes were red and black ... but simply because they were the best workers to be found for the heavy labor in the mines and plantations across the Atlantic [at the time]. If white workers were available at the time they would have been substituted. As a matter of fact, part of the early demand for labor in the West Indies and on the mainland was filled by white servants, who were sometimes defined in exactly the same terms as those used to characterise the Africans" (Cox, 1948, p 332).

8.6.2 Racism as a function of certain personal and social characteristics of whites

Though ostensibly relatively diverse in nature, the discourses which fall within this category generally group themselves into one of two core themes which can be summarised as follows:

- (i) racism is basically a function of certain personal characteristics of whites; and
- (ii) racism is a function of whites' socialisation.

Of all the themes dealing with the causes of racism, these two themes are probably the most dominant.

8.6.2.1 Racism is basically a function of certain personal characteristics of whites

This theme consists of two sub-themes, the first of which, as illustrated by the following statements, posits that racism is caused by mental pathology, ignorance and age:

"[Racists] are sick people. They are really sick" (Susan, Interview 5)

"... these [racists] are really sick people" (Norma, Interview 5) (See also Hannah, Interview 1 for a remarkably similar statement⁽³⁾)

"I would tell my people not to believe these ignorant, stupid people [referring to Vignette 2]. But it's difficult to explain to small children why these whites hate us so much" (emphasis added, Daphne, Interview 3)

"It's the older ones who are the tough [most racist] ones" (Cora, Interview 2) (See also Don, Interview 2 for a similar statement⁽⁴⁾)

In short, therefore, this discursive sub-theme locates the cause of racism **within** the white individual.

Though the second sub-theme in this section also locates the cause of racism in white individuals it differs from the previous sub-theme in one important respect. While the previous sub-theme postulates that racism is caused by a minority of 'deviant' whites, the present one posits that racism is the common property of all whites in South Africa. According to this sub-theme whites can be held responsible for the existence of racism because of the basic sense of insecurity to which they

⁽³⁾ Quoted in Section 2.2.2.1

⁽⁴⁾ Quoted in Section 2.1.2.1

are generally subjected in this country, on the one hand, and because they are fundamentally inhuman, on the other. Here the following responses to the question, "Why do whites often behave in this racist manner (referring to Vignette 1)?" are presented by way of illustration.

"Because they feel threatened" (Leona, Interview 5)

"Because they are scared" (Sidney, Interview 3) (See also David, Interview 1; and Doreen, Interview 3 for similar responses).

"... [because] they are not human" (Norma, Interview 5).

Responding to a similar question, Daphne states,

"Listen, I will be very frank now .. they're pigs. They're uncouth pigs. They're not human ..."

8.6.2.2 Racism is a function of whites' socialisation

This, the most dominant theme related to the causes of racism posits, as the following quotations should illustrate, that racism is largely a function of whites' socialisation:

"I would explain to my child that she's not an animal as this guy on TV interprets it and then I would tell my child he was brought up like that" (Wesley, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"I agree with Daphne that whites believe these things because it was drummed into their heads" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"So, sometimes I think that these racists, like Treurnicht, for example, they were ... indoctrinated by their parents, you know, and they grew up with that ..." (Amelia, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"That's why I say it [racism] starts with the parents and then it spills over to the child and that is how the children grow up" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"Ja, it's true that they treat the coloured people ... the black people as being inferior to them ... you see, it's the way they've been brought up" (Don, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"Those of these people [whites] who were raised in homes where the maids were black or coloured ... and they were treated like a different species. They were not allowed to use the facilities in the house ... so where these children grew up ... I mean ... these people were treated as different species and not as people and it also explains this [racist incident described in Vignette 1]" (Leona, Interview 5, emphasis added)

"I would tell her that [racism] is wrong but because of their upbringing ... they [whites] believe it is okay to behave like this" (Allie, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"So-called whites are brainwashed since they are small to believe that we are inferior ..." (Hannah, Interview 1).

Needless to say, to the extent that this explanation of the origins of racism in South Africa focuses on broader social forces and, more specifically, the social institutions in which whites are raised rather than only on the individual it, as previously argued, presents a much less 'limited' account of the existence of the phenomenon than the preceding sub-themes. However, to the extent that the speakers who contributed to this discursive theme seem to imply that it is only in the family unit that whites are socialised to become racist (see the statements presented above and particularly those sections of these statements printed in bold characters) they obviously do not go far enough in accounting for the existence of racism. As should be clear from previous discussions, it is not only within the narrow confines of the white family unit that racism is transmitted. There are many other broader and, possibly, much more influential social institutions, such as, the mass media, educational institutions, the church and political apparatuses which play a vital role in the (re)production of racism (Therborn, 1980; van Dijk, 1990b; and van Staden, 1986a).

8.6.3 Racism as a function of broader institutional or systemic factors

As had been the case with the academics' discourses analyzed in the present study, this theme, despite the fact that it best accounts for the extent and deep-rootedness

of racism in South Africa (cf. Cox, 1948; and Foster, 1991b), is relatively under-represented in the discourses analyzed in the present section. In fact, the following quotations represent about the only instances when systemic rather than individual factors are presented as constituting the primary force in the (re)production of racism:

"Racism is a result of the categories based on colour created by the government in this country ..." (Ursula, Interview 4)

"Racism is ... implemented by the government" (Hannah, Interview 1)

"[Racism is caused] by indoctrination to a certain extent ... It's the authorities and the rules and the regulations" (Ursula, Interview 4)

"I think I would explain ... they've [ie., the whites have] always had what they wanted ... They always got what they wanted ... but I would also [explain] ... that it is wrong but because of the government ... they believe that it is okay" (Allie, Interview 1)

"It's actually the government that is to blame ... apartheid ... I mean that's the main issue and others stems from there" (Laura, Interview 2).

Though not very convincingly or persuasively articulated in the above statements, the central explanation of racism contained in this theme at least attempts to account for the pivotal role played by the government of this country (including the latter's agents and the laws which it has sponsored through the years) in the (re)production of racism. An obvious shortcoming of this explanation, as represented in the above-mentioned quotations, is of course its patent neglect of the other important sources of institutional support (see Section 8.6.2.2) enjoyed by the ideology of racism in South Africa. As Sidney (Interview 3) intimates, explicitly racist government policies and legislation alone cannot account for the existence and virulence of racism in contemporary society:

"In other countries there are no racist laws but there is still separation amongst people ... separate and unequal."

8.7 CONSEQUENCES OF RACISM

The one aspect of racism which the participants in this study spoke about at length is that of the phenomenon's implications or consequences. Here it should however be pointed out that in those instances where these individuals make reference to the consequences of racism they do so primarily in terms of how the phenomenon affects the lives of blacks. This obviously does not mean that they deny that racism has an impact on whites' lives as well⁽⁵⁾. It is just that when discussing the effects of racism most of the participants concentrate how the phenomenon affects their own as well as other blacks' lives. In this respect two core themes emerge from the discourses studied. These themes can be summarised as follows:

- (i) racism affects the material and social reality of blacks; and
- (ii) racism has an effect on the psychological reality or integrity of blacks.

8.7.1 Racism affects the material and social reality of blacks

It is a well documented fact that the phenomenon of racism as it manifests itself in South Africa has affected the social and material reality of blacks in this country in the most adverse manner. Here the reader is referred to the works of, amongst others, Alexander (1985), Bulhan (1990), Dawes (1985), Foster (1991), Seedat (1990), Steer (1984) and Whittaker (1990) who all elaborate at great length on the deleterious consequences which racism in this country has not only had on the material reality but also on the psychological reality of blacks (see also **Chapter 5** of the present study).

Though they may not formulate it as eloquently as the writers cited above, it is evident from the discourses which they produced that the participants in this study,

⁽⁵⁾ As pointed out in **Section 8.2.3**, a recurring theme emerging from the discourses analyzed is that racism procures whites in this country with privileges most blacks will never enjoy.

like the fore-mentioned writers, believe that racism has profoundly affected the material and social reality of blacks in this country. Here it should perhaps be reiterated that the participants in the present study, instead of presenting 'theoretical' explanations of what racism entails, often resorted to providing various anecdotes and accounts of their own life experiences to convey their understanding of the phenomenon. This was frequently also the case when they wished to communicate the impact of racism on the lives of blacks. To illustrate what the participants consider the effect of racism on the material and social reality of blacks to be, a selection of quotations (some of them consisting of the numerous anecdotes and experiences reported during the group interviews conducted) are presented below:

"I remember, when you looked for a job and you phoned, people were very made up when they hear your qualifications and they tell you to come in for an interview ... but when you turn up they look right through you because they expected a white person ..." (Leila, **Interview 5**)

"There is some of us who are highly educated people ... who are cleverer than the white man because the 'boere' come from the farm then they get good positions. They have standard four or five then they get these positions. Just because we are black we can't get these positions" (Doreen, **Interview 3**)

"When I've got a matriculation certificate then I can't get the same job as a white with a standard eight certificate" (Carmen, **Interview 1**)

"My husband is technician and ... he has to go from door to door when he gets his call ... sometimes he's treated very badly and they would like leave him outside on the doorstep ... in the rain ... to go and check if he is really a technician ... even though he [wears] a name tag. If he had been white this would not have happened" (June, **Interview 5**)

"When I think how people had to give up their homes - homes which they worked for - when the Group Areas was started. Look what it did to us. Our people were dumped into areas like Hanover Park. Do you know how much problems people in that area have with their children ... because of the environment?" (Daphne, **Interview 3**)

"I was in Wimpy ... We were sitting there and got no response from the waiters ... Then we saw the manager coming ... and [he] ... told us that they don't serve coloureds here and that there is a small window where

we must buy take-aways ... and then we just left ... that's one experience I will never forget" (Wesley, Interview 2)

"We had an experience last year ... the Strand when we were chased off the beach ... we were walking on the beach ... the police came and they ... simply chased us away and our children asked why ... and my husband just said, 'Look, this beach is for whites,' and we left" (Carol, Interview 2)

"I ... want to ask something ... Why is it that if a coloured ... man rapes a [white] woman ... why is it that that man gets the death sentence ... but if it was a coloured or black girl raped by a white man or coloured or black man, for that matter, the punishment is never that severe? ... Is there something wrong with us?" (Carmen, Interview 1)

"When we were put out of District Six my mother had to go and stay in Genadendal. Two weeks after moving there she got ill ... we had to walk long distances to get to doctors and hospitals. Eventually she died ... today I still believe that it's because of the whites that she died" (Amelia, Interview 3)

In short, therefore, according to the speakers cited above, racism as it exists in South Africa can be held responsible for blacks seldom obtaining the jobs of their choice; of blacks having to accept inferior employment positions; of blacks being forced to reside in black ghettos; of blacks being barred from utilising certain (and normally the best) recreational facilities available; of blacks being subjected to an array of dehumanising experiences; and of black communities being uprooted and destabilised. Unlike the academic discourses (viewed in **Chapter 6**) which generated very scant information and were relatively vague about the consequences of racism, the discourses produced by the black parents who had participated in the present study are very specific or clear with regard to the consequences which racism has on the lives of its targets. According to these discourses, racism has consistently had a very destructive influence on most blacks' lives. In fact, as Carmen's rhetorical question (contained in the last quotation presented above) implies and as Amelia's account of her family's eviction from their home in District Six illustrates, racism, through its effects on the living conditions of blacks, has had as consequence the cheapening or devaluation of black life.

8.7.2 Racism has an effect on the psychological reality of blacks

As pointed out previously, the majority of contemporary works on racism indicate that the phenomenon has an extremely destructive effect on the psychological integrity of its targets (See, for example, Bulhan, 1985; Cooper, 1990; Fanon, 1952; and Grier & Cobb, 1980). Now, while psychologists generally agree that racism has an extremely damaging effect on the psychological well-being of blacks there appears to be quite a diversity of opinions emerging from the literature reviewed concerning the exact nature of the damage which the ideology inflicts on its targets.

Despite their diversity, however, as McAdoo (1985) points out, these opinions converge to form two relatively distinct theoretical positions. In brief, these positions are as follows: The first position posits that blacks, due to their inferior status in racist societies and their constant exposure to negative portrayals of themselves, learn to internalise a negative image of blacks and that this ultimately leads to a general antipathy towards other blacks and a hatred or rejection of the self. This position, according to McAdoo, generally presents blacks as assuming a relatively passive role vis-à-vis their domination.

The second position identified by McAdoo (1985) essentially submits that negative perceptions of the in-group and self-hatred are possible, though not necessary, consequences of blacks' inferior status and exposure to dominant group ideology in racist societies. This is essentially the position adopted by McAdoo (1985) and writers such as Bulhan (1985) Fanon (1952, 1992) Foster (1992) and Grier and Cobb (1980). According to these writers, blacks frequently in fact oppose and resist the images of themselves which are normally held out to them; opposition or resistance, according to Bulhan (1985), which is essentially borne out of a basic belief in their own 'humanness'. Having said this, the questions which logically arise here with regard to the discourses analyzed in the present section are: Do the parents who had participated in the present study perceive racism as having any effect on the psychological integrity of blacks? If it has, how does it affect the psychological well-being of blacks?

Firstly, all those participants who addressed the question of whether racism has an influence on the psychological well-being of blacks, without exception, stated that it did. However, with regard to exactly how racism affects the psychological well-being of blacks, the views which emerged from their discourses appeared to be relatively diverse. Despite their apparent diversity, these views can nevertheless be organised into the following thematic categories.

8.7.2.1 Racism has a negative influence on blacks' self-concept

One of the dominant themes concerning the impact of the phenomenon of racism which emerges from the discourses analyzed, as the following selection of quotations should illustrate, postulates that the phenomenon can be considered to exert a relatively negative influence on blacks' self-concept:

"I think that our children might know that they're not animals ... but at the back of their minds they must be thinking ... there must be something that must be lacking in me. I'm not good enough that's ... else that person would not have called me an animal" (Daphne, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"How can we tell our children not [to] believe this man [referring to Vignette 1]? He is then treating them like animals, so naturally they are going to start believing that they are animals" (Doreen, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"... I'm honest with you people. You know when my boss [a white] speaks to the girls [ie., black women] they just drop their eyes. I can't stand that. I'm equal to anyone" (Patricia, Interview 1)

"I think they [ie., the children referred to in Vignette 1] would automatically feel inferior" (Laura, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"Yes, they [ie., the children referred to in Vignette 1] would feel inferior the child could ... grow up with an inferior complex" (Don, Interview 2, emphasis added)

In short, the message which emerges from the above quotations is that, because of the manner in which they are treated and interpellated, blacks cannot but develop

an 'inferiority' complex. Though stated much less explicitly, this message also emerges from statements such as the.

"Because the going is so good for the whites... certain blacks ... identify themselves with the whites" (Daphne, Interview 3)

"I've two daughters ... the older ... is quite ... dark ... [she] is always asking, 'Mommy ... if I put a lot of cream on will I become that colour [ie., fair]?" (June, Interview 5).

8.7.2.2 Racism has caused members of the dominated group to internalise the artificially created divisions within their group.

Not only does racism influence the manner in which blacks perceive themselves but, according to many interviewees, the ideology is also responsible for the former internalising the artificial divisions within their group; divisions which, as was noted earlier, were ruthlessly engineered by the South African ruling class to ensure its hegemony. Below is a selection of quotations illustrating this notion which, it can be pointed out, recurs with remarkable regularity in the texts analyzed:

"... we have a little ['African'] boy, Angelo, in our class. We have another little girl, Amy ... she's coloured but she's very dark ... so we played a game. Boys had to choose girls and girls had to choose boys ... so they said to him, 'Come on Angelo, you must choose a girl.' So this little boy whose mother teach him not to be racist said, 'Take Amy, she's dark'" (Susan, Interview 5)

"Recently, my grand-daughter, said she was no longer playing with her best friend, Zinzi. When I asked her why, she said, 'Because Zinzi is a 'Guguletu'⁽⁶⁾.' ..." (Amelia, Interview 3)

Wayne: ... they [blacks] see the whites there, another group here and so on ... and that sort of gives them the right to ... look down upon other groups.

⁽⁶⁾ Guguletu is a location outside Cape Town established by the South African government to accommodate so-called 'Africans'. In the context of this anecdote, the child must have meant that Zinzi is an 'African'.

Wesley: ... they believe the whites is up there, the coloured in between and the blacks below ... (Interview 3).

"One Saturday I was very angry with [my husband] ... but I can't use that as an excuse ... he came home with the blacks [ie., so-called 'Africans'] as we call them and they had a drink together and I took the glasses and threw them into the dirt bin ... and he will never forgive me for that. So, sometimes I think that these [whites] ... they were also indoctrinated by their parents ... and they grew up with that ..." (Amelia, Interview 3)

"... [my daughter] says they call her 'charra'⁽⁷⁾ at school and she doesn't take it lightly ... I grew up in Salt River and I [also] went to a so-called coloured school and ... for me ... I took it as a joke if they called me 'charra'" (June, Interview 5)

The internalisation of the divisions created in their group, many of the interviewees very importantly point out, causes blacks to be prejudiced towards, and to discriminate against, those members of their group who have the darkest complexion:

"... if your skin is lighter then you are sort of ... the best ... no matter what kind of shit you catch on ... (Laughter.) ... I'm sorry ... no matter what kind of things they do, they are the perfect people ..." (Leila, Interview 5)

"... even people who stay next to us [in this case, fair skinned blacks] they still discriminate" (Rita, Interview 1)

"One even finds discrimination within your own family. Mothers are always worried about the people their children are going to marry. They're always thinking of what type of grandchildren they will have [ie., whether the latter will be fair or dark of complexion]" (Leona, Interview 5)

"... somehow I felt that I was not being treated ... somehow ... not the same as my brothers [who are fair of complexion] ... and not by my father and mother only ... but other [blacks'] attitudes were also different ... like, 'Oh shame, you've got this dark skin ...'" (Jeanne, Interview 5)

Daphne: ... my brother married ... when the rest of the family met his wife they were most disgusted because she is dark. Excuse me ... "Die swart meid", they said. And yet she was such a stable force in my brother's life.

⁽⁷⁾ A derogatory label often attached to people of so-called 'Indian' descent.

Doreen: [Yes] ... we've got apartheid in our own families. I think it all started when apartheid was brought in [ie., introduced by the government] (**Interview 3**).

While not stated very explicitly in some of the quotations presented above, the message which emerges from all these quotations is nonetheless relatively clear: **Racism has engendered the development of apartheid within the dominated group itself** (cf. Doreen, **Interview 3**). *En passant*, it can perhaps be noted here that this notion that racism causes blacks to discriminate against, and harbour prejudiced attitudes towards, certain members of their own group is one which is also encountered in the works of various scholars in the field of racism (See, for example, Fanon, 1964; and Grier & Cobb, 1980).

A reading of all the discourses analyzed in this section reveals that the issue of blacks' internalisation of the divisions created within their group and the prejudices and discrimination which this psychological phenomenon gives rise to, constitutes one of the major causes of concern expressed by the individuals interviewed with regard to the consequences of racism. This concern is in fact very clearly conveyed by the general tone of the last set of quotations presented above.

Needless to say, the basic message which emerges from the last two themes discussed corresponds in large measure to the first position identified by McAdoo (1985) above, namely that blacks more or less passively internalise dominant group perceptions of themselves and their group.

8.7.2.3 Racism provokes resistance

While the message contained in the statements cited above recur quite frequently in the discourses analyzed, an equally dominant message which emerges from these discourses is that blacks, instead of merely passively internalising their portrayal by ruling-class practices and discourses as inferior beings and as belonging to different

groups or 'races', often in fact respond by actively opposing these practices and discourses:

"The older the child, the more likely it is that the child will react [to racism] ... like ... do something or say something" (Merle, Interview 4, emphases added)

"I think that this type of incident [referring to Vignette 1] would have a negative effect on the children involved ... They can ... become rebellious" (Ursula, Interview 4, emphasis added)

"You know, that I was always against my daughter being involved in protest action [against apartheid]. Then, one day I saw the police firing on innocent school children ... And you know, from that day I changed my tune completely ... because I witnessed this incident with my own eyes ... I wanted to get out of the car and confront these men" (Daphne, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"My son is very unhappy in the [South African] Air Force ... He told me, 'Mommy, wherever you go don't keep your mouth because they have transferred me from Ysterplaat to Pretoria because I don't keep my mouth.' When he had to train whites they would not accept it. So I told him, 'Don't go and lie down!'" (Rita, Interview 1, emphases added).

8.7.2.4 Racism causes anger and hatred

Apart from provoking resistance and causing blacks to develop a relatively negative self-concept as well as internalising a fragmented in-group racism, as the following quotations illustrate, is also seen as producing such (essentially) negative emotions as anger and hatred:

"This [racism] causes a lot of anger and this anger has been building up" (Doreen, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"I'd say that the child [exposed to such racist incidents as that described in Vignette 1] would experience anger. And as they grow up this anger would stay with them" (Carmen, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"A child will never forget an incident like this [referring to Vignette 1]. They will always grow up with anger. Maybe they would have been a better child if they had not experienced this. So we'll have another

generation of coloureds hating whites for what they did and the circle will never be broken" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphases added)

"The child [exposed to racism] might learn to hate whites ... and with the child hating it's gonna cause even more division" (Wesley, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"I think the child [exposed to racism] would mostly experience anger and if cultivated, it would turn into hate" (Allie, Interview 1, emphases added).

Of all the discursive themes related to the consequences of racism, the present theme appears to be the most dominant by far. In fact, the notion that racism causes blacks to experience anger and hatred towards whites and that this anger and hatred which has been building up over the years has profoundly 'scarred' (Allie, Interview 1; Amelia, Interview 3; and June, Interview 5) the former, must be the most dominant discursive theme which emerges from the entire corpus of texts analyzed. To the extent that emotions such as anger and hatred are generally considered to be 'action'- or 'defence'-oriented (as opposed to emotions such as fear which normally causes inaction or paralysis⁽⁸⁾) (Morris, 1979) this theme can of course be considered to belong to the second theoretical position identified by McAdoo (1985) (See Section 2.2.6.2).

In the final analysis, it would appear as if the dominant view regarding the impact of racism on the psychological integrity of blacks which emerges from the discourses analyzed, corresponds in large measure with the second position identified by McAdoo (1985). In this sense, therefore, the discourses produced by black parents seem to differ fundamentally from the psychologists' discourses analyzed earlier. The dominant view which emerged from the latter's discourses, as pointed out previously, essentially represents blacks as being the unfortunate 'victims' of racism. As observed previously, though the parents who had

⁽⁸⁾ Here it should be pointed out that except for Rita (Interview 1), Amelia (Interview 3) and Doreen (Interview 3) none of the parents interviewed present 'fear' on the part of blacks as being an important consequence of racism.

participated in this study recognise that racism has been profoundly detrimental to the psychological well-being of blacks and the cohesiveness of the dominated group as a whole they, as illustrated *par excellence* by the last two discursive themes, also recognise blacks' ability to resist and oppose their domination. This basic mode of relating to existing relations of domination, incidentally, is also reflected in the manner in which the participants in this study themselves reacted to the racist incidents described in **Vignettes 1 and 2** as well as to other incidents which they reported they were exposed to in real life. This then leads to the next aspect of the discourses analyzed.

8.8 BLACK PARENTS' REACTIONS TO RACISM

Most of the participants in this study do not only attribute the experience of anger and hatred to other blacks when the latter are exposed to the phenomenon of racism but, as a reading of their discourses would show, these emotions are also the most dominant which **they themselves** experience - or report they would experience - when confronted by the phenomenon:

*"... if something like this [referring to Vignette 1] should happen to my child I would really be **angry** (...) You know, I can't help **hating** the whites" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphases added)*

*"But the **anger** I feel that they can actually say things like that [referring to Vignette 2]" (Leila, Interview 5, emphasis added)*

*"If something like this should have happened to my child I would have been **so very angry and mad**" (Doreen, Interview 3, emphasis added)*

*"This [referring to Vignette 2] **angers** me" (Don, Interview 2, emphasis added).*

Furthermore, as the following excerpts taken from the discourses produced by these participants also reveal, apart from experiencing anger and hatred towards whites, most of them also appear to have no compunction about **asserting themselves** or **actively opposing racism** when confronted by the phenomenon:

"You know, I had a friend ... or a so-called friend ... You know, she couldn't accept that I was earning more money than her you know, where we were working ... and I asked her, 'But why ... why is it so difficult for you to accept ... when you only have standard eight and I at least matriculated?' At least then it was something to have matric ... and she couldn't answer ... because I was a bit blunt with her and I know that it was because of the colour of her skin but she couldn't tell me that. I mean, since then we haven't been friends because I say I don't need friends like that in my life. They either accept me for what I am ... and we're on the same level or we're not. I mean ... white people ..." (Allie, Interview 1, emphases added)

"Just something that happened to me recently, I was at the supermarket and then I ... had to weigh my cheese. The guy who had to help me ... these white 'laaities'! ... he wanted to put the cheese just like that onto the scale. But this scale had been used for veg' and fruit. So I told him, 'Listen here, this scale is dirty.' He look at me like that and he walk away. And there was another girl and boy ... the same age ... the same age ... standing. I think they were his friends. And he says, 'Huh, the scale is dirty!' So I said, 'Listen here, just don't think that because I'm black I'm a coloured,' Sorry, ' ... just don't think I don't have the right to speak up. At least I know ... I know the difference between wrong and right and just because I'm a coloured I don't have the right to speak up.' I mean this is something in general" (Patricia, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"I was just thinking now. Recently I was at Woolworths and I was coming down the escalator when I saw this little boy playing at the bottom of the escalator. Then there was this old white lady standing in front of me. When she got off the escalator she started scolding the little boy. She said, 'What are you doing, your little skolly?' Then I confronted this woman. I said, 'What do you mean 'skolly'? Just because he is a coloured, you call him a skolly.' I said, 'He's a little boy. What did he do? Did he damage anything?' You know, *dis amper asof ek nie genoeg kon skel nie*. I was walking right alongside her, giving it to her" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphases added)

"The other day I had to have my bandages changed at the hospital and there was this white chap ... a nursing assistant ... and he counted the bandages that were taken off my leg and said that the people who had bandaged my leg had wasted a lot of bandages. So I just told him, 'Hey, listen here, I'm paying medical aid.' I'm sure if it was a white [patient] he wouldn't have made this comment ... and this was a Robin Jones dressing, so they couldn't put on only one bandage. *Dit wys net hoe dom is die boere*" (Ursula, Interview 4, emphasis added).

While the reactions of the interviewees cited above range from mild assertiveness (see, for example, the phrases printed in bold face in the first and last quotations presented above) to open hostility (see, for example, the phrases printed in bold face in the second and, particularly, the third extracts quoted above), all of these reactions show unmistakable signs of **opposition** to racism on the part of these interviewees.

Though anger, hatred and active opposition seem to constitute the predominant reaction to racism on the part of the parents interviewed, the texts submitted to analysis also reveal several instances where these parents responded to racism in a manner which could perhaps be construed as indicating an acceptance of the *status quo* and/or recognition of the dominant group's power over them. Consider, for example, the following quotations:

"... but when you turn up they look right through you because they expected a white person ... and the anger that I felt and the despondency that I went through" (Leila, Interview 5, emphasis added)

"And at the bottom of all it's that hurt [when subjected to racist discrimination ... because you can't explain ... express yourself ...]" (Daphne, Interview 3, emphases added)

"It just boils in me when I read about any incident like this [referring to Vignette 1]. It makes me feel so inferior" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"Of course I will feel anger but there's nothing you can do about it ..." (Leila, Interview 5, emphasis added).

Here the phrases, "*there's nothing you can do about it*" and "*you can't explain ... express yourself*"; and the words, "*despondency*", "*hurt*" and "*inferior*" can be seen as indicating the interviewees' recognition and, to a certain extent, acceptance of their domination by the whites in this country. It is interesting to also note here, however, that in most cases these words and phrases which can be construed as indicating the interviewees' recognition and acceptance of the dominant group's power over them, are counter-balanced by statements such as the following which,

in essence, can be seen to demonstrate resistance to such power: "*the anger that I felt*"; "*It ... boils in me*"; and "*I will be very angry*".

A close reading of the transcripts provided at the end of this dissertation would show that the participants in this study do not only respond with overt or concealed anger to prevailing racist practices and attitudes. They also respond with humour:

- David:** It is difficult to explain this situation [referring to **Vignette 1**] ... especially to kids. I would tell them that it is wrong ... that they had the right to go in there [the swimming pool ...
- Allie:** No, I would tell the child, "Don't worry. I'll buy you a swimming pool."
- Hannah:** I again would contemplate telling the child how stupid they [whites] are...(Laughter.) (Interview 1, emphasis added).
- Wayne:** ... [it] is ... racist in my opinion ... if you drive along the road and you see a guy stuck and you drive past him ... (Laughter.)
- Don:** I'll probably think, "That bugger's white so I'll pass him" (Laughter.)
- Carol:** And I wouldn't call that racism. I think it's more because of anger within you ... (Interview 1, emphasis added).
- Daphne:** ... four years ago things were very different. You were made to feel very uncomfortable and unwanted. Today things are better.
- Sidney:** Maybe you felt comfortable because you did not meet the right people. (Laughter.)
- Doreen:** Yes, there is still some places where you must use the back entrance of the shop (Interview 3, emphasis added).
- Merle:** Now are they saying that we are mud races?
- Eileen:** Yes
- Merle:** Maar hulle't 'n bloody cheek! Ek is verdom nog witter as wat hulle is! (Laughter.) (Interview 4, emphasis added).

Important to note here, however, is that this humour, as expressed in the preceding selection of quotations, is always bitter and biting; and the laughter which follows

it is always of short duration. In fact, the quips and laughter are inevitably preceded and/or followed by sharp criticism of the racism which pervades life in South Africa. In other words, the humour is not meaningless or merely used to entertain. Rather (and very importantly), it is also employed to attack the racist *status quo* in this country.

In the final analysis, the responses of the interviewees to instances of racism, would therefore appear to lend more support to the second rather than to the first theoretical position identified by McAdoo (1985) (See **Section 2.2.6.2**). While in some instances showing an acceptance of or, at least, an ambivalence towards, the dominant group's power over them, these parents in most cases showed some sign of their resistance or opposition to the former's hegemony.

The passages quoted above are not the only instances where the discourses produced by the parents interviewed revealed the latter's resistance to their oppression at the hands of whites. These parents' resistance to racism is, very importantly, also exemplified by their discourses on how the phenomenon or, at least, the negative consequences of the phenomenon can be countered or combatted.

8.8.1 How racism should be countered or eradicated

The majority of the parents interviewed seem to concur that because of its destructive nature racism is something "*which we have to get rid of*" (Allie, **Interview 1**. See also Hannah, **Interview 1**). Surprisingly, however, relatively few of the interviewees make any meaningful suggestions as to how this should be achieved. As a sufficient number of comments on how racism and its deleterious consequences can be counteracted nonetheless surfaces from the discourses scrutinised, it was decided to present and discuss the present theme here.

At the outset it should be noted that very few of the interviewees seemed to regard the elimination of the structural supports or props which make racism possible as an important prerequisite for the phenomenon's eradication. Perhaps, as will be argued later, this can be viewed as being a result of the influence of prevailing dominant group discourses on racism on the one hand, or, on the other hand, as being a consequence of the interviewees' very apparent disillusionment with the dominant group in general. In regard to this latter possibility the dominant message which emerges from the discourses scrutinised is that it is senseless to try and eliminate some of the broader structural conditions which make racism possible (such as, the "racism laws" which exist in South Africa) because, as Allie (Interview 1) puts it, even "*overseas where there are no racism laws there is still racism*"; and as Hannah (Interview 1) implies, racism is an integral facet of whites' 'nature' (cf. Sidney, Interview 3). As an aside, it can perhaps be noted here that Louw-Potgieter (1989) identifies a very similar discursive pattern in her study of black students' accounts of racism in South Africa.

The cynicism evident in the views expressed by Hannah (Interview 1) and Allie (Interview 1), incidentally, constitutes a theme which pervades all the interviews conducted. By way of illustration, the following selection of excerpts from these interviews are presented below:

"I want to ask something. Actually, what happened to this case we are discussing [referring to Vignette 1]? Must have died a quiet death" (Hannah, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"I know about a case with this [white] man ... Gert van Rooyen [referring to the notorious white paedophile]... his son ... raped and killed a black girl ... I wonder whether anything is going to come of this case" (Carmen, Interview 1, emphasis added)

Patricia: ... what actually happened to F W de Klerk's son and that coloured girl? Did they ever get married? Or is it just something they tell to people ... because of the new situation?

David: No, they are engaged.

Patricia: Engaged for ever! (Laughter.) (Interview 1, emphasis added)

Daphne: ... My daughter-in-law was saying that four years ago things were very different [in Hermanus]. Today things are a bit better.

Sidney: **Maybe you felt comfortable because you did not meet the 'right' people. (Laughter.)** (Interview 3, emphasis added)

"If this type of incident is reported to the police they won't do anything about it. Especially if they are also white they won't take notice of what we're saying" (Merle, Interview 4, emphasis added)

"... my husband ... he's always complaining ... about the [white] managers and things at work. They don't say it in so many words but the way they handle the coloureds ... I don't work ... so I don't mix with them so I can see but I would say they probably pretend [to get along with coloureds] ... the good few out of them ... I would say the majority of them" (Carol, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"I'm sure this white was just taken off the streets and asked to work there ... without any qualifications ... you're never sure. You can't trust whites" (Ursula, Interview 4, emphasis added).

The central belief which emerges from the excerpts presented above is that whites and the institutions which they control are inherently and irredeemably racist; and that if they act in a 'non-racist' manner, this should be seen as merely being an attempt to dissimulate their deep-seated racist beliefs and to create the false impression that racism is disappearing in South Africa. Very interesting to note about the statements above is the fact that though whites are accused of being irredeemably racist, this accusation is never made very explicitly. It is merely insinuated; and the insinuation is - very strategically, it might be added - always made at the end of a statement or discursive interaction (see, for example, the phrases or sentences printed in bold face in the quotations presented above).

While agreeing that it is at times senseless to attempt to eliminate racism by trying to tackle the social institutions and practices which ensure its reproduction, quite a number of the interviewees expressed the view that it is nonetheless important that an attempt at least be made to combat the phenomenon. The following selection of quotations best exemplify this view:



"Even though the police might not respond I will still make a case. Just to show that I will not leave it like that" (David, Interview 1)

"... if something like this [referring to Vignette 1] should happen to my child I will expose the culprits ... even if I'm alone and the whole army comes against me" (Amelia, Interview 1)

"Of course, the more publicity something like this gets, the better it is ... to try and get some action taken against the perpetrators ... of these deeds [referring to Vignette 1]. One can also take legal action" (Wayne, Interview 2)

"I would have made a case even though the police will not react. But I would have wanted to expose these whites ..." (Patricia, Interview 1).

Unlike the suggestions contained in the quotations presented above, the rest of the recommendations which emerge from the discourses analyzed concerning how racism and its consequences should be combated, are much less confrontational in nature. In fact, the dominant message which surfaces from the texts scrutinised is that racism or rather, its deleterious consequences, can be eliminated or minimised by **preparing black children for their inevitable exposure to the phenomenon and the psychological damage which this might entail.**

Though, as the next selection of quotations illustrate, the interviewees' intention clearly is to protect or safeguard their children from the potentially pernicious effects of racism and though this intention can obviously not be faulted (cf. Essed, 1991; Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 1985; and Peters, 1985), the shortcomings of this approach to the elimination of the negative consequences of racism becomes readily apparent in the last of these quotations:

"[racism causes blacks to] feel inferior ... that's why I think the ... parents ... are to be wise in explaining matters to the child ... otherwise the child could ... grow up with an inferior complex" (Don, Interview 2)

"... it's so sad you know ... she is so small and she's aware of her skin colour ... but we always tell her, 'But there's nothing wrong with you ... but you're a pretty girl ...you're black and beautiful.' Like we'll try to boost her ego" (June, Interview 5)

"... I took out a lot of insurance for this type of event [referring to *Vignette 1*] ... I sort of pledged that my kids were not going to be ... sort of raw where this was concerned. I wasn't going to indoctrinate them racially against ... or for ... people but I was going to prepare them for this situation" (Jeanne, Interview 5)

"... I take the child on the assumption that the pool is open and now the child get's hurt, I get hurt. It's very difficult. I think the child [would have] understood part of it ... I think that André's reaction would be that, 'This is something ... that Mommy spoke about.' He would have expected it" (Leila, Interview 5)

"I will try my best to explain the situation to the child ... not in trying to give him ... wrong ideas ... to fight against these people but to act natural towards them. Maybe they would accept me if they see that I am ... a human being ... And maybe they'd come to terms ... realise: I'd have to accept that these are people. They are fellow country men ... they are ... human beings and not an animal" (Patricia, Interview 1).

As noted above the weaknesses of the *modus operandi* suggested here in regard to combatting racism and its hazards are most apparent in the last quotation presented above. The first shortcoming is related to the notion that racism will disappear if blacks just "*act natural*" and, by implication, do not actively campaign against the phenomenon. As so many writers have commented in the past, racism cannot be eliminated if blacks are merely to rely on the goodwill of the dominant group; and the latter's willingness to accept them as "*human beings*" and as "*fellow countrymen*" (See, for example, CAL, 1987; and Essed, 1987). Racism can only be eradicated if those social institutions and practices which support it are eliminated and if the dominated and their allies undertake an active and programmatic campaign to destroy the phenomenon and the conditions which make it possible (Alexander, 1985; and Essed, 1987).

The second shortcoming of the suggestion posited in the above quotations derives from the fact that it locates the solution to the elimination of racism **within** the black individual. By locating the solution to the problem in the individual the impression is of course created (albeit only indirectly so) that blacks are somehow also responsible for the existence of the phenomenon and, more importantly, that racism is an individual rather than a social problem (cf. Chesler, 1976). This

impression is in fact reinforced by the suggestion contained in the following quotations:

"I believe we have to start from a grassroots level upwards ... starting with our children. I say racism can be eradicated if we put our minds to it" (Hannah, Interview 1) (See also Laura, Interview 2, for a similar suggestion)

"If our children get a better education that will also improve matters. If you are educated you'd want to stay in a better society" (Amelia, Interview 3).

A similar suggestion to the one postulated above which also emerges from the texts analyzed states that **racism can be eliminated if whites taught their children that racism is wrong:**

"I agree with Daphne that whites believe these things because it was drummed into their heads. As I said earlier on ... it's up to them now to try and forget the past ... especially the younger people with small children ... if the new generation with their younger children ... if they could only teach their children that what their parents taught them was wrong ... Maybe ... by the time these small children are big, [South Africa] will be a better place to live in and ... everyone will be equal [ie., there will be no racism]" (Amelia, Interview 3).

Though this suggestion does not blame the targets of racism for the existence of the phenomenon this does not mean that it represents an 'improvement' on the previous suggestion. Like the previous suggestion, it holds the individual (this time the white individual) responsible for the elimination (and, by implication, the existence) of racism. Certainly, individuals (both black and white) can play an important role in combatting racism but their efforts will be to no avail if the social conditions which make racism possible continue to prevail (Louw-Potgieter, 1987).

A third suggestion related to the elimination of racism and its consequences, in essence, posits that **blacks should not mix with whites or should avoid situations which could lead to exposure to racism.** Consider in this regard the following selection of quotations:

"If you know things like this are going to happen then it's best not to take your children there, you know" (Carol, Interview 2)

"What I meant ... was that if they said, 'No coloureds or blacks,' we should not force our way. We must show we are not in wanted, you know. We should be independent" (Carmen, Interview 1)

"... some people don't mix [with whites] because they say like they don't 'kruip' [ie., grovel]" (Iris, Interview 2)

"That's because they [blacks] don't mix with them [whites] at work so why should they mix with them at parties" (Laura, Interview 2)

Though the central message which emerges from the quotations presented above, in effect, can be construed as being a pro-apartheid message, those *au fait* with the political situation and, particularly, the discourses maintained by certain resistance movements in South Africa, would know that this is not so. Various resistance movements in this country have always maintained that while blacks do not have the franchise (ie., while blacks do not possess any political power) it is meaningless to indulge in social interaction with whites; for to do so would create the false impression that 'all is well' or that racism does not exist in South Africa when in fact this is not the case (cf. CAL, 1987). In the sense that it essentially calls on blacks to avoid collaborating in the dissimulation of their own oppression, the message conveyed by Laura (Interview 2) should therefore be seen as basically anti-racist rather than a pro-apartheid in nature. While the messages contained in the other quotations can perhaps not be linked to a specific anti-racist political discourse and strategy, they should not be seen as being pro-apartheid in nature either. In fact, as a close reading of Carol (Interview 2), Carmen (Interview 1) and Iris's (Interview 2) statements should reveal, the messages contained in these statements can be seen as being an attempt by blacks to maintain their dignity and generally to defend themselves (and their kin) against the dehumanising consequences of apartheid.

The last 'suggestion' related to the elimination of racism and its consequences, like the previous three suggestions, is also non-confrontational in nature. Here it should perhaps be pointed out that this is not really a suggestion in the true sense

of the word but rather parents' accounts of how they attempt to break down the barriers within the dominated group. In the sense that these accounts of "how I do it" or "how it should be done" produced by some of the speakers are directed at their co-interviewees, they can perhaps be construed as serving the function of advice-giving: advice on **how to bring about solidarity within the dominated group**. By way of illustration, the following two accounts or anecdotes are provided:

"Recently my grand-daughter said she was no longer playing with her best friend, Zinzi. When I asked her why, she said, 'Because Zinzi is a Guguletu'⁽⁹⁾ ... Then I tell her ... I always tell her ... it's not true. I said to her, 'Look, you are fair but your uncle Joey who is very dark looks like Zinzi ... and Terrence too ... and we are very fond of Terrence. Terrence has the same colour as Zinzi ... so you must also be fond Zinzi.' With the result that she and Zinzi are best friends again" (Amelia, Interview 3).

"... I'm thinking of Amy in my class ... she's very dark-skinned and ... uhm ... she always looks so lovingly at the rest of the class with their long hair and so on ... and once she came to me and she told me ... uhm ... and I said, 'Amy, you're such a sweet girl. Stay as sweet as you are. I really love sweet children.' So she said, 'Yes, it's what is inside that makes me beautiful ... to make people love me.'" (Susan, Interview 5).

As pointed out previously, the message that racial classification as used by the South African government does not make sense, emerges from a number of the discourses analyzed. What is important about the statement made by Amelia (Interview 3) above, however, is the fact that here parents are invoked as it were to also teach their children this important message. The implied message contained in Susan's (Interview 5) anecdote, namely, that black parents should teach their children that skin colour is not an indication of their worth is also echoed in statements made by a number of other interviewees. In fact, several interviewees suggest that in order for the damage already done to black children's self-concept by the ideology of racism to be countered, black parents should teach their children that it is in fact their blackness which makes them beautiful and

⁽⁹⁾ See footnote 5.

special (see, for example, Hannah, **Interview 1**; Leona, **Interview 5**; and Jeanne, **Interview 5**) (cf. Biko, 1988 and in Price, 1992; and Kuper, 1976).

By way of summarising the above: while the parents interviewed accept and stress the importance of eradicating racism, a number of the suggestions which they make concerning how this should be achieved are relatively problematic and not particularly innovative. Perhaps, as pointed out earlier, this should be seen as being a consequence of the general belief that racism cannot really be eliminated which seemed to pervade all the group interviews conducted. It is perhaps for this reason then that the parents interviewed attached such great importance to preparing their children to 'cope' with racism when they are confronted by the phenomenon. By preparing their children to 'cope' in a racist society, they can, at least, attempt to ensure that the former will be able to accept themselves as human beings (see, for example, Hannah, **Interview 1**; and June, **Interview 5**) and not develop an "*inferiority complex*" (see, for example, Don, **Interview 2**) (cf. Franklin *et al.*, 1985). One 'redeeming' feature of the interviewees' discourses on "what is to be done", however, is the importance which they attribute to the building of black solidarity.

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8.9 DISCOURSES ON BLACKS' CONSTITUTION BY THE DOMINANT GROUP

The various works dealing with racism reviewed for this study (see, for example, Essed, 1991; Foster, 1992; and van Dijk, 1992) as well as **Chapter 6** of the present dissertation show that blacks are variously referred to as 'different' and 'inferior' to whites as well as comprising of a number of different 'races'.

A perusal of the interview transcripts analyzed shows that the interviewees are acutely aware of their interpellation by the ruling class as '*different*' and '*inferior*' to whites:

"Recently on 'Agenda' ... when that white guy said he can't work with African because ... you can't communicate with them ... their brains don't function properly ... whatever. And ... I thought, that now said he can't work with Africans but who built all the things in South Africa ... who did all the labour ... and he still has the nerve to say that he can't work with blacks" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"... black[s] or coloured[s] ... were treated as a different species and not as people" (Leona, Interview 5, emphasis added)

"... you as a so-called coloured ...is a lesser person" (Allie, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"Hulle mean ... swart mense is barbaric" (Eileen, Interview 4, emphasis added)

"... you know, they think that [blacks] are not human ... They look at us like animals ...why must they share with people they don't think are people" (Laura, Interview 2, emphasis added).

The last statement presented above leads to another important finding. Not only are they aware of their constitution as different or as sub-human but the discourses produced by a significant number of the individuals interviewed also reveal an awareness on the part of the latter of what the function and consequences of these interpellations are. As Laura (**Interview 2**) (see the quotation presented above) and so many of the other parents interviewed (see, for example, Doreen, **Interview 3**;

Leona, Interview 5; and Allie, Interview 1) point out, these interpellations basically enable whites to justify their oppression and exploitation of the blacks in this country. Furthermore, as Daphne (Interview 3) correctly observes, if blacks are interpellated as inferior beings they will ultimately believe this and act accordingly (which would naturally make their domination as well as its justification so much easier):

"... at the back of their [blacks'] minds they must be thinking, 'There must be something that must be lacking in me. I must not be good enough else that person would not have called me an animal'" (Daphne, Interview 3)

"... if [blacks] are treated like animals they will [act] in such a manner" (Daphne, Interview 3)

It is perhaps because they are aware of the function which these ruling-class interpellations of the dominated serve that the individuals interviewed - as mentioned earlier and as illustrated by the following quotations - react to, or reject, these interpellations as vociferously as they do:

"The thing that they can say [we] are animals. This makes me so mad" (Hannah, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"Then I confronted this [white] woman. I said, 'What do you mean 'skolly'?' I said, 'He's a little boy'" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"So I said, 'Listen here, just don't think because I'm black ... I'm a coloured,' Sorry. 'just don't think I don't have the right to speak up'" (Patricia, Interview 1).

The other reasons given for the rejection of these interpellations are 'humiliating' and offensive (see, for example, Patricia, Interview 1; Wayne, Interview 2; Daphne, Interview 3; Ursula, Interview 4; and Merle, Interview 4) as well as the fact that they do not concur with the interviewees' world view or religious beliefs which dictate that all people are equal in the eyes of God. In the words of Doreen (Interview 3),

"We are all God's creation."

Furthermore, as this speaker intimates, the ruling class constitution of blacks as 'inferior' to whites can be considered untenable because there are not really any fundamental differences between blacks and whites:

"All our blood in our veins is red. Ours isn't black and theirs isn't white"
(Doreen, Interview 3).

Moreover, as Jeanne (Interview 5) also implies, if there are any differences between these groups in South Africa this is basically a consequence of certain relatively specific socio-economic conditions for which the ruling class is ultimately responsible:

"It so happens that ... coloureds live together ... whites live together ... blacks live together ... So, when you put them together you will notice the differences. It is because of where they stay or the economic conditions."

In other words then, these differences are not innate or immutable as dominant group ideology has over the years so consistently claimed.

While the majority of the individuals interviewed dismiss blacks' interpellation as 'inferior' and 'different' to whites out of hand their reaction to the dominated group's constitution or portrayal as consisting of different 'races', however, appears to be much less unambiguous or clear-cut. For example, despite the concern which they express vis-à-vis the divisions within the dominated group, a significant number of interviewees, when referring to the dominated, consistently and very uncritically employ the labels traditionally used by the state to divide the oppressed in this country; labels such as "*native*", "*coloured*", "*African*", "*Xhosa*" and "*blacks*" (as referring to only so-called Africans).

"Once I met this native ..." (Carmen, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"And what do we coloureds have?" (Doreen, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"... say the child had been three or four years ... he or she had grown older ... gone into the world ... and found that this is a black man this is a white man and I'm a coloured..." (Laura, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"... people who were raised in homes where the maids were black or coloured .." (Leona, Interview 5, emphases added)

"... we have a little Xhosa boy, Angelo, in our class. We have another little girl, Amy ... she's a coloured ..." (Susan, Interview 5, emphases added)

"... if that position had been with Africans ... they'd think the same way" (Wayne, Interview 2, emphasis added)

Very interesting to note here though is the fact that the discourses analyzed in this section did not produce as many labels to designate the oppressed as did the discourses produced by South African psychologists (see Chapter 6). Perhaps this is partly a result of the fact that while the psychologists whose discourses had been analyzed in Chapter 6 represent the oppressed in South Africa as consisting of at least three 'races', namely, so-called 'Indians', 'coloureds' and 'Africans'; the parents whose discourses had been analyzed in the present section basically represent the dominated in this country as consisting of essentially two groups, namely, so-called 'coloureds' and 'Africans'⁽¹⁰⁾. Very interesting to note, however, is the fact that while they refer to (essentially) two oppressed groupings in their discourses, they do not present any descriptions or criteria which distinguish these two groupings. In other words, while they generally identify two groupings they do not constitute them as different. Because they do not constitute them as different it can be assumed that their distinction between these groups is more a consequence of dominant group discourses and practices rather than of a basic belief that these groupings differ fundamentally. Very interesting to note too (and as pointed out earlier) is the fact that, in stark

(10) Here it perhaps needs to be pointed out that at least once a third group, namely, 'Indians' (see June, Interview 5, quoted below) is identified. Generally, however, the interviewees seem to conceptualise the dominated group as essentially consisting of two sub-groups.

contrast to the academic discourses analyzed earlier, the term 'race' hardly ever appears in the discourses produced by the parents interviewed in this section.

While a significant number of the parents interviewed employ the same labels as the dominant group when referring to the oppressed, **a large number appear to avoid or resist the use of these labels.** Indeed, as pointed out earlier, a large number of the parents interviewed view the use of these labels and the divisions within the dominated group which these labels imply with great concern (see, for example, **Section 8.7.2.2**). Hence it can be found that when the interviewees are constrained to utilise the government created label, 'coloured', they would preface it with the term 'so-called':

"...they are raised to believe that everything is theirs ... and that you as a so-called coloured ...is a lesser person" (Allie, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"... the way in which some of the so-called coloureds had been brought up ..." (Wayne, Interview 2, emphasis added)

As pointed out previously, by employing the term 'so-called' the individual in essence states that he or she does not accept the meaning traditionally given to the label which follows the term. The following speaker, while she does not preface the label 'coloured' with the term 'so-called', apologises when she is constrained to utilise the label:

"So I said, 'Listen here, just don't think that I'm black ... I'm a coloured ...' Sorry. '...just don't think I don't have the right to speak up'" (Patricia, Interview 1, emphases added).

Also very striking here is the pause which precedes the term, 'coloured'; as if the speaker is in fact experiencing difficulty in uttering the term.

Another speaker, June (Interview 5), instead of employing the term 'Indians', speaks of people who come from a "*strict Hindu tradition*".

A number of speakers rather than using terms such as 'coloured' and 'African', like Patricia above, frequently utilise the term black instead:

"... we grew up in the time when whites were this side and blacks were this side ... and the child wouldn't understand that we went through things like that and now he's got to confront some people that are still in this way of ... you know, you're blacks, so you can't come where I am ... that type of thing" (Laura, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"But when he wanted to board there wasn't place for [my son] ... only for the white officers he was put on standby (...) just to show you that white comes before black" (Rita, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"I don't think whites can take everything that we can take, that's why you'll always find them shooting themselves ... We blacks don't do that again" (Doreen, Interview 3, emphasis added).

The fact that all three these women cited above would be classified as 'coloured' by the South African government makes their statements very significant. By referring to themselves or members of their family as "black" they are firstly implying that they do not accept their classification by the government as 'coloureds'; secondly, that they reject the meaning which the government has given to the term "black" (that is, as referring only to so-called 'Africans'); and thirdly, that they consider the oppressed to constitute one (undivided) group.

This apparent aversion to the labels 'coloured' and 'African' also emerges from the statements such as the following:

"My sister went to work at a hospital in London. So she had to get a reference from the hospital here but the whole letter just read, 'She's a coloured, she's a coloured, she's a coloured', because that, to them means a lot here" (Hannah, Interview 1)

"My sister went to Europe and people always asked her, 'What are you?' And she always used to say, 'I'm a South African.' But that answer never satisfied [them]. They did not want to ask her straight out, 'Are you a so-called coloured or a so-called white?' She never wanted to answer the question in that manner. She was a South African!" (Hannah, Interview 1)

"Recently on 'Agenda' ... when that white guy said he can't work with Africans because you can't communicate with ... And Monday still ... I thought, that man ...said he can't work with Africans but who ... built all the things in South Africa ... who did all the labour. I mean, whites always gave the instructions and the blacks did the work ..." (Amelia, Interview 3)

While not stated explicitly, Hannah's (Interview 1) disapproval of the term 'coloured' is nonetheless conveyed fairly unambiguously by the general tone of her statements. Amelia (Interview 3), while acknowledging in the first part of her statement that whites refer to certain blacks as 'Africans' (eg., *"that white guy said ... he can't work with Africans ..."*), by using the term "black" when she expresses her own opinion in the latter part of the statement, can be seen to criticise (albeit indirectly) the use of the term 'African'.

A small number of participants in this study even seem to question the appropriateness of the label 'black' when referring to the oppressed and consequently preface the label with the term 'so-called' when they are forced to use it:

"Why do so-called black children at this crèche come out at this hour and whites come out at the next hour?" (Ursula, Interview 4, emphasis added)

"... if that position had been with ... so-called blacks they'd think the same way" (Wayne, Interview 2, emphasis added).

"I think in South Africa it's important for us to teach our children what life is about. I mean, especially when the news come on and reference is made to blacks ... and you will have to say, 'Not blacks, it's just another man'" (Ursula, Interview 4).

"... I grew up in District Six and there we had all the colours of the rainbow ... We all lived together. I think that parents have a great role to play in this ... in the sense that you teach your children certain values ... and the thing that my mother always told me is that ... you know ... when my mother got home and asked if anybody called ... then one day I said, 'Yes Mommy, there was a tall black man.' (Laughs.) Then my mother always used to get upset. 'That is not the way to describe somebody', she always used to tell me. 'You don't say that it is a tall black man ... It's a man who was here. A tall man'" (Leila, Interview 5).

On the whole, therefore, the participants' reactions to their constitution by the dominant group is relatively variable. While they generally reject their constitution by the dominant group as 'inferior', 'divided' and 'different' a significant number of the participants seem to employ the labels normally used by the dominant group to divide them relatively uncritically. As pointed out above, a significant number of participants do, however, reject these designations through the use of distance markers (such as, the term 'so-called') and other rhetorical moves as well as by adopting the 'unifying' label "black" when referring to themselves. A minority of speakers (amongst others, Wayne, Interview 2; Ursula, Interview 4; and Leila, Interview 5), however, appear to reject even the term black. Given the context of their discourses, their apparent rejection of the term can be seen as stemming from a basic belief that there are not really any fundamental or innate differences between the various social groups in South Africa.

Another important core theme which emerges from the discourses studied concerns the constitution of the dominant group.

8.10 CONSTITUTION OF THE DOMINANT GROUP

According to Fanon (1964), the dominated would rarely represent members of the dominant group as inferior to themselves. This, he states, can be seen as being a direct result of their own experiences as members of an 'inferiorised' and 'dehumanised' group. It is essentially because of these experiences, he argues, that members of the dominated group's representation of the dominant group would in fact be situated on a much more human level than the latter's representation of the dominated (cf. Biko, 1988 and in Price, 1992; and Essed, 1991).

Kuper (1974) too, even though he contends that the dominated might at times constitute the dominant group as morally inferior to themselves, argues that they would rarely resort to such extreme forms of inferiorisation and dehumanisation of the 'Other' as the dominant group does. For example, while the dominant group frequently reduces the 'Other' to the status of animals and things (see, for example, **Chapter 6**), this is rarely the case as far as the dominated's representation of the dominant group is concerned. The need to reduce people to the level of things and animals, Kuper argues, should be seen as essentially being a function of the desire to dominate them. It is for this reason, he posits, that the dominated can hardly be expected to inferiorise and dehumanise the dominant group in the same manner as the latter had inferiorised and dehumanised them.

After this brief introduction attention can now be focused on the manner in which the participants in this study represent the dominant group in this country.

At the outset it should be pointed out that though the present discursive theme is clearly discernible, it is by no means as widely represented in the discourses analyzed as some of the other themes already presented.

The basic message which emerges from the discourses comprising this theme is that **whites are blacks' adversaries**. Throughout the discourses analyzed they are consistently cast into the role of 'they', 'them' and 'those' whites (as opposed to 'us' and 'we'). 'They' (whites) are always out to get 'us' (blacks)⁽¹¹⁾. 'They' think that 'they' are superior to 'us' (See, for example, Hannah, Interview 1; Allie, Interview 1; Doreen, Interview 3; Ursula, Interview 4; and Jeanne, Interview 5). Yet, as the majority of interviewees maintain, **whites are no better than blacks**. In fact, as the quotations presented below should illustrate, whites are portrayed in a decidedly negative light in the texts analyzed.

"I would again contemplate telling my child how stupid they [whites] are ... you understand? ... and that my child is above them ... my child is better than them. He must actually look down on them because they are not at his level" (Hannah, Interview 1, emphases added)

"This was a Robin Jones dressing, so they could not put on only one bandage. Dit wys jou net hoe dom is die boere" (Ursula, Interview 4, emphasis added)

"I would tell my child not to believe these ignorant, stupid people" (Daphne, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"My uncle does clerical work and then the other day he told me, 'You know, at work they have taken on a white girl but the other day she came to ask me how one spells 'school'" (Laughter.)" (Carmen, Interview 1)

Not only are whites depicted as 'stupid' or 'ignorant' but the general consensus amongst the participants in this study was that whites are 'lazy' and that because of their laziness they cannot make do or cope without black people:

(11) Here the reader is referred to the very informative article written by van Dijk (1987b) on the strategic use of these pronouns of solidarity and attitudinal distancing in relation to ideologies such as racism.

"They hate us so much but the fact remains that the white man can't make do without the black people because the black man has to do everything. [The white man] ... can just stand with his cigar and his hands in his pockets and give orders. They can't make do without us" (Doreen, Interview 3)

"... And Monday still I ... I thought, that man now said that he can't work with Africans but who now built all the things in South Africa ... who did all the labour. I mean, whites always gave the instructions and the blacks did the work ... and he still has the nerve to say he can't work with blacks" (Amelia, Interview 3).

Whites are also portrayed as being relatively avaricious and as people who are 'not to be trusted':

"I don't think whites can take everything that we can take, that's why you'll always find them shooting themselves ... gassing themselves. We blacks don't do that again ... We're so used to having that little ... We can make do with that little. The more whites get the more they want ..." (Doreen, Interview 3, emphasis added)

Allie: ... I don't trust them [whites] as far ...

Hannah: As far as you can throw them! (Laughter.)

"You can't trust whites" (Ursula, Interview 4)

"Our company has this blacks guy, Leo, in the security department. Then a white guy came to work at the company. He look weird ... like a hobo. I'm sure that he must have been related to one of the bosses. But this guy was placed in a more senior position than Leo. Last month they had to sack him for stealing and he tried to blame a black sweeper. To my surprise they actually sacked this white guy ..." (Patricia, Interview 1, emphasis added).

The notion that whites generally discriminate in favour of other whites which emerges from the statement made by the last speaker cited above is also expressed by various other speakers, two of whom are cited below:

"I'm sure this white was taken off the streets and asked to work there... without any qualifications ..." (Ursula, Interview 4)

"You know, at Cadora Bakery the boere were all drivers. All of a sudden this changed. The boere had to get higher positions. There was this one boer who had a standard six certificate so they made him manager of the petrol pump (Laughter.)" (Hannah, Interview 1)

The view expressed in the last three statements quoted above, namely, that whites generally discriminate in favour of other whites, is of course consistent with the general view (already presented at great length) emanating from the ensemble of discourses analyzed, namely, that **whites are generally very racist.**

An important corollary of the view expressed in the last three quotations is the notion that if whites have attained enviable positions in South African society; indeed, if they have achieved anything at all, then this is not a result of innate ability but rather of racist discrimination.

Whites, as the following quotations illustrate, are also presented as being **rude and inhuman:**

"They're [ie., whites are] uncouth pigs ... They're not human. Sorry I'm blushing but I'm so angry now" (Daphne, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"So I said, 'Man ... julle wit goed ... julle's onbeskof'" (Patricia, Interview 1, emphases added)

"... they are not human" (Norma, Interview 5).

These three quotations, incidentally, constitute the only instances where whites are inferiorised to the extent where they are reduced to the level of inanimate objects ("*goed*") and animals.

While a plethora of labels designating the dominated usually emerges from dominant group discourses (See **Chapter 6** for a list of some of these labels) only **four** labels designating the dominant group emerges from the discourses produced by the black parents who had participated in this study. These labels are: 'whites' (or its Afrikaans version, 'wit mense'), 'European', 'whitey' and 'boers' (or its Afrikaans version, 'boere').

Of the four terms presented above the first, namely, 'whites', is the one most frequently encountered in the discourses analyzed. This is of course the label normally used by members of the dominant group themselves to refer to, or categorise, members of their own group.

The term, 'European', is used twice (by Carmen, **Interview 1**; and Eileen, **Interview 4**) while the label, 'whitey' is employed only once (by Norma, **Interview 5**).

Though not employed nearly as frequently as the first term presented above, the last label, namely, 'boers'/'boere' nonetheless recurs with exceptional regularity in the discourses in question (see, for example, Hannah, **Interview 1**; Daphne, **Interview 3**; Merle, **Interview 4**; Ursula, **Interview 4**; and Jeanne, **Interview 5**).

Very important to note here is that while the dictionary definition of the term 'boers'/'boere' is, "*an Afrikaner ... a descendant of the early Dutch settlers in South Africa ... [a] farmer*" (cf. Harber & Payton, 1987), it is generally used (ie., in everyday discourse) by the dominated in South Africa to insult or ridicule members of the dominant group. Amongst the dominated, the term 'boers'/'boere' is normally associated with such character traits as narrow-mindedness, conservativeness and, above all, backwardness (Editorial, 1993). It is therefore not surprising that this label is most frequently employed by the participants in this study when they wish to vent their resentment and anger towards the dominant group or when they have something particularly negative to say about the latter.

"... I will try to take the fear out of the child ... because that is only a fear of the boere ... and they don't mean a thing and you can go where you want to" (Hannah, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"There is some of us ... who are highly educated people ... who are cleverer than the white man because the boere come from the farm then they get good positions. They have standard four or five then they get these positions. Just because we are black we can't get these positions" (Daphne, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"... and this was a Robin Jones dressing, so they couldn't put on only one bandage. Dit wys jou net hoe dom is die boere. I'm sure this white was just taken off the street to work there without any qualifications ... while there are black people walking the streets in search of jobs ..." (Ursula, Interview 4, emphasis added).

"I would have shouted, 'Those boers...' I would have thrown stones ... I would have done just everything. It's [referring to Vignette 1] very traumatic to the child ..." (Norma, Interview 5, emphasis added).

Here it should be noted that the term 'boers'/'boere' is not merely used to deride or insult whites but, as is the case with the following statement, also to distinguish between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking whites:

"It is especially the boere [ie., Afrikaners or Afrikaans-speaking whites] who believe things like this" (Ursula, Interview 4, emphasis added).

In general, however, the term is normally employed to refer to the dominant group in its entirety rather than to only a section of this group. This leads to the next important point. The labels designating whites which emerge from the discourses analyzed - in contradistinction to the basic function of the labels employed to designate blacks which emerge from dominant group discourses - are hardly ever used to divide the dominant group. This should obviously not be too surprising. While, as pointed out earlier, it is in the dominant group's interest to divide the 'Other', the dominated clearly do not have the inclination nor, in fact, the power, to divide the dominant group in the discourses which it maintains vis-à-vis the latter.

The term, 'whitey', incidentally, is commonly also employed in a derogatory sense amongst the dominated; and the one occasion on which it is utilised in the discourses studied in this section, it is located in a statement which basically criticises dominant group members' basic racist behaviour:

"There was this gentleman who applied for a place at our pre-school for his child. Now, this gentleman ... he's a whitey. He brought his child ... twice his child wouldn't come to us ... That was the end of the story. The child wouldn't come again ... because there's mostly black and coloured children at our pre-school" (Norma, Interview 5, emphasis added).

In sum, the portrayal of the dominant group which emerges from the discourses analyzed in this section is decidedly negative and unflattering. Not only are members of the dominant group depicted as ignorant, backward, cowardly, racist, greedy, perfidious and generally very rude but they are also portrayed as basically inhuman. As Kuper (1974) predicts would be the case, however, instances where members of the dominant group are reduced to the level of things and animals are relatively few in number.

Here it is important to reiterate a point mentioned on several occasions in this dissertation already: the constitution of the 'Other' simultaneously refracts an antithetical or opposite image of the 'Self'. In other words, the negative representation constructed by the dominated group members interviewed of the dominant group concomitantly refracts a relatively positive image of the dominated group. While this representation of the latter, in most cases, is only implied, it is occasionally, however, stated relatively explicitly:

"I don't think whites can take everything that we can take, that's why you'll always find them shooting themselves ... gassing themselves. We blacks don't do that again. We're so used to having so little ... are satisfied with it. We can make do with that little. The more whites get the more they want. We are so blessed in what we've got" (Doreen, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"Recently on 'Agenda' ... when that white guy said he can't work with Africans because you can't communicate with ... And Monday still ... I thought, that man ...said he can't work with Africans but who ... built all the things in South Africa ... who did all the labour. I mean, whites always gave the instructions and the blacks did the work ... and he still has the nerve to say he can't work with blacks" (Amelia, Interview 3, emphasis added)

"I again would contemplate telling the child how stupid they [whites] are ... my child is above them ... better than them. He must actually look down on them because they are not at his level" (Hannah, Interview 1, emphasis added)

"I've experienced incidents like this [referring to Vignette 1] already (...) [but] you tend to develop a kind of compassion for these [white] people ..." (Jeanne, Interview 5, emphasis added).

In short, therefore, while whites are spineless or cowardly, blacks are not; while whites are greedy, blacks are normally contented with what they have; while whites shirk hard work, blacks as a rule are industrious; while whites are obtuse, blacks generally are not; and whereas whites are generally hateful towards blacks, blacks still manage to be compassionate towards the former. Interesting to note here is the fact that this representation which the interviewees construct of the dominated is virtually the exact replica of the representation of the dominant group constructed in the psychologists' discourses viewed in Chapter 6 of the dissertation. As Reboul (1980) observes in this regard,

"Une classe opprimé par le discours de l'opresseur ... [afin de s'opposer au discours de l'opresseur]"⁽¹²⁾ (p 40).

While this positive self-presentation by the dominated group might largely correspond with the positive representation of the dominant group in prevailing dominant discourses it can, however, be seen to differ from the latter in one important respect. Whereas the positive representation of the dominant group virtually inevitably serves

(12) See footnote 3, Chapter 3, for translation.

the function of legitimating existing relations of domination, dominated group positive self-presentation, as writers such as Essed (1991) and Kuper (1976) contend, essentially serves as a means whereby members of the dominated group attempt to defend themselves against the dominant group's attempts to inferiorise and dehumanize them. This contention is in part borne out by one of the findings of this study cited earlier, namely, that the interviewees who had participated in this study were most likely to use the derogatory label, 'boers'/'boere' (rather than the more 'neutral' label, 'white') when they wished to vent their anger at the inhumanity of their domination at the hands of the dominant group.

At this juncture it should be pointed out that the representation which the interviewees construct of the dominant group is not consistently or exclusively negative. A reading of the transcribed interviews would reveal that there are also instances where the latter's intrinsic 'humanness' or their equality with blacks is in fact 'acknowledged'. Consider here, for example, the following quotation:

"I got this attitude towards a white man ... I treat them as equals" (Patricia, Interview 1, emphasis added).

The following quotations, more or less, also illustrate this 'alternative' representation of whites:

"Maybe these whites [referring to Vignette 1] were brought up in this manner ... I just think that maybe they were brought up ... I don't know" (Wayne, Interview 2)

"I think a person can feel sorry for these people, in fact (...) I always feel that ... when I see reports or hear things like this [referring to Vignette 1] ... that these people must feel very, very insecure ... very threatened" (Leona, Interview 1)

"We are all [that is, blacks as well as whites] God's creation" (Doreen, Interview 3).

Though admittedly stated less explicitly than in Patricia's (Interview 1) statement, the acknowledgement of whites' 'humanness' or equality with blacks is nevertheless detectable in the three quotations presented above. Doreen's statement that "[we] are all God's creation", for example, represents an implicit acknowledgement that whites and blacks are equal. While not making any reference to the basic equality between blacks and whites, the first and second quotations can nonetheless be construed as representing a tacit affirmation of whites' fundamental 'humanness'. In fact, a close reading of Wayne and Leona's statements reveals that these speakers appear to imply that it is basically as a result of such 'human' weaknesses as their fear or insecurity and their susceptibility to parental pressure that whites ultimately develop racist attitudes and behaviours.

The preceding paragraphs, needless to say, lend substantial support to the view postulated by writers such as Fanon (1964) who argue that it is exactly because of their own experiences as members of an 'inferiorised' and 'dehumanised' group that blacks' representation of whites would inevitably be situated on a much more human level than the latter's representation of blacks.

Before terminating this section another important finding which emerges from the texts analyzed should also be mentioned here. Possibly because they are aware that blacks' wariness and antipathy towards whites are frequently (and incorrectly so, it is here contended) branded by the dominant group as racism or because, as blacks, they are acutely aware of the negative consequences of racism, many of the interviewees seem to go out of their way to stress the fact that despite their essentially negative perception and portrayal of whites, they are not racist:

"Racism ... is law. We don't have to enforce it ... it's wrong to place people in categories" (Allie, Interview 1)

"... as Wayne says, you can be racist against whites ... but, I think, it's just anger ... in this case ... because of the things you had to endure and the privileges that you couldn't perhaps share ... and maybe somebody did

something that made you feel inferior ... so, it's just like anger coming out, I'd say" (Carol, Interview 2, emphasis added)

"... you tend to develop a kind of compassion for these people [ie., whites] ..." (Jeanne, Interview 5)

"... as a person ... I hate racism" (and Susan, Interview 5).

As a reading of the interview transcripts will show, not all interviewees counterbalanced their negative descriptions of whites with explicitly non-racist statements such as those presented above. Those who do not present such statements, however, frequently attempt to support their negative depiction of whites by providing very negative stories involving the latter. The narration of such experiences in effect then serves to make their negative evaluation of whites more defensible and credible (cf. van Dijk, 1987b).

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8.11 CONVERSATIONAL STORIES EMERGING FROM THE TEXTS

Previously it was mentioned that one of the most striking findings of the present study is the preponderance of anecdotes or conversational stories which emerge from the discourses analyzed in this chapter. In fact, as Table 5 shows, the five group interviews conducted produced no less than 57 stories - a very impressive number of stories if it is considered that all of the interviews conducted were relatively short and that no attempt was really made to solicit any of these stories.

Interview	N ₁	N ₂
Interview 1	5	18
Interview 2	5	6
Interview 3	3	15
Interview 4	2	4
Interview 5	5	13
Total	20	57

N₁: Number of storytellers.
N₂: Number of stories.

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF STORIES NARRATED PER STORY.

Given the above, it might be appropriate here to briefly consider the typical features of conversational stories.

8.11.1 Typical characteristics of conversational stories

In contradistinction to monological stories such as those typically reflected in letters and novels, for example, conversational stories are often not narrated within a single turn of a single speaker. Instead, they are generally constructed dialogically and are locally negotiated (van Dijk, 1987b). In other words, the narrator or storyteller relates

a certain personal experience in a sequence of narrative moves while the interlocutors may interrupt him or her to make comments or evaluations and to ask questions. The following two conversational stories gleaned from the discourses analyzed very aptly illustrate this feature of conversational stories:

Patricia: Just something that happened to me recently, I was at the supermarket and then I ... had to weigh my cheese. The guy who had to help me ... these white 'laaities'⁽¹³⁾! ... he wanted to put the cheese just like that onto the scale. But this scale had been used for veg' and fruit. So I told him, "Listen here, this scale is dirty." He look at me like that and he walk away. And there was another girl and boy ... the same age ... the same age ... standing. I think they were his friends. And he says, "Huh, the scale is dirty!" So I said, "Listen here, just don't think that because I'm black ... I'm a coloured," Sorry, " ... just don't think I don't have the right to speak up. At least I know ... I know the difference between wrong and right and just because I'm a coloured I don't have the right to speak up." ... And so it was a joke to these children. So I said, "Man ... julle wit goed ... julle's onbeskof!"⁽¹⁴⁾ (Laughter.) It's just like I did not have the right to speak up. How do I, as a coloured, know what is right and what is wrong; what is clean and what is dirty. I don't know anything about these kind of things ... just because I'm a coloured.

Hannah: So what did he think ... that you must just accept?

Carmen: It's not that. It's because of the colour of your skin.

Patricia: Ja, that's how I see this ... that's why it was a joke to him. Me now saying that the scale is dirty and I don't want him to weigh the cheese on it. So he just walked off. And another one came along and I told him, "If you don't wipe that thing I will put the cheese back and I'll know what to do afterwards." So he went to fetch a cloth and wiped it off and then he weighed the cheese (Interview 1).

(13) Afrikaans. Translation: youngsters

(14) Afrikaans. Translation: "Man you white things (/‘trash’) you're rude!".

Rita: This makes me think about my own son ... but he is in the [South African] Air Force ... in Pretoria. About two months ago he had to fly home on his first weekend leave. That was the same day of that big rugby match ... Free State and Noord-Transvaal⁽¹⁵⁾. There were quite a lot of officers who were due for leave ... but my son was booked for that flight. But when he wanted to board there wasn't place for him ... only for the white officers ... he was put on standby. Eventually he had to hike from Pretoria.

Allie: En hy werk nog altyd vir hulle?⁽¹⁶⁾ (Laughter.)

Rita: He had to hike home ... two days!

Hannah: And from Pretoria! It's quite some distance.

Rita: Yes, I was quite worried Hannah ... just to show you that white comes before black.

Patricia: These whites!

Rita: Just because of the colour of your skin. (Interview 1).

It is very evident here that conversational stories and their conclusions are not individual productions but are negotiated by the narrators as well as their interlocutors.

Furthermore, unlike monological stories, conversational stories, as the following story which emerges from **Interview 1** illustrates, frequently run astray or do not have a meaningful conclusion:

Amelia: Well, like some people say ... and I quite agree with them ... strangely enough this subject always comes up ... We saw something at Muizenberg beach which wasn't very nice, you know ... but then it wasn't only Africans it was coloureds also ... So the

(15) Afrikaans. Translation: Northern Transvaal

(16) Afrikaans. Translation: And he still works for them?

obvious thing to say is, "Dis daarom wat die wit mense nie vir ons tussen hulle wil hê nie,"⁽¹⁷⁾ and things like that.

As previously mentioned, it is left to the interlocutors to deduce what had happened at the beach; and because the interlocutors share the narrator's social world it is possible for them to do so (van Dijk, 1987b).

Lastly, and most importantly, conversational stories generally display a characteristic narrative pattern or structure that identifies them as stories. According to van Dijk (1987b) narrated experiences must, for example, exhibit a clearly identifiable Complication and Resolution before they can be referred to as stories. He defines a story's Complication and Resolution as follows:

The **Complication** of a narrative normally refers to events that are contrary to the goals, wishes or expectations of the protagonist or storyteller; while

The **Resolution** specifies the actions performed (whether they were successful or not) vis-à-vis the Complication.

Without a Complication there is no story and without a Resolution the story would typically appear incomplete (See, for example, the last 'story' cited above). The topic of a story is normally embedded in these two categories and, more specifically, in the complication category.

8.11.2 Story topics

It is interesting to note that the topics of the stories emerging from the discourses analyzed in this section largely coincide with the major concerns and beliefs of the parents interviewed (See **Table 6**). In fact, the most dominant beliefs emerging from

⁽¹⁷⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: "That's why the whites do not want to mix with us"

the discourses analyzed and the concerns which most preoccupied the participants generally seem to have constituted the most popular story topics. For example, twelve of the stories concern the frequently expressed belief that racism is still widespread in South Africa, in specific, and the world at large, in general; twelve of the stories are related to the dominant belief that whites are generally prejudiced; and ten stories deal with the participants' preoccupation with the problems of blacks' prejudice vis-à-vis other blacks. Interesting to note too is the fact that even the more minor themes emerging from the discourses analyzed (for example, the themes that racism is a function of blacks' behaviour and certain innate factors) are also represented in the stories narrated.

Topics	Frequency
Racism is still widespread in South Africa	8
Racism is still widespread the world over	4
Racism cheapens blacks' lives	1
Racism is illogical	3
Racism deprives blacks of many opportunities and privileges	7
Racism has a negative effect on the psychological integrity of blacks	2
Racism is a function of certain innate factors	1
Racism is a function of blacks' behaviour	1
Racism is becoming increasingly subtle	1
Whites are generally prejudiced	12
Whites are rude	1
Whites are stupid	1
Whites are vindictive	1
The problem of blacks' prejudice vis-à-vis other blacks	10
Blacks' internalisation of dominant racist values	2
Blacks have to oppose racism	2
Total:	57

TABLE 6: TOPICS OF THE STORIES EMERGING FROM THE TEXTS ANALYZED.

In general, the topics and content of these stories seem to give credence to van Dijk's (1987b) claim that narratives emerging from conversations on racism, unlike many other types of conversational narratives, are not primarily aimed at entertaining or diverting the audience. Instead, they usually serve the function of illustrating or bolstering the narrator's beliefs and concerns.

8.12 TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS

A reading of all the discussions presented in the present chapter would show that, in their attempts to make sense of the phenomenon of racism, the black parents interviewed draw substantially on dominant discourses and the myth systems which these contain *apropos* the phenomenon (cf. Essed, 1991; and Chapter 6 of the present dissertation). Here the following widely represented opinions and explanatory repertoires which emerged from the discourses analyzed with regard to racism immediately come to mind:

- (i) the existence of racism is essentially a function of certain actions and characteristics of blacks;
- (ii) the existence of racism is essentially a function of certain personal characteristics of whites;
- (iii) racist attitudes and actions are limited to certain individuals or groups of individuals (in other words, that racism is not widespread and deeply ingrained in existing social institutions);
- (iv) blacks' antipathy to whites can be equated with whites' racist attitudes towards blacks;
- (v) the dominated can be sub-divided into various sub-groups (in other words, 'races', in dominant group parlance);
- (vi) racism can be eliminated by merely re-educating black and white children.

To the extent that these elements can be seen to aid in the dissimulation and reproduction of the ideology of racism, those interviewees in whose discourses they are reflected can of course be seen to participate in their own domination.

In many respects, this replication of circulating dominant discourses is to be expected. Given, for example, the dominant group's control over the means of discourse production and dissemination; the length of the interviewees' exposure to the ideology of racism (as well as the dominant meanings given to the ideology); and given the latter's interpellation as parents (and, therefore, responsible for ensuring the survival of their progeny in a society which ruthlessly deals with blacks who threaten existing relations of domination), it is not surprising that the dominated's discourses on the phenomenon of racism would be tainted by the dominant group's views in regard to the phenomenon. To quote Marx and Engels (in Billig, 1976) once again,

"the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch, the ruling ideas" (p 235).

In any situation characterised by systematically asymmetric relations of power, the dominated's discourses vis-à-vis their domination, as Gramsci (1978; and in Hall *et al.*, 1984) and Therborn (1980) state, will be shot through with discursive and explanatory elements which derive from prevailing dominant discourses. This, as pointed out earlier, is primarily due to the fact that ideologies and discourses produced by dominated groups are generally much less organised and enjoy much less prominence than those produced by dominant groups (cf. Gramsci, 1978; and Essed, 1987).

Despite the fact that their discourses are traversed by elements of dominant group discourses and views which would be supportive of the racist *status quo*, the above-cited authors' writings seem to indicate, the dominated's discourses on racism can, however, also be expected to be the site of resistance to existing relations of domination. Of this there is of course ample evidence in the present study. Consider here, for example,

- (i) the manner in which the labels utilised by the dominant group to divide and subjugate blacks are contested in the discourses analyzed;
- (ii) the dominant reactions of the interviewees to the phenomenon of racism as reflected by their discourses (eg., "anger", "hatred" ...)
- (iii) the concern expressed by the interviewees with regard to the divisions within the dominated group caused by dominant group racist practices and attitudes;
- (iv) the implicit critique of the manner in which blacks are interpellated by the dominant group which surfaces from the discourses scrutinised;
- (v) the relatively positive constitution of the dominated which emerges from the discourses analyzed;
- (vi) the relatively negative manner in which the dominant group is constituted in these discourses; and
- (vii) the interviewees' manifest commitment to the elimination of racism or, at least, the phenomenon's consequences as expressed in their discourses.

Of all the points raised above, the last one, because of its importance as well as its prominence in the discourses analyzed in this section, perhaps deserves further elaboration.

Though at times appearing relatively disparate, all the discourses produced by the parents interviewed have at least one important discursive element in common and that is their consistent and unequivocal rejection of racism (See particularly **Section 8.3.3** in this regard). Given the interviewees' views on the extremely negative consequences of racism for the black community in South Africa, this essentially anti-racism/anti-racist position is to be expected.

As previously observed, there appears to be a general consensus amongst the parents interviewed that racism does not only result in the psychological mutilation of the

black individual but it also results in the fragmentation of the black group which, consequently, facilitates the oppression of the latter. It is perhaps due to their recognition of the damage caused by racism that these parents could reject the phenomenon as unequivocally as they do. This is of course in sharp contrast to the psychologists' discourses analyzed in **Chapter 6** which are essentially characterised by the denial of racism. In fact, as pointed out earlier, not only do they reject racism in its many manifestations but they also suggest various practical (though, not always very innovative or progressive) ways in which the phenomenon and its consequences can be eradicated or countered. As Essed (1986) posits, "... *knowing about racism induces action against racism*" (pp 28-9). It is in this important respect too that the discourses analyzed in the present section differs fundamentally from the psychologists' discourses analyzed in **Chapter 6**. The latter discourses, as noted in **Chapter 6** (with a few exceptions, such as, the works produced by Dawes, 1985; and Nell & van Staden, 1989a, 1989b), offer very few and even more problematic suggestions than the discourses analyzed in the present section with regard to question of how the issue of racism is to be addressed. As noted earlier, the most popular suggestion which emerged from these discourses was that more research on the nature of prejudiced attitudes should be undertaken!

Apart from possibly being a function of their awareness of the damage which can be wrought by racism, the interviewees' avowed commitment to the eradication of the phenomenon can perhaps also be ascribed to their increasing exposure to essentially anti-*status quo* discourses on the phenomenon. Anyone who has made even a very superficial study of contemporary South African history will know that the last decade constituted a period of intense or heightened political struggle in this country; a struggle which has witnessed the intensification of the activities of organisations such as the African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Council on Sports, and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Daniels, 1991; Haysom, 1992; Stephens, 1992; and Tissong, 1991). To the extent that all these organisations

adopt an essentially (albeit to varying degrees) anti-racist position, it can be expected that the discourses which they have consistently produced and disseminated via political pamphlets, mass meetings, mass demonstrations, neighbourhood meetings, etc., over these last few years, could have had an influence on the discourses produced by the parents interviewed in regard to existing relations of domination (cf. Foster, 1991a).

While it is accepted that these parents' discourses were in all likelihood influenced by the discourses produced by contemporary anti-apartheid and socialist organisations and movements, it is very interesting to note, however, that none of these parents quoted these organisations and movements as the source of their knowledge of racism and their commitment to its eradication. Instead, they most frequently cited their parents or spouses as being the ones who had made them aware of what racism is and how the phenomenon should be eliminated (see, for example, Carmen, **Interview 1**; Hannah, **Interview 1**; Amelia, **Interview 3**; and Leila, **Interview 5**). (See Essed, 1991, for similar findings in a study conducted amongst black women in the Netherlands and the United States of America). It would therefore appear as if the family is a much less constraining or conservative institution than it was previously theorised to be. This is of course not to deny the conservative role which the black family can potentially play vis-à-vis the ideology of racism; for as observed by some of the parents interviewed in the present study, many of their parents "*just kept quiet ... when they introduced apartheid*" (Allie, **Interview 1**. See also Daphne, **Interview 3**; and Doreen, **Interview 3**). It is just that the hold exercised by the ruling class over the dominated group family is much less complete than many writers would seem to suggest. In fact, as a reading of the interview transcripts would show, many of the interviewees see themselves (in their capacity as parents, that is) as playing a pivotal role in terms of the eradication of racism or at least the phenomenon's negative consequences (cf. McAdoo, 1985). This leads to another important finding which emerges from the present study which should perhaps be mentioned here.

Not only do the discourses analyzed reflect the interviewees' conviction of the central role which they see themselves playing in the elimination of racism and its consequences but many of them in fact **show proof** or **give substance** to this conviction in the interviewing situation itself. Many of the interviewees, for example, utilise the interviewing situation to actively 'conscientize' those interviewees whose discourses conflict too blatantly with the essentially anti-racism/anti-racism consensus reflected in the discourses of the majority of the interviewees. The following interactions between some of the interviewees who had participated in this study provide some of the most striking examples of such 'conscientization':

Rita: This makes me think about my own son ... he is in the [South African] Air Force ... my son was booked for a flight. But when he wanted to board there was no place for him ... only for the white officers ... he was put on standby

Allie: En hy werk nog vir hulle?⁽¹⁸⁾ (Laughter.) (Interview 1)

Carmen: I have a wonderful little story to tell you. Once I met this native ...

Hannah: Black!

Carmen: I mean, black preacher who said that blacks were no different from other people ... (Interview 1)

Carmen: Racism is the policy of the land. Even though we don't like the situation we should obey ...

Allie: I don't agree. I don't agree we should obey what is wrong ...

(18) See Footnote 4.

- Carmen:** What I meant by 'obey' was that if they said, "No coloureds or blacks", we should not force our way. We should not be in wanted ... We should be independent. (Interview 1)
- Wayne:** ... but we can be racist upwards as well. If you refuse to have anything to do with whites ... that is being racist in my opinion ... if you drive along a road and you see a guy stuck and you drive past him ... just because he's white
- Don:** I'll probably think, "That bugger's white, so I'll pass him" (Laughter.)
- Carol:** And I wouldn't call that racism. I think it's more because of anger within you because of what whites ... perhaps ... privileges you couldn't share ... or maybe the way you had been treated in the past.
- Wayne:** I didn't say it's wrong to feel like that ... it's probably a natural retaliation after all these years. (Interview 2)
- Daphne:** I must honestly say that things seem to be getting better ... Like two weeks ago we went to Hermanus ... a predominantly white area. My daughter-in-law was saying that four years ago things were very different. You were made to feel very uncomfortable and unwanted. Today things are a bit better.
- Sidney:** Maybe you felt comfortable because you did not meet the 'right' people. (Laughter.)
- Doreen:** Yes, there is still some places where you must make use of the back entrance of the shop.
- Daphne:** ... You get the people who still practice discrimination ... let's face it, we read about it so often where [black] families get turned away from hotels and things like that. (Interview 3)

- Susan:** ... So people can't say that they get prejudice from their environment ... I would feel that they are actually born with it ...
- Jeanne:** I can't accept that. I believe that there are subtle influences ... the stories you read for your children ... the poems or comic books ...
- Susan:** But I wasn't exposed to these things at three!
- Jeanne:** But still you see ... other people ... other people are ... you're not an island.
- Leona:** ... same thing with dolls. I can't remember that I've seen a black doll when I grew up ... (Interview 5)

Though the attempts by some of the interviewees to conscientize their fellow interviewees are readily apparent in the excerpts presented above, for the sake of those not *au fait* with the South African situation (and specifically with the struggles against racism), it might perhaps be apposite to briefly discuss the content of these excerpts.

In the first excerpt the message to the first speaker is clear. Her son cannot complain about racist treatment if he serves in an institution which has played such a pivotal role in the maintenance of the racist *status quo*. To a certain extent, Allie's response to Carmen can be construed as an echo of one of the slogans which has dominated the politics of anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa: namely, that the oppressed should not collaborate with the oppressor in maintaining their own oppression (Alexander, 1985; and Ebrahim, in Stephens, 1992). In other words, the oppressed should not contribute to the functioning of the apparatuses (such as, the army) which are instrumental in perpetuating the domination of blacks by whites.

In the second excerpt, Carmen is 'chastised' as it were for using the term 'native'; a term frequently used by the dominant group (especially during the first half of this century) to identify a certain section of the dominated group (Melamed, 1970a). Hannah, possibly because she is aware of the ideological function of the label, makes it clear that the term 'black' would be more appropriate. Carmen, taking cognisance of Hannah's objection to the term, 'native', then substitutes it with the term, 'black'. This interaction more than adequately illustrates how the meanings of words or terms are constantly contested by opposing groups in the fight against domination. As, Seidel (1988) puts it, it is often at the level of discourse that the struggle for the maintenance or elimination of domination is waged (cf. MacDonell, 1987; and Murray, 1988).

In the third excerpt, Carmen's suggestion that blacks should obey the state's racist laws is challenged by Allie who argues that it is morally untenable to do so.

As the content of the fourth extract had already been dealt with in an earlier section it will not be addressed here.

In the fifth extract, Daphne is challenged by her husband, Sidney, when she posits that, in terms of racism, *"things are a bit better today"*. Though not very explicitly articulated, his view basically is that though racism might of late have undergone certain superficial changes, this does not mean that the phenomenon no longer exists. This view is then supported by Doreen who observes that even such overtly racist practices as the provision of separate shop entrances for blacks is not a thing of the past.

In the last extract Susan's view that racist prejudice is determined by innate factors (a view very similar to that held by dominant group intellectuals, such as, van Staden, 1986b) is challenged by two of her co-interviewees who (correctly) stress the

importance of social factors in the acquisition and development of racist attitudes (cf. van Dijk, 1990b).

Very interesting to note is the fact that while some of the interviewees who make statements challenged by their co-interviewees 'capitulate' (Daphne, fifth extract; and Carmen, second extract) and adopt the views of the latter, others try to save face by claiming that they had been misunderstood:

"I didn't say it's wrong to feel like that .. it's probably natural to retaliate after all these years" (Wayne, Interview 2)

"What I meant by 'obey' was that if they said, 'No coloureds or blacks', we should not force our way. We should not be in wanted ... We should be independent" (Carmen, Interview 1).

Whether Wayne and Carmen had been misunderstood or not is perhaps not very important at this stage. What is important is the fact that they, like Daphne (Interview 3), ultimately adjust their discourses to 'fit in' with those of their co-interviewees and what the latter seem to consider the most appropriate in terms of an anti-racist position.

Another very important finding of the present study and which contradicts one of the central assumptions formulated at the beginning of this chapter is the fact that the interviewees, while taking cognisance of the various transformations which the phenomenon of racism had undergone over the last few years, are not taken in by them. As observed earlier, most of the interviewees are of the conviction that these transformations are essentially cosmetic in nature and designed to mislead them and the rest of the world. This finding, it can be noted, is consistent with the findings of similar studies undertaken elsewhere over the last few years (see, for example, Essed, 1986, 1991; and Peters, 1985).

Given the complexity of the discourses analyzed in this chapter and given the diverse and often contradictory discursive elements and themes which they produce, it would of course be foolhardy to attempt a more comprehensive summary of the present phase of the study than the one just presented. Indeed, to produce a sufficiently comprehensive synopsis of the discursive elements and themes which emerged from the discourses analyzed would in effect mean repeating virtually all of the contents of the present study. In the light of this then, the preceding ten-odd pages and the following concluding remarks will have to suffice as summary.

8.13 CONCLUSION

As pointed out above, the discourses analyzed in this section are extremely complex and rich in discursive and explanatory themes. In fact, it is certain that a closer and more exhaustive analysis would have produced infinitely more information than that presented in this chapter. Given time and space constraints, as well as the fact that the analysis of discourse is in fact an interminable process (that is, that the analysis of any body of texts can never be said to be complete) (Thompson, 1984), the contents of the present chapter will have to suffice. In any event, as the goal of this chapter to map out the basic trends and core themes exhibited in the discourses produced by members of the dominated group has basically been achieved, the content of this chapter, it is believed, should be adequate.

As a last point here it can perhaps be reiterated that despite the interviewees' frequent replication of those elements of dominant group discourses which essentially serve to justify and dissimulate the relations of domination which the ideology of racism entails (see the first three paragraphs section 8.12), their discourses are also a site of struggle against racism. These discourses can be considered a site of struggle in the sense that they contain various discursive elements which do not only expose the true nature of

racism as it manifests itself in South Africa (and thereby effectively subverting the most common myth systems which aid in the reproduction of the ideology), but which also posit various strategies which aim to eradicate the phenomenon or its consequences. More attention will be given to this latter feature of the discourses analyzed in the next chapter.



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CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND INDICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND ANTI-RACIST ACTION

9.1 FINAL COMMENTS ON FINDINGS

As previously observed - and for all the reasons already mentioned - the analysis of the *corpora* of texts included in this study was not, and could not, be exhaustive. However, while the analysis was not exhaustive it at least allowed for the validation of the central postulates or assumptions contained in the working hypotheses presented in **Chapter 1** of this dissertation; these assumptions being:

- (i) that the discourses produced by the psychologists whose work had been included in this study would, to varying degrees, reinforce prevailing racist myth systems and existing relations of domination; and
- (ii) that the discourses produced by the dominated group members who had participated in this study would, to varying degrees, be the site of resistance to the ideology of racism as well as to the prevailing dominant group discourses on the ideology.

As the implications of psychologists' complicity in the reproduction of the ideology of racism had already been discussed in considerable detail at the end of **Chapter 6**, the issue will not be broached again at this stage. However, while it might not be necessary to discuss the ramifications of the 'racism-reproducing' discourses

produced by psychologists here, it might perhaps be important to reconsider some of the findings which emerged from the analysis of the black interviewees' discourses.

Firstly, as predicted in the works of writers such as Gramsci (in Bobo, 1988; and in Hall et al., 1984), Furnham (1990) and Therborn (1980), the discourses produced by these black interviewees are relatively contradictory and contain several discursive elements which typically appear in dominant group discourses on racism and which can be perceived as having the potential of reproducing this ideology. Very important to note here, however, is the fact that the discourses produced by the black parents who had participated in this study do not appear to contain any more contradictions or inconsistencies than the discourses produced by the psychologists whose work had been analyzed; at least not at the level of the rejection of racism and the commitment resolve to fighting the ideology. This finding of course sharply contradicts the views generally expressed in the works of the writers cited above. All of these writers, as previously observed, seem to suggest that informal or common-sense discourses (such as those produced by the black participants in this study) would generally lack the coherence and consistency of formal or academic discourses (such as those produced by psychologists). Two possible reasons for the fact that the common-sense discourses produced by the black parents interviewed appear to be as (if not more) consistent as those of the psychologists whose work had been analyzed in this study, immediately come to mind here.

Firstly, while the psychologists' discourses deal with a range of racism-related issues, the discourses produced by the black participants in this study (owing perhaps to factors related to the interviewing situation itself) deal in a much more focused manner with the topic under consideration, that is, racism.

Secondly, the consistency displayed in the black participants' discourses on racism can perhaps also be attributed to the fact that these discourses are largely based on a relatively 'intimate' or direct knowledge of the phenomenon. The oppressed,

as noted earlier, due to their constant exposure to racism, are forced to elaborate, evaluate, verify and reformulate their knowledge of racism - and the way in which they talk about the ideology - on a daily basis (Essed, 1986). The consistency often displayed in the oppressed's discourses on racism, as Essed observes, can be seen as being a reflection of the direct survival function which a coherent understanding of the ideology essentially serves. As she puts it,

"it is a survival strategy for the targets of racism to develop a broad and constant understanding of [and discourses on] racism that accounts for their direct experiences" (p 29)

Hence the fact that even the informal or common-sense discourses on racism produced by the dominated in this study frequently appear to be more consistent or coherent than those produced by academics (who, as pointed out previously, in most cases belong to the dominant group and consequently only have an indirect knowledge of racism). As an aside, it can perhaps be pointed out here that while the discourses on racism produced by the black interviewees at times appear to possess a greater degree of internal consistency than those produced by the psychologists whose work had been analyzed in **Chapter 6**, the former's discourses appear to be much less sophisticated than the latter's discourses. A reading of the previous chapter would reveal that - consistent with the views of, amongst others, Essed (1992) - the discourses produced by the black parents interviewed seldom show proof of the latter's ability to manipulate 'theoretical' or abstract constructs. Instead of 'theorising' about the phenomenon of racism, these interviewees frequently resort to relating various anecdotes and stories to convey their understanding of the phenomenon. Here it has to be added that apart from illustrating the inability (or, possibly, unwillingness) on the part of the part of the participants to 'theorise' in the abstract about racism, the seemingly inexhaustible repertoire of racist stories which the black participants appear to have at their disposal also illustrates the important point that racism is not alien to them; indeed, that it is a personal and **everyday** experience (cf. Essed, 1986).

It is undoubtedly because of their **everyday experience and knowledge of racism** and the ideology's potentially destructive consequences that all the black participants in this study placed such great emphasis on social change (cf. CAL, 1987; and Katz, 1976). This leads to the next important finding emerging from the analysis of the black interviewees' discourses. Though they perceive the phenomenon as all-pervasive and virtually ineradicable, all of these participants agree that racism is to be combatted at all costs. Here it should be added that if the discourses of the dominated are to be accorded the attention which they deserve then it will be a good idea if social scientists, as well as all those who are committed to the eradication of racism, give some consideration to the suggestions made by this group of participants regarding how racism is to be combatted. Some of the more important suggestions emanating from these discourses, it will be remembered, are:

- (i) that blacks expose racists and racist practices;
- (ii) that black parents prepare their children for their inevitable confrontation with racism so that the pernicious consequences of this phenomenon can at least be minimized; and
- (iii) that the artificial barriers separating the various black groupings in South Africa be broken down.

The commitment to the elimination of racism is not unique to the discourses produced by the black parents who had participated in this study. It is also detectable in the discourses produced by the psychologists whose work had been analyzed in **Chapter 6** (see here, for example, the articles written by Dawes, 1985; Leon & Lea, 1988; and Nell & van Staden, 1988a, 1988b.) Unfortunately, this commitment to the elimination of racism is not expressed half as forcefully in the latter's discourses as in the former's. Nonetheless, it might be appropriate here to list two of the more important suggestions which emerge from the psychologists' discourses:

- (i) that programmes of affirmative action in favour of blacks be undertaken so as to help eliminate the negative consequences of past and present racist discrimination against this group (see, for example, Nell & van Staden, 1988a, 1988b); and
- (ii) that social scientists commit themselves to a policy of non-racialism as well as to challenging existing racist government policies (see, for example, Dawes, 1985; and Leon & Lea, 1988).

It is important to stress here that none of the above suggestions will, by themselves, ensure the elimination of racism. In order for the fight against racism to be effective it is essential that the economic and political conditions which are responsible for the ideology's perpetuation are also combatted. Conversely, however, it should also be noted that broader structural changes in society cannot guarantee the elimination of racism either. While the extant political and social are important determinants in the (re)production of racism, changes in these conditions will not automatically lead to the elimination of racism (see **Chapter 2**). It is essentially for this reason that practical suggestions such as those presented above should be considered as an important facet of the struggle against - as well as research on - racism.

Given its prominence in the discourses analyzed, the third suggestion which emerged from the dominated's discourses on racism, perhaps warrants further attention. As previously noted, the participants seemed to be remarkably preoccupied with (i) the divisions within the ranks of the oppressed and (ii) the need to eliminate these divisions. Indeed, one of the more significant themes which traverses **all** the group interviews analyzed, concerns the divisions amongst the oppressed and the need to eliminate these divisions. This preoccupation is remarkable for one important reason, namely, that it illustrates that the oppressed do not seem to attach such great value to their "*ethnic uniqueness*" or "*cultural identity*" as so many ruling-class intellectuals as well as certain dominated group intellectuals seem to suggest (Alexander, 1985). This obviously does not mean that the interviewees do not recognise the very real (and, at times, very deep) divisions

which characterise the dominated group in this country (cf. Alexander, 1985; Malan, 1990; and Sharp, 1988). It is just that they do not view these divisions as fixed or immutable.

At this juncture it might be appropriate to briefly consider the views of Bulhan (1985; and in Buchar & Seedat, 1990) in regard to the oppressed's typical reactions or 'reaction tendencies' to the problem of their domination. According to Bulhan (1985) there are theoretically three types of reaction tendencies in terms of which the oppressed can respond to their domination, namely, capitulation, revitalisation and radicalisation.

Capitulation refers to the tendency sometimes displayed by blacks to strive towards assimilation into the dominant culture and in the process then rejecting themselves as well as their fellow oppressed. **Revitalisation** entails "*a reactive ^{rejection} repudiation*" (p 193) on the part of the oppressed of the dominant group and its values. This mode of reaction, according to Bulhan, is best exemplified by the *negritude* movement which swept through Africa during the 1960's and 1970's. The third type of reaction to oppression, namely, **radicalisation**, in the words of Bulhan, can be seen as being a mode of "*unambiguous commitment toward radical change*" (p 193). While not very explicitly stated, it can be deduced from Bulhan's writings that radicalisation would be the most progressive or revolutionary of these reaction tendencies and capitulation would be the least progressive or revolutionary.

Given that the dominant view which emerges from the literature is that blacks typically exhibit the first reaction tendency identified above (McAdoo, 1985. See also **Chapter 6** of the present dissertation), it is interesting to note here that the most dominant tendency exhibited by the participants in the present study is that of revitalisation. As previously noted, one of the most striking features of these participants' discourses is their outright rejection of dominant group values and actions. Whites' '*dishonesty*', '*laziness*', '*avarice*', '*racist prejudice*', etc. are constantly criticised. Coupled with this one finds a near-romanticisation of the dominated group: 'We are not like them.' 'We are strong.' 'We are not afraid of hard work.'

etc. This rejection of perceived dominant group values and characteristics and the concomitant positive self-presentation which emerges so forcefully from the texts analyzed clearly signify that the dominant reaction displayed by the participants vis-à-vis their domination is that of revitalisation. As a reading of the previous chapter as well as the first few paragraphs of the present chapter should illustrate, this is not the only reaction tendency expressed by the interviewees. It is accompanied by the reaction tendency which Bulhan refers to as radicalisation. As previously noted, one of the most consistent messages which emerges from the discourses analyzed in **Chapter 7** is the resolve expressed by the interviewees to aid in the elimination of the divisions within the dominated group so as to bring about social change. It is in this respect, some would say, that these interviewees can be seen as showing greater insight and vision than many black political groups (and the latter's leadership) who have of late apparently abandoned the important task of uniting the oppressed and, indeed, of combatting racism in a programmatic and deliberate fashion (cf. CAL, 1987; and Jansen, 1991). The discourses produced by the parents interviewed indicate that they at least seem to be aware that racism and the divisions within the ranks of the oppressed caused by this ideology will not be eliminated if they are simply to depend on the ruling class to one day voluntarily change its ways (cf. Katz, 1976). Racism can only be eradicated if the oppressed unite and, as a group, combat the systemic supports as well as the consequences (such as, the constitution of blacks as subservient beings) of the ideology. As CAL (1987) posits, blacks in this country have nothing to lose and everything to gain by putting up a united front against racism.

As an aside, it can perhaps be mentioned here that the reaction tendencies identified above are often not expressed in pure form. In fact, according to Bulhan (1985), the oppressed frequently exhibit more than one of these reaction tendencies vis-à-vis their domination. This is more than amply illustrated in the discourses analyzed in **Chapter 7**. Many of the participants, for example, produced discourses which reflect all three of the reaction tendencies identified by Bulhan.

9.2 INDICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Though this study reveals that the study of discourses on racism can be invaluable in terms of revealing how racism operates and, more importantly, how this ideology can be opposed; and though much more research of this nature is required, future researchers in this area should perhaps be cautioned that work in the field of the analysis of discourses on racism and racist discourses is extremely time-consuming and laborious. For this reason it would perhaps be prudent not to be too ambitious and tackle more than one 'type' of discourse at the same time. In retrospect, it appears as if it might have been a mistake to have tackled both 'academic' and 'lay' discourses on racism in one project. Studying two relatively large and diverse corpora of texts in the same study, as had been the case with the present research project, perhaps obviated an analysis which was sufficiently rigorous and to the point. As previously pointed out, discourse analysis as method of research is most effective if relatively small or sufficiently manageable samples are utilised.

Bearing in mind that the majority of research studies on discourses on racism thus far undertaken had concentrated on dominant group discourses, it would perhaps be appropriate if further studies in this area focused on the dominated's discourses. It would perhaps also be valuable if these studies could focus on the discourses produced by specific categories of people within the dominated group: for example, the discourses produced by groups of black women, black men, elderly black people, young black people, black children, working-class blacks, middle-class blacks etc. As Chesler (1976) and Louw-Potgieter (1989) observe, if an adequate understanding of racism is to be arrived at, much more (and a greater variety of) research studies will have to be conducted on the meanings which black people give to phenomenon than had thus far been the case. Furthermore, much more detail is required with regard to the discursive strategies used by black groups to defend themselves against and subvert the dominant group's ideology of racism. Needless to say, the analysis of discourses produced by the groups identified above would make for interesting and useful comparisons.

Another fertile yet neglected area of research would be the examination of how group discussions on racism affect blacks' understanding of, and discourses on, the ideology. As noted in **Chapter 6**, one of the most striking findings of the present study is that participation in these discussions frequently brought about various changes in the manner in which the parents interviewed spoke about, or the meanings which they gave to, the ideology of racism. In fact, at the conclusion of all the interviews conducted most of the interviewees seemed to have a 'deeper' or a more 'critical' understanding of the ideology (judging by the discourses which they produced, that is) than what they had at the beginning of these interviews. It would be useful to ascertain whether other studies in this area would arrive at similar findings.

Given that the interpretation of any corpus of discourses can never really be conclusive or final (Thompson, 1984), the corpora of texts analyzed in the present study themselves can obviously also constitute the focus of further research. In this way then it can at least be assessed whether the interpretations of the meanings and functions of these texts which are posited in the present study are valid or not.

9.3 PRACTICAL APPLICATION

One of the most important phases of the analytical process, according to Chesler (1976) and Potter et al. (1987), is that of 'practical application'. While discourse analysis serves the important function of enabling the researcher to become more aware of the constructive nature of discourse as well as of the close connection between discourse and prevailing relations of domination, this increased awareness or sensitivity to the nature of discourse does not signal the end of the analytical process. The analysis of textual versions of social issues, the writers cited above stress, is only complete when this increased awareness is put to practical use. But to what practical use can the meanings given to texts analyzed in the present study be put? One of Potter Wetherell's (1987) more important suggestions in this connection is that the findings of discourse analytical studies be publicised as widely

as possible so that people can become more aware of the functions of discourse. According to these writers, it is best if this process commences with those whose discourses had been analyzed. In this way the latter can at least become more sensitive to the effects which their discourses might have on existing relations of power; that is, whether their discourses are order-serving or not (cf. van Dijk, 1987b). Another important function which publicising the findings of discourse analytical studies can serve is that of ensuring the researcher's accountability vis-à-vis all the participants involved in these studies. According to Chesler (1976), this function is particularly crucial where the oppressed and dispossessed are concerned. For too long, Chesler posits, the views of blacks and, particularly, the black working-class, have been used in research studies without them knowing what function their understanding of their social reality serves. In fact, as Alexander (1985) points out, it is high time that those in whose interest social scientists in South Africa frequently purport to do research, are given due recognition as equal partners in the research process.

Obviously, the task of informing the psychologists whose work had been analyzed in the present study of the findings of this study, should not be too difficult. Dissertations are usually the common property of most academics. Under normal circumstances, the latter need merely consult the libraries at the institutions to which they are attached and they will have virtually immediate access to any dissertation of their choice. Where the black parents who had participated in this study are concerned, however, things might not be so easy. Firstly, they normally do not have easy access to university libraries where dissertations are usually kept; and, secondly, the 'academic' style maintained in this dissertation might not make the findings of the present study all that accessible to them. It is essentially for this reason that the researcher intends to re-write the more important sections of this dissertation in language which is more accessible to the lay person. Priority will be given to the findings related to the dominated's discourses. In fact, the intention is to publish these findings in booklet form and to disseminate the latter as widely as possible; starting with the communities in which the parents interviewed are located.

9.4 BY WAY OF CONCLUSION.

It would perhaps be fitting to conclude this dissertation by considering two of the more important lessons which can be drawn from the present study. Firstly, psychologists should become more aware of what they say (or do not say) about racism and how they say it. Notwithstanding their frequently noble intentions, their discourses, as illustrated in **Chapter 6**, often have as effect the reproduction of the ideology of racism. Secondly, black 'lay' people have a better understanding of racism than what they are frequently credited with. In the light of this, as well as the fact that blacks, as Katz (1976) puts it, generally have "*a greater emotional commitment to seeing ... [racism] halted*" (p 5), social scientists would do well to take the former's discourses more seriously (cf. Alexander, 1985; and Gramsci, in Simon, 1982). In fact, it is incumbent upon those social scientists in South Africa who share the oppressed's resolve to eliminate racism, not only to take these discourses more seriously, but also to contribute their scholarly skills to the task of isolating the more progressive elements within these discourses so as to enable the oppressed to develop a more critical understanding of the ideology as well as to elaborate a more effective anti-racist ideology and discourse (Alexander, 1985).

The present researcher can do no better than to end off this dissertation by quoting Katz (1976) and Memmi's (1982) injunction to psychologists and other social scientists who share the ideal of eradicating racism (an ideal which was so frequently voiced by the black participants in this study):

"La lutte contre le racisme est la condition de notre santé collective. Elle résume les débats moraux fondamentaux: amour ou haine d'autrui, justice ou injustice, égalité ou oppression ..."⁽¹⁾ (Memmi, 1982, p 141, emphasis in text).

"it is time now to use all our resources to help [eliminate] racism. It is time for a new commitment" (Katz, 1976, p 17, emphasis added).

(1) Translation: **"The struggle against racism is a precondition for humankind's well-being. This struggle encompasses certain fundamental moral issues: esteem or hatred of the Other, justice or injustice, equality or oppression"**.

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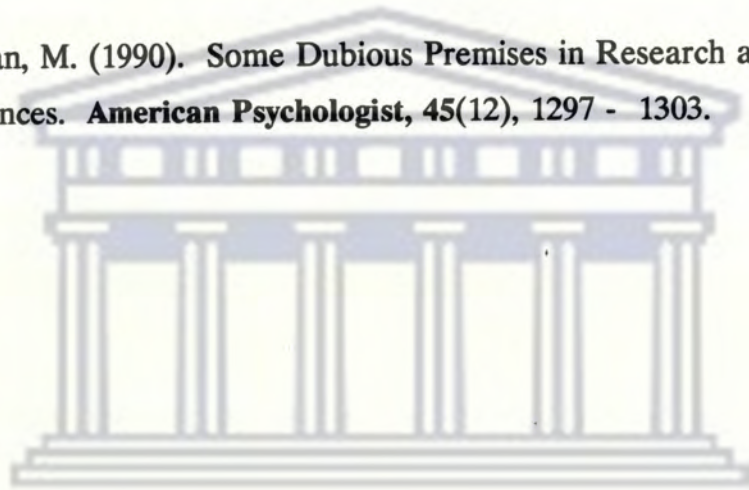
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UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Cape Times 3/1/92
Whites 'stone' black taxis

PRETORIA — A church minister yesterday said white men stoned black taxis in the Northern Transvaal town of Brits earlier in the day, but police claimed it was only a white boy shooting at the vehicles with his catapult.

The Rev William Sello Milese, 32, of the Apostolic Faith Mission Church, who said he was a passenger in one of the vehicles, said several black people were injured when six Afrikaans-speaking white men clad in khaki outfits stoned four passing minibus taxis.

"That's absolute nonsense," said Northern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Willie Vlotman. He claimed that a white child sat in the bush next to the road shooting stones at passing taxis with a catapult.

He denied claims of injuries. Two windcreens were shattered, and the child's parents agreed to replace them, he said.

However, Mr Milese claimed that at least two passengers were seriously injured when hit by stones or shattered glass. — Sapa

Argus 2/2/91
Khaki-clad men 'attack after dance'

The Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. — White, Afrikaans-speaking men in khaki have allegedly attacked supporters of Bophuthatswana's banned opposition party at a hotel in Rustenburg.

Mrs Gwen Mahlangu of the People's Progressive Party said rightwingers attacked PPP supporters yesterday after a banquet at the Cynthiana Hotel.

Lieutenant Kobus Bruyns of the Rustenburg police said that while no complaints had been lodged, the manager of the hotel had told him a group of whites at a dance at the hotel were involved in a fight with black PPP delegates.

Mrs Mahlangu said the banquet was held in honour of the party's leader, Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing, allegedly involved in an abortive coup against Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope in 1988.

The attack began as 300 PPP supporters were leaving the hotel at 12.30am.

Mrs Mahlangu said the rightwingers, some armed, beat up party members and smashed car windows.

'Economic apartheid' claim

Municipal Reporter Argus 2/1/92
ECONOMIC barriers had replaced apartheid bars to membership of the formerly officially whites-only SA Association of Municipal Employees, said Mr Arthur Wienburg.

Investigation by the city council executive committee showed that membership was open, but limited to employees paid more than R19 500 a year.

Mr Wienburg said this was a "thinly-veiled excuse" to maintain apartheid.

SAAF to probe 'assault' by officer

Staff Reporter

THE air force is investigating an alleged racial incident and the assault of a woman by an officer at the Ysterplaat air base.

A witness to the incident, Ms Sharon Stokes from Bothasig, said the alleged incident took place last October in the officers' club.

She claimed a sergeant who came into the officer's club was sworn at.

She said an officer in the club started an argument with some of the civilians. One of the women guests was allegedly assaulted.

Ms Stokes said she has been interviewed by military police.

An air force spokesman confirmed that an investigation was underway and that it was seen "in a very serious light".

Cape Times 11/1/92

Boesak refutes reports

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Political Staff *Argus 1/2/92*

DR Allan Boesak, Western Cape African National Congress chairman, has denied he called for the retention of parliament.

In a statement, he said the ANC had made a compromise by accepting that the "racist" parliament had a role to play in order to give legal effect to the decisions of Codesa.

"We did this as we believe the decisions of Codesa need the power of law. Otherwise, those opposed to the negotiation process would be able to reverse it by challenging these decisions in court."

The position the ANC would be taking to Codesa was that the government should be dissolved and re-

placed by an interim government of national unity.

"We believe that if Codesa agrees with this demand, then the racist parliament should give legal effect to this by dissolving itself."

Once parliament had been replaced by an interim government it would have no other role to play because a constituent assembly would undertake the task of drawing up a new constitution.

Neither Codesa or parliament could write or ratify a new constitution.

"The ANC continues to believe that the racist parliament is illegitimate and has no right to rule."

● The report published by The Argus yesterday was matched by similar reports syndicated by the South African Press Association.

AWB assault claim

PRETORIA. — Police confirmed yesterday they were investigating a charge of assault and malicious damage to property laid by an "elderly black man" against Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

A police spokesman said the incident was alleged to have taken place on Tuesday evening. The man alleged he had been driving on the Venterdorp/Klerksdorp road when another car had forced him to pull over.

The elderly man was allegedly assaulted and his car damaged.

Mr Terre'Blanche is already facing charges that he assaulted a black farmer in the Venterdorp district. — Sapa

Cape Times 10/1/91

ANC outrage at 'miscarriage of justice'

Staff Reporter *Argus 17/1/92*

THE ANC has claimed that the release of a farm manager who killed a labourer with a pickhandle was one of most shameful examples of a miscarriage of justice.

ANC publicity secretary Mr Mziwonke Jacobs was reacting to the release of Mr Rudolf Rix of Stellenbosch who was convicted of culpable homicide and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. Mr Rix was also fined R250.

The court found that Mr Rix hit Mr Charlie Thompson with a pickhandle while

he was asleep. Mr Thompson had head and arm injuries and died later.

Mr Jacobs said the ANC would have hoped that the government would be sensitive to public opinion in the country and abroad and would handle the case with the seriousness it deserved.

He said: "For Rix to serve six days for beating one of his labourers to death harks back to the days of slavery. We question the hasty release on the grounds of De Klerk's amnesty."

It was outrageous that Mr Rix had been dealt with so leniently.

"The killing and subsequent sentence is an indication of the racist nature of the South African legal system and that power structures are geared at protecting the interests of the minority," Mr Jacobs said.

South Africans needed a legal system they could be proud of, he said.

The Department of Correctional Services said Mr Rix was released in terms of the amnesties of December 1990, April and July 1991.

Row over 'racist' council

Crisis in Durban over NP motion

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — The crisis over the appointment of four Durban city councillors of colour deepened today with a controversial new bid by a National Party member to include 12 more nominated councillors.

Councillor Mr Johan Krog drafted notices of motion calling on the council to allot 12 further seats to the African National Congress, Inkatha and the civic movement.

This is being seen as an effort to defuse mounting opposition, including threats of strikes and breakdowns in negotiations.

But the ANC has rejected the idea as "racist tokenism" and plans are going ahead for concerted action against the council. The municipal employees' society promises to bring the city to a standstill "if the council persists in its foolishness".

In theory, Mr Krog's motion means the council could have 16 new councillors, most "non-white", but appointed, not elected.

"Totally unacceptable" was the response of Mr Mike Sutcliffe, ANC local government convener for Southern Natal.

"We reject outright this racist attempt to hand out a few token seats," he said, adding that the ANC would continue planning concerted action against the council.

Mr Nad Murugan, general secretary of the Democratic Integrated Municipal Employees Society, Natal's biggest municipal trade union, said the proposal was "unacceptable".

"If the council thinks the leaders of the community will insult their constituents by accepting co-optation into such a racist set-up, they are more stupid than I imagined."

"My union will bring this city to a standstill if the council persists in its foolishness," he said, indicating that the public transport system would be the first target.

The grim threats by the ANC and its allies have prompted growing concern in the city's business community.

Wessels breaks with Cosatu

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Manpower, Mr Leon Wessels, angered by what he called Cosatu's confrontational attitude and lack of sensitivity to sound labour relations, has suspended all direct contact with the labour federation.

Mr Wessels also accused Cosatu of having contempt for bilateral meetings because of the status of the federation's delegations to talks.

The minister was reacting to decisions adopted at Cosatu's central executive committee at the weekend.

One of the key decisions taken at the meeting was that Cosatu urgently re-enter the restructured National Manpower Commission (NMC), subject to conditions, including the de-

mands that the Cabinet take NMC recommendations seriously, progress be made in extending the basic conditions of employment to farm and domestic workers and that the public sector be included in the NMC.

"They have unilaterally moved the goalposts. It is obvious that they are negotiating in bad faith," said Mr Wessels.

The minister said that since his appointment, he had agreed to meet Cosatu regularly and had meticulously kept appointments.

"Cosatu repeatedly illustrated their contempt for these bilateral negotiations by not including in their delegation their president, vice-president or their secretary-general."

Mr Wessels said he saw no

benefit in continuing with the meeting scheduled for November 5 in the light of Cosatu's contempt for negotiations.

The meeting would now be conducted by the Director-General of the Department of Manpower, Mr Joël Fourie.

Reacting, Cosatu expressed surprise at the tone of the minister's statement. It said the minister had acknowledged that inadequate progress had been made on several issues discussed at a meeting on September 29. He had, therefore, agreed that they be addressed at next month's meeting.

"We are prepared to address these issues at the highest level with the minister where he is also welcome to raise his concerns so that we can clear any obstacles to the scheduled meeting on November 5."

Argus 21/10/92

Europeans rally to stem tide of racism

Argos, 10/11/92 p.2

BONN. — About 180 000 Germans, marking the grim anniversary of the 1938 Nazi "Kristallnacht" pogrom, took part in rallies against right-wing violence.

Yesterday's mass protests in Cologne and Munich, both reporting turnouts of over 60 000, and in seven other cities were peaceful, police said.

Large crowds gathered in Rostock, Dresden, Bielefeld, Aachen, Duesseldorf, Mainz and Frankfurt to decry "racism, terror and pogroms".

Mr Ignatz Bubis, head of Germany's Jewish community, said at a memorial service in Frankfurt that the violence did not mean that democracy faced an imminent threat or that Germany was again staging pogroms.

"It would be an insult to the victims of 1938 and unjust to today's state to put these events on the same level.

"But we must warn the current generation where the path of violence and support

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for extreme right-wing parties can lead," Mr Bubis said.

A delegation of MPs laid a wreath at the Buchenwald concentration camp site and in Berlin mayor Eberhard Diepgen laid the foundation stone for a Jewish museum.

On the night of November 9, 1938, mobs stirred up by Hitler's propaganda set 100 synagogues ablaze, wrecked 7 500 Jewish businesses and murdered or abducted about 20 000 Jews.

Dubbed the Kristallnacht (Night of the Shattering Glass), the pogrom was the trigger of the World War 2 Holocaust in which six million Jews were murdered.

President Richard von Weizsaecker said at a rally in Berlin on Sunday: "All we need is for more people to come out of their cubbyholes and speak out in the name of human dignity when it is threatened." — Sapa-Reuter.

ROME. — "Nazis out of the sewers and into the jails" shouted thousands of marchers as Italians demonstrated in 31 towns and cities in protest against anti-Semitic and racist incidents at home and abroad.

The marchers in Rome yesterday — 30 000 students, schoolchildren, left-wingers and members of many associations and groups — wore stickers bearing the yellow Star of David, such as Jews were forced to wear under fascism, with the words "never again".

Police and paramilitary Carabinieri lined the route of the march in Rome and mounted a heavy guard around a Jewish ghetto and synagogues, Israel's El Al airway offices and other potential objects of attack for fear of violence by "nazisakin", as skinheads are called here.

The demonstration, timed to coincide with the anniversary of Kristallnacht — which marked the beginning of seri-

ITALY

ous atrocities against Jews in pre-war Germany — was prompted partly by recent racist attacks in Germany, but above all by a sudden outbreak of anti-Semitism at home.

This has been linked to an opinion poll which has caused a sensation by indicating that 10 percent of Italians or six million, believe Jews should be expelled from the country.

The pollsters later accused the Press of misinterpreting the results and said that those supporting the expulsion of Jews were 10 percent of the 45 percent who earlier said they thought Jews were "different" — this therefore represented two-million people, not six million.

Jewish leaders said the level of anti-Semitism registered in the poll was no more than it had been for some years and was no higher than those of neighbouring countries. — The Independents, London.

Apartheid Aussie-style under fire

THE Argus Foreign Service

MELBOURNE. — Australia's two biggest state governments are mounting concerted attempts to stamp out racism in various areas of their respective societies.

In Victoria, the Equal Opportunity Commissioner, Ms Moira Ruyner, called a conference of hotel and nightclub representatives after announcing that there had been an 87 percent rise in racial complaints in the last year.

She said she would make it clear that owners of such establishments did not have the right to refuse entry or service on the basis of race or national or ethnic origins.

In the main, it was Aboriginals who were discriminated against and Ms Ruyner said the commission would be particularly vigilant in an attempt to stamp out the practice.

Meanwhile, in New South Wales, the Teachers Federation has issued a 125-page booklet to help staff deal with racism in schools.

Distribution of the booklet comes after the recent highly publicised racial conflict at Crows Nest High School in the north of the state, where Aboriginal students reported biased treatment by certain teachers.

APPENDIX B

VIGNETTE 1

At the beginning of this year a small group of black parents and primary school teachers took their children (all aged between five and twelve years) to the public swimming pool in De Aar. Though this particular swimming pool had in the past been reserved for the exclusive use of whites, some time during the course of last year, it had been opened to all De Aar's residents.

On arrival the children immediately jumped into the pool. They had, however, not been in the pool for more than five minutes when they were approached by a group of khaki-clad men who shouted at them to leave. Some of the children left the pool but those who did not do so quickly enough were severely assaulted by the men who told them that they should never come back to the swimming pool as it had been built for the exclusive use of whites and not for the use of "animals." When one of the children's parents tried to intervene he was also assaulted. The children and their parents and teachers left soon afterwards.

QUESTIONS

1. Why do you think this group of white men behaved in this manner?
2. If one of the children assaulted had been your child, how would you have explained the incident to him/her?
3. To your mind, what effect would this incident have on these children's development later in life?
4. What would have happened if the parents of these children had reported this incident to the police?

VIGNETTE 2

Recently, a member of the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) was interviewed on television. He had the following things to say about people living in South Africa:

" There are basically two groups of people in South Africa: the white race and the non-white or 'mud' races. In order to protect its purity the white race should have absolutely no contact with the mud races. God had created the white race superior to the mud races and it is consequently the white race's duty to avoid being contaminated by the mud races. For this reason whites should not send their children to schools where there are African and coloured children nor should they use the same recreational facilities as blacks. More especially, whites should guard against having any intimate relations with the lesser races. To sleep with a black is like sleeping with an animal - and that we know, is against God's law. It is God's will that the superior white race should never mix with the inferior mud races."

QUESTIONS

1. Do you agree with the views expressed by this person? Why?
2. Do you think that there are many people in South Africa who hold these views?
3. If your child had watched this programme and told you that he/she did not understand what the BBB spokesperson had just said, how would you go about explaining the contents of the programme to him/her?

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CORPUS OF TEXTS

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APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW 1

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE I

QUESTION: Why did this group of white men behave in this manner?

- Allie:** It's because they are raised to believe that everything is theirs ... and ... and that you as a so-called coloured or black is a lesser person ... unlike what they are. So to them it is a natural reaction to act in the way they do.
- Hannah:** I agree with what Allie has just said. They are so used to getting their own way ... and when they came marching up to the children they expected the children to run up ... out of the pool ... because what they say is rule in this country.
- Carmen:** I agree with Allie ... that all these years they believed that everything is theirs ... and that we got no right to enjoy such luxuries ... as coloured people or as black people. It seems like these white people ... they would never ever accept the fact that things are changing ... and that we are about to become level ... in ... say ... in our lifestyle with them ... they can't ever accept it.
- Rita:** Yes, white comes before black ... they believe that white come before black.
- David:** I think that it is basically ... it is just their defiance against the ... the ... against the government itself. I mean that now that their government ... is being more free. I mean they are in a conservative area [De Aar] and ... they've always had the privilege of ...of that particular swimming pool

being theirs and now all of a sudden the government said, "No, its open to everyone." I think its basically them going... uh ... against the government ... trying to protect their own interests ... by chasing the children away.

QUESTION: If it had been your child who had been assaulted how would you have explained it to him or her.

Allie: I think I would explain to her ... by saying that because of law ... you know ... and because of the colour of their [the whites'] skin they've always had what they wanted ... They always got what they wanted ... but I would also tell her [my child] that it is wrong but because of the government and because of their upbringing ... they believe that it is okay to behave like this. But I'll make it quite clear that it is wrong to behave like this.

Hannah: I would explain that it is wrong ... that they [the whites] think that they can get away with anything ... but that they ... my children must always believe that they are better than what they [the whites] are. (Laughter.)

Carmen: I'll tell my child that all these years had been ... apartheid and that they are ... at least they think that we are not supposed to be on the same level as what they are ... and ... because of the colour or our skins ... and I would tell my child that it is wrong ... and that it is the policy of the government ... that ...uh ... blacks or coloureds are not equal to them ... to whites. I would tell my child that it is wrong. I would explain it in this way.

Patricia: I will try my best to explain the situation to the child ... not in trying to give him some wrong ideas ... to fight against these people ... but to act natural towards them. Maybe they would would accept me if they see that I am ... I don't know ... if they'd be ever able to see that this is a human being ... irrespective of the colour of her face or the kind of hair she's got, or whatever ... it's ... it's a human being. (Laughter.) And maybe they'd come to terms ... realise: I'd have to accept that these are people. They are my fellow country men ... they are South Africans ... they are ... they are human beings and not an animal ... like they treated me or my child.

David: Do you think that the child would have accepted this explanation?

Patricia: Maybe ... but then, of course, I would have told him ... say the child had been three or four years ... he or she had grown older ... gone into the world ... and crossed paths with different kind of things ... people ... met people ... and found that this is a black man, this is a white man and I'm a coloured ... or, this is a coloured ... and this is the way they act and this is the way we act or whatever ... and this must have been what Mommy meant that time ... or whatever. But I sure hope that this will never happen to my child because I will explode! (Laughter.)

Rita: I will tell my child that this is wrong and ... uh ... that we always the people ... we get a raw deal ... and I would just say that uh ... that they should not take any notice and that I would leave it in the hands of God.

David: It is difficult to explain this situation ... especially to kids. I would tell them that it is wrong ... that they had the right to go in there [the public pool]. This is supposed to be a free country ... it's cruel ... it's difficult ...

Allie: No, I would tell the child, "Don't worry, I'll buy you a swimming pool."
(Laughter.)

Hannah: I again would contemplate telling the child how stupid they [whites] are ... you understand? ... and that my child is **above** them ... my child is better than them. He must actually look down on them because they are not at his level.

Patricia: Just something that happened to me recently, I was at the supermarket and then I ... had to weigh my cheese. The guy who had to help me ... these white 'laaities'⁽¹⁾! ... he wanted to put the cheese just like that onto the scale. But this scale had been used for veg' and fruit. So I told him, "Listen here, this scale is dirty." He look at me like that and he walk away. And there was another girl and boy ... the same age ... the same age ... standing. I think they were his friends. And he says, "Huh, the scale is dirty!" So I said, "Listen here, just don't think that because I'm black ... I'm a coloured," Sorry, " ... just don't think I don't have the right to speak up. At least I know ... I know the difference between wrong and right and just because I'm a coloured I don't have the right to speak up." I mean this is something in general. I mean you also ... you being women, mothers and housewives ... would have told this guy, "Man, this thing is dirty. This is something I'm gonna eat . This is something different from fruit and vegetables that I'll peel", or whatever. And so it was a joke to these children. So I said, "Man ... julle wit goed ... julle's **onbeskof!**"⁽²⁾
(Laughter.) It's just like I did not have the right to speak up. How do I, as a coloured, know what is right and what is wrong; what is clean and what is dirty. I don't know anything about these kind of things ... just because I'm a coloured.

Hannah: So what did he think ... that you must just accept?

Carmen: It's not that. It's because of the colour of your skin.

Patricia: Ja, that's how I see this ... that's why it was a joke to him. Me now saying that the scale is dirty and I don't want him to weigh the cheese on it. So

(1) Afrikaans. Translation: youngsters

(2) Afrikaans. Translation: "Man you white things ('trash') you're rude!".

he just walked off. And another one came along and I told him, "If you don't wipe that thing I will put the cheese back and I'll know what to do afterwards." So he went to fetch a cloth and wiped it off and then he weighed the cheese.

Rita: This makes me think about my own son ... but he is in the [South African] Air Force ... in Pretoria. About two months ago he had to fly home on his first weekend leave. That was the same day of that big rugby match ... Free State and Noord-Transvaal⁽³⁾. There were quite a lot of officers who were due for leave ... but my son was booked for that flight. But when he wanted to board there wasn't place for him ... only for the white officers ... he was put on standby. Eventually he had to hike from Pretoria.

Allie: En hy we'k nog altyd vi' hulle?⁽⁴⁾ (Laughter.)

Rita: He had to hike home ... two days!

Hannah: And from Pretoria! It's quite some distance.

Rita: Yes, I was quite worried Hannah ... just to show you that white comes before black.

Patricia: These whites!

Rita: Just because of the colour of your skin.

Carmen: But you know, sometimes when you are shopping at the supermarket hey, and your child plays with a white child ... they play together well ... and ... you know, it happened to me ... and the white child's mother was quite contented ... my child can be mistaken for a white child ... but as soon as she [the white woman] saw me she shouted at her child, "Come here! Get away from him!" ... just because of the colour of my skin.

Hannah: I've got a nice story to tell. (Laughter.) My father was working ... This child was very fond of the gardener. And one day her hands were dirty and she washed them and said to him [my father], "Come, wash your hands too." And he washed his hands. So she said, "But your hands are still dirty. Wash them properly!" And he washed his hands again ... but the child still insisted that his hands were dirty. So he said, "No, there's nothing wrong with my hands. This is the colour of my hands!" So she said, "Then that means I can't talk to you." Then she only realised that he is black ... because he couldn't wash it off.

(3) Afrikaans. Translation: Northern Transvaal

(4) Afrikaans. Translation: And he still works for them?

Carmen: I have a wonderful little story to tell you. Once I met this native ...

Hannah: Black!

Carmen: I mean, black preacher who said that blacks are no different from other people ... and who wanted to know from me whether God is white ...is black ... is a coloured and if he was a white whether I would accept Him. So this preacher said, "No, He is not ... He is not white and He is not black and He is not coloured ..."

Hannah: Shame! (Laughter.)

QUESTION: What effect could this incident have on these children?

Rita: The child would have a fear of whites. Wherever he goes ... he would always be fearful.

Patricia: The child would always have a negative frame of mind when he sees whites. Like ... these are the people I must not speak to. I must not sit next to them ... whom ... I'm not allowed to have any dealings with these people. In other words, I will always have to step aside if they want to pass because if I don't they will do something to me. This is the kind of thing, I believe, that will remain with the child.

Carmen: I'd say that the child would experience anger. And as they grow up it will always stay with them. I would say ... look what happened to the coloured people. With the Group Areas Act they demanded that you sell your property and if you did not, they sold it. That grief and fear remained inside us. I mean, we lived together in the same area ... and our self-respect ... we've got our self-respect. We don't want to mix with them, you know. But the child, it would mostly affect the child ... from a young age.

Hannah: Carmen said most of the things that I wanted to say but anyways it all depends on what a parent tells the child and what values are given to the child. I would tell the child, "You are much better than what they are," and I will try to take the fear out of the child ... and the horror and the anger ... because that is only a fear of the 'boere'⁽⁵⁾ ... and they don't mean a thing and you can go where you want to.

Allie: I think that the child would experience a lot of anger for having been chased away ... for something that he had a right to. But I take it from myself as well. I don't think that I would want her to ... be afraid to go

⁽⁵⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: whites (used derogatorily in this context).

back because I know I wouldn't be. I would instil in them the desire ... to always achieve. And even if they'd been chased away, I would tell them to go back there because they have a right to be there, you know. I think that the child would mostly experience anger and if cultivated, it would turn into hate.

Hannah: The thing that they can say our children are animals. This is a thing that makes me so mad!

Allie: You know, I've been saying that I would experience anger if something like this should happen to me ... but there are people who actually believe that they are inferior to the white person ... and they act that way. Maybe we don't believe this but there are definitely people in our own community who believe that they are inferior to whites.

Rita: What would have happened if something like this had happened to your own child and you had reported it to the police?

Allie: Nothing would have happened because this is normal in South Africa ... but I wouldn't have left the matter there.

Patricia: I would have made a case even though the police will not react. But I would have wanted to expose these whites because they can't get away with everything. It's important to act ... especially where children are involved.

David: Even though the police might not respond I will still make a case. Just to show that I will not leave it like that.

Hannah: In the past if whites assaulted blacks no action was taken against them. They were rather given a medal. (Laughter.)

Allie: No, but even now ... I mean, I just look at the way that things are going. I mean, so okay, now some of them seem to be changing their attitude ... but to me it's a big farce. I don't know what anyone else thinks but its just ... like a whole lot of propaganda. I don't believe that there actually has been any change.

Carmen: I think whites are suddenly improving their attitude to get sanctions lifted. Sometimes I feel like this because they see that they need to get sanctions lifted. Sometimes I think it is just a farce. I wonder whether it will ever end. But if something like this should happen to my child I will expose the culprits ... even if I'm alone and the whole army comes against me.

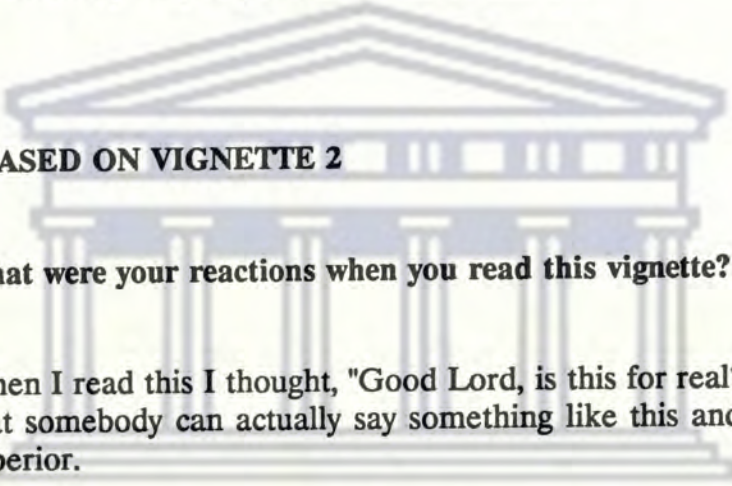
David: The country has changed such a lot in such a short time. Today one feels freer to take action against such whites whereas before one would have thought twice knowing that you are up against the whole system.

Hannah: I want to ask something. Actually, what happened to this case we are discussing? Must have died a sudden death.

Carmen: I also want to ask something ... Why is it that if a coloured person ... a coloured man rapes a European woman ... why is it that that man gets the death sentence ... but if it was a coloured or black girl raped by a white man or a coloured or black man, for that matter, the punishment is never that severe? Why is it? Is there something wrong with us?

Allie: It's the law of the land ... law of the country.

Carmen: I know about a case with this man ... what's his name again? ... Gert van Rooyen ... his son... I think he raped and killed a black girl ... I wonder whether anything is going to come of this case.



DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 2

QUESTION: What were your reactions when you read this vignette?

Hannah: When I read this I thought, "Good Lord, is this for real?" I don't believe that somebody can actually say something like this and still call himself superior.

Allie: You know, I'm just thinking about something. Sometimes its easy for us to talk but sometimes we have the same attitude towards so-called Africans that these whites have towards us. I mean ... like ... we're the so-called in-between race and sometimes one sit there and you think ...like ... I mean, I also saw this interview on TV and I also thought, "I mean, is this man for real?" ... you know? I mean, where does he get his facts from? ... and there we were like talking about this and my husband said, "Listen here man, if our daughter comes home with an African guy ... with the milkman ... what would be your attitude?" And I mean, I could not actually answer him, you know. And you know ... I'm talking like a racist ... as much as I am like very uh ... like where white people are concerned, I trust them as far as I can see them ... but I thought, you know, I want to keep myself so holier-than-thow where the whites are concerned, but what is my attitude to so-called Africans? You know, sometimes we can sit here and have all this discussion because we are like talking about the white man but let us sit here and discuss our attitude towards Africans ... then we are just as big racists as what whites are.

- Hannah:** I don't think so ... but there again it must be because I was reared differently from you people. I'm sorry, I shouldn't say "you people" ... but anyway ... I really grew up believing all people are human beings ... there's no colour ... you understand? The only difference there was, was there was classes ... you understand?
- Allie:** But don't you think it is just as bad?
- Hannah:** Ja ... definitely. Now I realise it ... but that time I did not ... but that ... that is what I say ... I grew up without race distinction ... we had whites staying in the same road and we had blacks staying in the same road ... you understand? And we grew up like that and this one black person ... who appears quite frequently on TV nowadays ... would say to me, "Oh! I don't know what dish we are going to have for our fifth course ..." (Laughter.)
- Allie:** But we're just as bad where that is concerned. I mean ... I've got friends that are African and I would think nothing of my daughter marrying one of them ... but ... you know, I'm just being honest now ...
- Hannah:** Yes!
- Allie:** But I would think twice about her marrying the milkman ... which is just as bad.
- David:** It's just because we are all humans. We all want the best for our kids.
- Hannah:** But would you let your daughter get married to a white so-called milkman?
- Allie:** No, I wouldn't either.
- Hannah:** That's right! (Laughter.)
- Allie:** (Speaking to David) But then do you blame the whites for thinking the way that they does if that's what you're saying?
- David:** I don't understand ...
- Allie:** You just said that basically we just want what's best for our children.
- David:** Ja ...
- Allie:** So they ... I mean, all the years they've lived in the lap of luxury, so do you blame them for their reaction now that the government wants to do away with apartheid ... sort of ... supposedly ... they've fearing now for their children ... they're fearing for their jobs ... they're fearing for lots of things ... so now they want to react.

- David:** Ja ... so that's why we also have to look at it from their point of view. Try and put yourself in their situation ... knowing that you are going to start losing all these privileges ... I mean, its human to fear ... that's most probably why they are reacting in the way that they are doing. There's basically fear from their side as well ... knowing that in a year or two's time they might have a black president ... that they will be equal to all the citizens of South Africa ... everyone will be equal.
- Allie:** Yes, racism is definitely linked to privileges.
- Carmen:** I once spoke to my sister-in-law. Now, her son is very fair ... blue eyes ... and blond hair. He's at varsity ... so I asked her, "Joan what would you say ...," it just occurred to me one night (Laughs.), "... what would you say if your son comes home one day and he brings home an African girl and he says that he wants to get married to her?" And she said, "Don't try to trick me, I never thought of that before." But then she said that it was good that we are discussing this thing now. You know, these things come to our mind and we can work it out. And you know, we grew up ... like Hannah said ... without being told, "You must not play with African children." But we grew up with the class thing ... we were often told not to play with children who are not of our class ... and we grew up like that ... not mixing with other children ... But I think that now, as a parent ... these things must change ... I asked my sister, "What would you do if your son comes home with a white girl, but she is just an ordinary worker, how would you react to that? Would you be glad because she is white and has nice hair? Or, if your son comes home with an African girl ... maybe she's a professor ... would you accept her?" We spoke about that.
- Patricia:** Seeing that we are speaking about marriages ... or mixed marriages ... what actually happened to E W de Klerk's son and that coloured girl? (Laughter.). Did they ever get married? Or is it just something that they tell to people ... because of the new situation?
- David:** No, they are engaged.
- Patricia:** Engaged ... forever! (Laughter.) Do they mean this or is it going to die after some time?
- Carmen:** Excuse me ... just to come back ... my mother used to ask us, when we brought home a boyfriend or whatever, "What type of work does he do? You must think of your children." (Laughter.) You know, we want the best for our children. Looks are no longer important ... You know, we were not supposed to go out with whites.
- David:** Isn't that also racism?
- Hannah:** No, it isn't!

Carmen: I mean, that is just the way we grew up. You know, it's the whites who are the cause of it.

Hannah: No, we were brainwashed. Now we have to be un-brainwashed. (Laughter.)

Allie: There are many whites who believe the things that the person on TV said.

David: All the conservatives!

Hannah: I would like to meet one.

Allie: Not all whites feel so strongly about it like this person on TV but all believe it.

Hannah: Only the low-mentality ones.

Allie: You know, I had a friend ... or a so-called friend ... You know, she couldn't accept that I was earning more money than her ... you know, where we were working ... and I asked her, "But why ... why is it so difficult for you to accept ... when you only have standard eight and I at least matriculated?" At least then it was something to have matric ... and she couldn't answer... because I was a bit blunt with her and I know that it was because of the colour of her skin but she couldn't tell me that. I mean, since then we haven't been friends because I say I don't need friends like that in my life. They either accept me for what I am ... and we're on the same level or we're not. I mean ... white people ... I don't trust them as far ... (Laughter.)

Hannah: As far as you can throw them! (Laughter.)

Allie: They [whites] need not express these views (pointing to vignette 2) but they believe it. My brother's daughter attends a private [mixed] school but he always said that his daughter must never speak to a white man. He was very anti-white, you know ... but when he started to make a lot of money his children went to this mixed school. Anyway, she matriculated and I always used to say to him, "You know, when Helga matriculates, she's not going to understand that she can't get the same job as that white child who is in her class." And he always used to say, "No, she'll get the same job." And you know, now she is devastated because her white friends walk into management positions and she can't even get a job. You know, there's nothing wrong in placing our children into private schools but it does some wrong. It is because our children are protected from life and they get faced with reality when they leave school.

Hannah: My sister went to Europe and people always asked her, "What are you?" And she always used to say, "I'm a South African." But that answer never satisfied people. They did not want to ask her straight out, "Are you a so-

called coloured or a so-called white?" She never wanted to answer the question in that manner. She was a South African!

Rita: Why do coloureds not get the same education as these whites? Why do they get more money than what we do?

Patricia: Because of the colour of your skin, obviously.

Carmen: When I've got a matriculation certificate then I can't get the same job as a white with a standard eight certificate.

Hannah: You know, at Cadora Bakery the 'boere'⁽⁶⁾ were all drivers. All of a sudden this changed. The 'boere' had to get higher positions. There was this one 'boer' who had a standard six certificate so they made him manager of the petrol pump. (Laughter.)

Patricia: Our company has this black guy, Leo, in the security department. Then a white guy came to work at the company. He look weird ... like a hobo. I'm sure he must have been related to one of the bosses. But this guy was placed in a more senior position than Leo. Last month they had to sack him for stealing and he tried to blame a black sweeper. To my surprise, they actually sacked this white guy ... to my joy they chucked him out. (Laughter.)

Carmen: My uncle does clerical work and then the other day he told me, "You know, at work they have taken on a white girl but the other day she came to ask me how one spells 'school'." (Laughter.)

Hannah: My sister went to work at a hospital in London. So she had to get a reference from the hospital here but the whole letter just read, "She's a coloured, she's a coloured, she's a coloured," because that, to them, means a lot here.

Carmen: I have this one friend who has a sister who is very fair and one day she was standing in a queue when a white policeman comes up to her and tells her she was not standing in the queue for whites. Then she she said, "But I'm not white, I'm pink." (Laughter.)

⁽⁶⁾ See footnote on p 8.

QUESTION: After this long discussion, how would you define the term "racism"?

Allie: Racism is something implemented by this government ... where there is a distinction between races ... like ... so-called black and coloured. Unfortunately, we are in the middle. Actually it is law. We don't have to enforce it. They have to enforce it ... but it's wrong to place people into categories. I believe that everyone should be treated in the same manner, whether you are a professor, a housewife, a nurse

Hannah: Racism is when you are judged by the colour of your skin. It is implemented by the government. So-called whites are brainwashed since they are small to believe that we are inferior ... but I would just turn it around: we are the superior people. (Laughter.) No, this is what I believe.

Carmen: Racism is the policy of the land. Even though we don't like the situation we should obey ...

Allie: I don't agree. I don't think we should obey what is wrong ... even if it is wrong I will go against it even if I ... I'm not an ANC⁽⁷⁾ person who will march with placards but I will stand up for what is right.

Carmen: What I meant by 'obey' was that if they said, "No coloureds or blacks", we should not force our way. We must show we are not wanted, you know. We should be independent.

Patricia: I discovered my child seems to have great respect for the colour of your skin and the type of hair you have. When I discovered it I said, "No, respect people, not skin and hair." The other day she said, "Mommy, look at that white lady ...," so I said, "No! Not that white lady ... it's that woman over there." I do not like her to behave like that. You know, I would like to drive it out of her. I would not like her to start believing that these people are superior to us and that they have more rights than us ... I would not like her to believe that I got this attitude towards a white man ... even towards a black man I treat them as equals. I mean I'm honest with you people. You know, when my boss speaks to the girls they just drop their eyes. I can't stand that. I'm equal to anyone. I won't like my children to shrink or feel inferior when they see a white man. I'd like them to speak up and say what they want to say.

Rita: My son is very unhappy in the Air Force. He did an instructor's course. He told me, "Mommy, wherever you go don't keep your mouth because

⁽⁷⁾ African National Congress

they have transferred me from Ysterplaat⁽⁸⁾ to Pretoria because I don't keep my mouth." When he had to train whites they would not accept it. So I told him, "Don't go and lie down." I come from Eerste River. I belong to the Anglican Church and there we attended church with blacks and whites ... mostly immigrants. So, for me ... was very strange to hear these things because I always had positive experiences in my church.

Allie: Die immigrante!⁽⁹⁾ They're worse than the South African whites!
(Laughter.)

David: I believe that all people are equal. People must be judged on merit. When people don't want to mix with others or, when they regard themselves as better than others who differ from them only in terms of appearance, they are racists.

Allie: The immigrants are worse than the South African whites!

David: Racism cannot be eradicated. It's in the hearts of people.

Allie: I don't think that racism can be wiped out because overseas where there are no racism laws there is still racism. I think ... I mean every day of our lives we put ourselves into categories but when it's the law of the land it is a different kettle of fish. This we have to get rid of.

Hannah: But if we get rid of the laws will racism still exist?

Allie: Ja, it's human.

Hannah: I believe we will have to work from a grassroots level upwards ... starting with our children. I say racism can be eradicated ... if we really put our minds to it.

Carmen: We cannot really get rid of racism but we can try. I remember reading about this black student who went to study in America ... but being there did not ensure that he is being treated better than in South Africa. He's still a black person. He was looked upon as a black man. So I don't think we will get rid of racism.

Allie: But even people who stay next to us they still discriminate.

⁽⁸⁾ Military base close to Cape Town.

⁽⁹⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: Immigrants!

Allie: But you're to blame! You must put your foot down. That's why our country is in the state that it is ... because our parents who are of Hannah's age (Laughter.) ... they just kept quiet when they [whites] introduced apartheid.

Hannah: No, it is because of religion. Our people always thought that God will make things right.

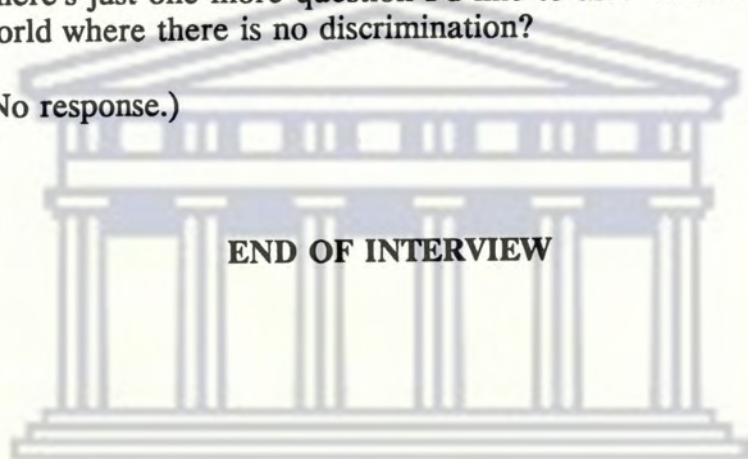
Allie: Nee!⁽¹⁰⁾ The Lord helps those who help themselves.

Hannah: I'm just saying ...

Allie: Yes, you're sounding like my mother now. (Laughter.)

Hannah: There's just one more question I'd like to ask: is there a country in the world where there is no discrimination?

(No response.)



END OF INTERVIEW

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⁽¹⁰⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: No!

INTERVIEW 2

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 1

- Wayne:** I read this particular piece in the newspaper. It was quite a ... a well recorded incident and ... uh ... well look, we obviously know from our point of view ... from any human being's point of view, I would imagine, that ... uh ... that it was a despicable deed ... but being in South Africa for that long, things like this ... you usually become ... accustomed... to this sort of ... uh ... occurrence and uh ... the more you read about things like this ... the less it ... uh, has an impact on you. So, I mean ... I read about it. You were shocked initially but then you just forgot about it again ... until I read it now again. It did not have a lasting impression.
- Don:** Ja, it's like ... it's like you accept it, you know. Ah, its another one of those happenings again ... again one of those happenings, you know ... of course it's ... uh ... seems to be like the normal thing happening today, you know.
- Wayne:** Of course, the more publicity something like this gets, the better it is for the ... the person to try and get some action to be taken against the perpetrators of this ... of these deeds. One can also take legal action.
- Laura:** This type of action would not have been successful. It happens all the time and, you know, people don't take notice of it ... so I don't think you'd get very far, you know, if you do that ... as it is, this incident had already been reported and nothing has been done about it.
- Wesley:** I agree with what they have been saying ... that it's become a normal thing ... you know, although maybe ... firstly, I thought when I heard of it, was ... well they'll [whites] have to get used to it man, you see ... because at the time it was a normal thing for them just to have things for themselves ... and now they have to share it. That was the first thing I thought about ... they'll have to get used to it ... because its like, a new South Africa.
- Carol:** I would be angry if something like this should happen to my child.

Laura: I think it will be difficult to explain an incident like this to a child. I mean ... like ... we grew up in the time when whites were that side ... blacks were this side ... and the child wouldn't understand that we went through things like that and now he's got to confront some people that are still in this way of ... you know, you're blacks, so you can't come where I am ... so ... that type of thing.

Wayne: If something like this happens to your child you have to put his mind at ease ... you know ... that he was not to blame. I mean, what else can you do really, I don't know. (Silence.)

QUESTION: Why did this group of white men behave in this manner?

Wesley: Maybe these whites were brought up in this manner. You see, their parents taught them that ... that the white person was ... uh ... was upper class and the others were lower class ... that type of thing. I just think that maybe because they were brought up ... I don't know ...

Don: Ja ... also that they're so used to having everything ... going their way, you know ... uh ... that you know, for someone to come in and try and share that ... their property type of thing ... they can't understand that. They have to share now what was once only theirs ... now they've got to share it with someone else ... it's hard for them to understand that, you know. It will take some time for them to get used to that idea ... that they've got to ... share ... in the so-called new South Africa. (Laughter.)

Laura: And I think their main reason ... they must share with somebody that they didn't even look at ... they thought nothing of before ... so now they must share ...

Don: Ja, it wasn't their decision ... to share. If the government hadn't scrapped certain laws they would still have been so evil.

Carol: Yes, we had an experience last year ... was it last year? ... in Strand⁽¹⁾ when we were chased off the beach. I mean, we were walking with our children on the beach and there was nobody on the beach ... I mean, no whites ... and, I mean, the police came and they ... they simply chased us away and our children asked why we were chased off the beach and my husband just said like, "Look, this beach is reserved for whites," and we left.

⁽¹⁾ A beach close to Cape Town.

- Laura:** Whites are taught that they are superior and they don't ... you know, they do think that you are not human, I suppose ... like the blacks. They look at us like animals ... why must they share with people they don't think are people. (Laughs.)
- Don:** Ja, its true that they treat the coloured people ... the black people as being inferior to them. We have this problem at work also ... like when we have any discussion, you know, or ... planning to be done in our work situation, you'll find that they won't accept what the black man is saying, you know. Although they ask your advice ... they'll still do it their own way, you know. (Silence.) It's gonna take some time for whites to get used to the idea of sharing, you know. You see, it's the way they've been brought up.
- Cora:** But then I think that the younger people should get used to it much quicker ... because they in this new ... this new phase of this new South Africa. It's the older ones who are the tough ones to get past.
- Wayne:** Ja ... and people can't change overnight ... I mean ... you will have to face it. This ... this South Africa we're speaking about is going to ... evolve eventually and it will take at least one generation ... because the old die-hards who have these ideas impressed and firmly indoctrinated ... they ... they are not going to change easily. So, they are the radicals who take action like this. I mean, the younger ones ... as the youngsters grow up they see mixing going on ... it becomes more and more natural.
- Cora:** Ja, its easier for them.
- Wesley:** Even if the youngsters of today do accept it their parents will still tell them otherwise ... you see ... because like say, for instance, you go into a job situation ... I mean, before the white would have been preferred over the black ... but in the future there's going to be a matter of education still ... that type of thing ... whereas in the past that was not the thing. Even like today still ... just because he's white, he's chosen ... and for no other reason ... and so that is what the parents probably tell the child also ... which might make it longer for him to accept ... because he knows that it is his future that is taken or being occupied by someone else.
- Laura:** Yes ... because it was easy for them to walk into a job and now ...
- Wesley:** Ja ... before ... before they could walk from one job to the other. Today it's ... or tomorrow it's not going to be the same if they have to accept others as equal ... and that is something ... if I take it from my own ... and try to accept the next person who is below me ... it's going to be different to accept it immediately or overnight.
- Wayne:** By the same token you find that the way in which some of the so-called coloureds had been brought up ... if that position had been with Africans or so-called blacks they'd think the same way. So ... is it because of the

way in which they had been brought up ... is it part of human nature ... or what is it? It is also this society that is divided all the time ... is what brings about this ... this type of thought. I mean, people had been born into it. There are certain grades that have been fixed ... they see the whites there, another group here and so on and so on and that sort of gives them the right to ... to look down upon other groups.

Wesley: I think it's the whole education system ... like the whites get a different ... and the blacks get a lower type of class or quality of education ... and that's where you find that they believe that the whites is up there, the coloured in between and the blacks below.

Laura: It's actually the government that is to blame ... apartheid ... I mean that's the main issue and others stems from there.

Wesley: If the whole education system becomes one education then they have to accept it ... then they know ... then they can see ... by our skill and your grades ... where you fit ... but at the moment or in the past it wasn't like that.

QUESTION: How could this incident influence the child?

Laura: I think they would automatically feel inferior.

Don: Yes, they would feel inferior ... that's why I think the ... the parents ... you know, the parents are to be wise in explaining matters to the child ... otherwise the child could ... could grow up with an inferior complex.

Carol: If you know things like this are going to happen then it's best not to take your children there, you know.

Wesley: The child might learn to hate whites ... and with the child hating its gonna cause even more division.

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 2

QUESTION: What were your reactions when you read this vignette?

Don: This (referring to Vignette 2) **angers** me.

Carol: This man doesn't know his Bible.

Wayne: This is the view of total extremists ... you know, radicals that is completely on the right side of the political scale ... and views like this ... Fortunately, these people are in the minority at the moment. They exist and ... and the tragedy is that they actually believe things like this ... they believe that it's true. Now you also get radicals which are on the extreme left which can be just as ... as ... you know ... it borders on the line of lunacy ... of whether you should take something like this seriously or not ... it's ... it's so close, that's the way I feel. I don't pick this (referring to Vignette 2) up and take it at face value ... everything he said here. You know, as I said, it almost borders on the line of madness.

Cora: Yeah, these people don't think further than their nose.

Wesley: I think there's quite a lot of whites that believe things like this. Although, when confronted with the situation they ... they don't speak up what they really think. You might say that half of the people believe it but when it comes to the situation they don't speak up, you know ... but it doesn't mean that they accept that the other person is human.

Don: Here's a guy who is brave enough to express what he really feels ... what he really believe. He's maybe one of the few that does that ... where the majority they don't really say it in so many words but the ... actions shows it, you know. You see that all over. I mean ... I mean ... I see it at work ... in my work situation... I see it every day. They don't say it in so many words but they work with you, you know ... and you can see in the way they react, you know ... that they ... they feel the same thing ... that they think nothing of you.

Wesley: Look at the situation at work ... I mean, where you can see man, they don't associate with you. They will work with you but that's it ... you know, that's the end of it ... when it comes to lunch break they won't talk to you.

Don: When it comes to socializing with you, they don't.

Wesley: Yeah, that's it.

- Don:** You know, they will plan a little braai⁽²⁾ which I never attend at our work hey ... at the end of the year the company has a braai and in the open with a canopy, you know ... but at the meantime the other branches go out to lunch. They go to Holiday Inn⁽³⁾ and so on but the coloureds must stand like a lot of sheep around the braai, you know ... which, I mean, they don't say what this man is saying but you can see that, you know ... it comes ... you know ... some time or the other it came out.
- Iris:** I go every year with my husband to the company's parties. We usually sit ... a lot of whites among the coloureds and I never felt out of place with them because they talk to me ... They come to my place ... we sit together ... They will sit there and we will start talking. But there are some whites who don't agree with coloureds. So ... it's ... it will come right but I don't know when. I believe that it will come right ... I know with the AWB⁽⁴⁾ it will never come right. (Laughter.) Like ... I was watching this film on MNET ... how the white people treat the niggers ... in those times and I was just watching this and I thought that it was cruel ... and then the FBI came, and they help the people ... and then the negroes start fighting with the whites ... hang them to trees and everything. You watch things like that and you think to yourself, "Will this world ever come right?" I always go with my husband ... I always mix with the whites. Okay, there's some coloured people who don't mix with them ... like some people don't mix because they say like they don't kruip⁽⁵⁾ ... (Laughter.)
- Laura:** That's because they don't mix with them at work so why should they mix with them at parties.
- Iris:** Ja ... but like my husband ... he works with ... but they only small ... about six people and they got three coloured chaps and then they got about eight whites ... they work together ... some mix and some don't mix.
- Carol:** As my husband said ... he's always complaining, you know ... about the managers and things at work. They don't say it in so many words but the way they handle the coloureds ... I don't work ... so I don't mix with them so I can see but I would say that they probably pretend ... the good few out of them ... I would say the majority of them.

(2) Afrikaans. Translation: barbecue

(3) Hotel restaurant.

(4) Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging: an organisation on the far right of the political spectrum in South Africa.

(5) Afrikaans. Translation: grovel

- Don:** I noticed the younger generation mix easier. The older people are more settled in their ways. I noticed at our branch that the younger generation ... it's easier for them to mix, you know ... like sit down and chat
- Wesley:** I was once at a Wimpy⁽⁶⁾ in Port Elizabeth ... not like in Cape Town ... when we went to sit in the Wimpy. We were sitting there and got no response from the waiters and then afterwards we called the waiter. Then we saw the manager coming ... and the manager came to us and told us that they don't serve coloureds here and that there is a small window along the side where we must buy take-aways ... and then we just left and we never bothered buying any take-aways. I mean, that's one experience I will never forget.
- Cora:** I was still at school and I went to Wynberg with my cousin ... but she's a very fair person ... and she's got light hair ... and of course me being dark ... so she wanted to have coffee in a little restaurant and the people let her in but when they saw me with her they said, "Sorry, we can't serve any coffee" ... and we had to leave. My cousin was very cross and she asked why they did not want to serve us ... so they said well because I was with her ... so she just turned around and said, "Keep your things!" and she just walked out ... It did make you feel like ... why did it have to happen? I mean you are human.
- Wayne:** About ten years ago I wanted to go to a cinema in Sea Point with a Jewish friend of mine and everything was arranged and he phoned to book ... and I don't know what made him ask if it was open to everyone ... and it wasn't and I was very upset at the time ... but before it was much worse than today ... perhaps it's because I work with a younger generation. Things are definitely changing but I know these people [the right wing] exist. Personally, I think that such things can still happen but you try and avoid it.
- Laura:** Before, like you couldn't sit on this bench and couldn't ... and if you think about it now then you think ... you know, it's like really sick that you couldn't sit on a bench because it was for whites only ... but in places like Mossel Bay it's like more ... apartheid ... like when we used to go on trips we couldn't go into restaurants and we had to make use of the window ... but then also we were used to it ... you know. (Laughs.) (Silence.) Some people think they can say anything to you if you are not white.
- Don:** Someone was saying that ten years ago things were already changing but I think that then it was a case of money because I can remember cases where Muizenberg was open during the year ... they allowed coloureds to play on the mini-golf course and so on but when it came to the festive

⁽⁶⁾ A restaurant.

season, they weren't allowed ... so it definitely was a case of money ... and when there was whites to attend, coloureds couldn't enter.

Wayne: Even with the sports, it wasn't because they were thinking of the community at large ... it was because of outside pressure ... I mean, sanctions ... the cumulative effects of all these things forced them to change ... to release Mandela, etcetera.

Laura: They may not mean it but they have to accept it ... before they used to include one or two blacks in their sports teams... but that was all window-dressing.

Wayne: Yes ... The legacy of apartheid is that there are no blacks that can take up their place in South African sports teams now. Later on when there is the same opportunity ... same training ... things might change ... (Silence.) A few weeks ago I was shopping at Checkers. There was this old white lady and this woman was giving the cashier a hard time and unnecessarily so ... because she [the cashier] apparently threw the tomato sauce bottle too hard and it banged ... and the old lady's argument was that it might have splintered inside ... and that she doesn't want it ... she [the cashier] should run it up but she's gotta delete it ... and she's not taking the tomato sauce bottle ... but really making a big scene. Eventually I said to her, "You know, you don't have to be rude." She couldn't believe it, this woman. She looked at me in shock ... like that ... and then her whole tone and everything changed. She just said, "No, I was just thinking of the danger of the small pieces of glass" ... and things like that, you know, but ... but she was rambling on and on at first and the poor ... and the cashier ... she was shivering, she was so scared. Eventually, when she left, the cashier just smiled at me and said, "Is dit nou nodig om so onbeskof te wees?"⁽⁷⁾

Wesley: The possibility of there being a black government is scary and real to lots of people ... so it's more important for younger people rather than older people to try and hold on to the status quo. Whites cannot accept sharing ... because it means lowering their standard of living.

QUESTION: How would you explain the contents of Vignette 2 to your child or anyone else, for that matter?

Wayne: Before, the government ruled according to race groups ... because a child today ... unless you tell him, would not know about black, white, Indian, coloured and so on ... I don't know ... That man was taught like that, that's why he can say things like that.

⁽⁷⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: "Is it really necessary to be so rude?"

Wesley: I would explain to my child that she's not an animal as this guy on TV interprets it and then I would tell my child that he was brought up like that that's why he believes things like that ... children normally believe their parents. Like they had a guy on TV ... and even though the interviewer tried to explain things to him ... he couldn't understand it any other way ... it was just the way he saw it and that was it and he even brought verses out of the Bible that he would like to explain his findings and that type of thing. So they just take a text out of the Bible ... and it doesn't matter what's in front of that ... and then they just read it and interpret it as that.

Wayne: I think that a child that goes to a crèche that is mixed, for argument's sake ... this guy's telling him that those whites are human and he's an animal ... and he's been doing the same things at the crèche as children of other races. He'll tend to believe Wesley's explanation rather than the man on TV's ... because he's been doing the same things as other children ... at the crèche ... what this man on TV said won't make sense to him ... given his personal experience with his peers.

Laura: That is why it is important to start at grassroots level already ... explaining things to children at a young age.

Don: Firstly, I'll try to explain to my child he is not an animal and God created all men equal, you know ... and then explain to him that whoever made this statement was misinformed ... was brought up to believe this.

QUESTION: After this long discussion, how would you define the term racism?

Wesley: I think that it's privileges ... privileges causes racism. It's not like ... age group ... its more privileges that are being taken away and which is causing this ... breakdown in communication ... because I have met elderly whites who are more friendly towards uh ... say, for instance, there's an incident happening, man, like, say for instance, a white guy was scolding a coloured girl maybe ... it will always be an elderly white person who will shut him up ... I've experienced that a lot. Whereas I, who was coloured maybe will keep quiet and then another elderly white person will speak up rather than me. So I can't say that racism is linked to age.

Carol: I agree with Wesley ...

Wayne: Racism obviously must bring race into it. I mean, that is what racism is all about ... and I think racism is just a discrimination against other races ... whichever way we look at it ... we can be racists ... and not only if one looks at it the way we have been indoctrinated to believe that the whites

are here ... we're here and the so-called blacks are there ... but we can be racist upwards as well. If you refuse to have anything to do with whites ... that is being racist in my opinion ... if you drive along the road and you see a guy stuck and you drive past him ... just because he's white. (Laughter.)

Don: I'll probably think, "That bugger's white, so I'll pass him." (Laughter.) I wouldn't feel ... uh, free to just stop and give him a helping hand ... whereas if it was a black guy I would stop and give him a hand.

Carol: And I wouldn't call that racism. I think it's more because of anger within you because of what the whites ... perhaps ... privileges you couldn't share ... or maybe the way you had been treated in the past.

Wayne: I didn't say it's wrong to feel like that ... it's probably a natural retaliation after all these years.

Laura: It's like apartheid ... and I think you can get it in ... with like different religions, maybe ... also I think it's all part of racism.

Carol: I would say it's like discriminating against people ... colour of your skin, number one, and as Wayne says, you can be racist against whites ... but, I think, its just ... like, anger in this case ... because of the things that you had to endure and ... the privileges that you couldn't perhaps share ... and maybe somebody did something to you that made you feel inferior ... so, it's just like anger coming at, I'd say.

Laura: Racism is people thinking they're superior to the next person.

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END OF INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW 3

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 1

Daphne: When I first read this article I was revolted. I just couldn't think that people could treat children like that. I just couldn't handle something like that.

Doreen: Just to think that we are not allowed to use their ... uh ... pool. I think it's not the skin that matters because we are all human beings.

Amelia: It just boils in me when I read about any incident like this. It makes one feel so inferior.

QUESTION: Why did these white men behave in this manner?

Amelia: Well, like some people say ... and I quite agree with them ... strangely enough this subject always comes up ... We saw something at Muizenberg beach which wasn't very nice, you know ... but then it wasn't only Africans it was coloureds also ... So the obvious thing to say is, "Dis daarom wat die wit mense nie vir ons tussen hulle wil hê nie,"⁽¹⁾ and things like that. So my husband was sitting next to me and he will always bring it up ... One Saturday I was very angry with him ... but I can't use that as an excuse ... at that time maybe we were also a bit racist in that respect. So he came home with the blacks as we call them and they had a drink together and I took the glasses and threw them into the dirt bin ... and he will never forgive me for that ... up till today ... and that took place umpteen years ago. So, sometimes I think that these people, like Treurnicht⁽²⁾, for example, they were also indoctrinated by their parents, you know, and they grew up with that ... that's how I can see it. On the other hand again I see it as we ... slowly but surely we are trying to be christians ... proper

(1) Afrikaans. Translation: "That's why the whites do not want to mix with us"

(2) Andries Treurnicht: leader of the ultra-right wing Conservative Party.

christians. And I should think that these people should also try, never mind what their upbringing was ... they should also try to take that [racism] out of their mind, you know.

Sidney: I think these whites behave in this manner because they are scared.

Doreen: Yes, that's what I also think ... that they are scared that they will get hurt from the ...

Daphne: No ... no, I feel they are scared they are losing their privileges and knowing that the so-called blacks ... all of us ... are in the majority. I think that is really what is behind the whole thing. They are still trying very hard to keep ... their power, I would say, that they've had all the years to do with us what they wanted to. Now I think, they are definitely beginning to get scared, That's how I feel.

Doreen: Ja, I think they hate us. I was thinking now ... about four years back we went to Witbank. Now, I think Witbank is very verkramp⁽³⁾ ... it was the first time I got to Witbank. My daughter stays there ... they got a house in the town or the 'dorp', as they call it. When we got there they [the whites] were very annoyed because ... "why's these coloureds staying here with us?" Opposite my daughter was these pensioners and when we got out one morning we said, "Good morning," and to me it was hurtful ... these old people were sitting on the stoep ... and they said, "Goeie môre se gat!"⁽⁴⁾ You know, we felt so hurt. To think here we say good morning to these people, and trying to be nice because we come from Cape Town ... and we just want to greet. That very night the police came to our door and they said that they received a phone call that there was a disturbance in the neighbourhood. In the meantime the disturbance was next door. The people staying next door were also whites. But they [the police] came to investigate at my daughter's home ... just because she isn't white. What is funny is that when she was a little girl we stayed in Harfield and she grew up with little white children. What I can't understand is why we were thrown out of Harfield ... we had to go and stay in that horrible place, Bonteheuwel.

Daphne: My husband has the same experience ... in De Villiers Street⁽⁵⁾. What was very hurtful ... white children who grew up in front of us ... who always used to ask us things ... but when they started growing up into young men ... there was just no respect ... it was on your first name and if they felt like

⁽³⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: conservative

⁽⁴⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: "Good morning's backside!"

⁽⁵⁾ In District Six.

insulting you they just did so. Just because they were white and you were coloured.

Amelia: And you know what I also think of is when they said we have to move out ... how is it that we didn't do anything about it? We just moved out. We just obeyed their orders.

Doreen: It's because we were taught by our parents that we must listen ... and we couldn't also ... there was no such thing that we had to have a list and can't go to school. We had to go to school because we couldn't do these things like our children. That's why our children is telling us today that we were stupid ... that's why they're doing it today and they'll stand for it. Well, I think that it's right that they are standing up now but I think if we had to do it that time when we were children our country would have been a better place.

Daphne: But then ... as you say now, we weren't brought up that way. Let's face it, when we were young, thirty to forty years ago, it was unheard of for us to have protests like they are doing now.

Amelia: And you know, it never worried us that we had to sit upstairs in the bus and the whites downstairs. That never used to bother me but now it does. Like recently when I was in a similar situation in the platteland⁽⁶⁾ I felt so degraded.

Daphne: And at the bottom of all that it's that hurt ... (agreement from the rest of the participants) because you can't explain yourself ... you can't express yourself ...

Doreen: This causes a lot of anger and this anger has been building up ...

Amelia: Recently on "Agenda"⁽⁷⁾ ... I can't explain to you ... when that white guy said he can't work with Africans because ... you can't communicate with them ... their ... their brain don't function properly ... whatever. And Monday still when I was working in the house I thought, that man now said he can't work with Africans but who now built all the things in South Africa ... who did all the labour. I mean, whites always gave the instructions and the blacks did the work ... and he still has the nerve to say that he can't work with blacks.

Doreen: It's just the black man who does all the work, ja. They can't make do without the blacks.

⁽⁶⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: rural area

⁽⁷⁾ A television programme.

Daphne: If blacks are treated like humans they will act like humans but if they are treated like animals they will retaliate in such a manner.

Amelia: To think that blacks get paid such a little money and they have to survive on it.

QUESTION: How would you explain the incident described in Vignette 1 to a child or to anyone, for that matter?

Daphne: Listen, I will be very frank now. I will just tell the child that they [the white men] acted in that manner because they're pigs. They're uncouthed pigs ... they're not human. Sorry, I'm blushing now but I'm so angry. Something like this really gets to me.

Amelia: I was just thinking now. Recently I was at Woolworths and I was coming down the escalator when I saw this little boy playing at the bottom of the escalator. Then there was this old white lady standing in front of me. When she got off the escalator she started scolding the little boy. She said, "What are you doing, your little skolly?" Then I confronted this woman. I said, "What do you mean 'skolly'? Just because he is a coloured, you call him a skolly." I said, "He's a little boy. What did he do? Did he damage anything?" You know, dis amper asof ek nie genoeg kon skel nie⁽⁸⁾. I was walking right alongside her, giving it to her. So if something like this (referring to Vignette 1) should happen to my child I would really be angry.

Doreen: If something like this should have happened to my child I would have been so very angry and mad. I mean, why must we be degraded ... just because our skin is black you can't go here and you can't go there. I mean, who do they think they are? We are all God's creation. All our blood in our veins is all red. Ours isn't black and theirs isn't white. I would have been very angry too. I would have sworn at these men.

Daphne: And what really get's you is ... how ... how can these people call themselves christians if they can do deeds like this? You know that I was always against my daughter being involved in protest action. Not because I thought that she was wrong. It was more for selfish reasons. I always thought what would happen if she gets detained and all the rest of it. Then, one day, I saw the police firing on innocent school children with teargas. And you know, from that day I changed my tune completely ... because I witnessed this incident with my own eyes. You know, I wanted to get out of the car and confront these men. Since that day I had no

⁽⁸⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: You know, it's nearly as if I could not scold her enough.

objections to my daughter being involved because I realised that if our children were not involved they would stand no chance.

Doreen: Ja, our parents were also scared that's why they wouldn't allow us to become involved.

Amelia: A child will never forget an incident like this (referring to vignette 1). They will always grow up with anger. Maybe they would have been a better child if they had not experienced this. So we'll have another generation of coloureds hating whites for what they did ... and the circle will never be broken.

Doreen: Ja, it will go on and on ... yes, it's an ongoing thing. Like they're now telling us that we've got to reach out to one another but I don't think that our people want to reach out ... because the hurt and the harm and the bitter and the hatred which is in our hearts ... I mean, growing up with all that and thinking back what they did to you. Now you don't want to get hurt again so you don't reach out and I think that is building up in our generation of children now. They got that hatred in them. Look at the schools our children have to attend. It's only now that they are opening up their schools to our children ... but our people cannot afford to send their children to these schools. So our children must 'maar'⁽⁹⁾ stay with the coloured schools and they haven't got the equipment what the whites has got and they don't get the education what the whites get. They [whites] get all the privileges what our children don't get ... and I think that is what's building up in our children ... hatred ... bitterness. They can't forgive them for what they did, you know, for ...

Amelia: ... what could have been and now it's too late for some children, you see.

Daphne: I think that our children might know that they're not animals like these men call them but at the back of their mind they must be thinking, "There must be something wrong, there must be something that must be lacking in me. I'm not good enough that's ... because else that person would not have called me an animal."

Doreen: Ja, so I might as well behave like an animal ...

Daphne: Exactly!

⁽⁹⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: just

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 2

- Doreen:** This man is an animal, not us. There is some of us ... who are highly educated people ... who are cleverer than the white man because the 'boere' come from the farm then they get good positions. They have standard four or five then they get these positions. Just because we are black we can't get these positions.
- Daphne:** In my opinion ... this type of idea was drummed into these people from a young age. It was drummed into them that we are inferior, we are low ... just because we are black we are no good. Because it was drummed into them they genuinely believe that this is so. I feel they grew up with that and it's not going to be easy for them to get rid of what they feel. They hate us just because of the colour of our skin and because they fear us. They feel that we are definitely going to overtake ... to overrule.
- Doreen:** They hate us so much but the fact remains that the white man can't make do without the black people because the black man has to do everything. He can just stand with his cigar and his hands in his pockets and give the orders. They can't make do without us.
- Amelia:** I agree with Daphne that whites believe these thing because it was drummed into their heads. As I said earlier on, I think it's up to them now to try and forget the past ... and especially the younger people with small children ... I don't know if we are still going to be around when things come right ... but if the new generation, with their younger children ... if they could now only try to teach their children that what their parents taught them was wrong and they did not know of any better because they obeyed their parents. Maybe then, by the time these small children are big, it will be a better place to live in and then everyone will be equal.
- Doreen:** I think there are many whites in South Africa who believe the things this man said.
- Amelia:** I again don't think so. I think they don't believe it but they are not going to say so because they're scared also, you see.
- Daphne:** And another thing too, I think there is a lot of whites ... miskien is ek nou weer verkeerd⁽¹⁰⁾ ... they know this is wrong but because they've also had the cream of the land ... and the privileges ... they're reluctant. They just don't want to let go ... because then they're going to lose all their privileges and fringe-benefits, or whatever the case may be.

(10) Afrkaans. Translation: perhaps I am wrong

Doreen: I don't think whites can take everything that we can take, that's why you'll always find them shooting themselves ... gassing themselves. We blacks don't do that again. We're so used to having that little ... we are satisfied with it. We can make do with that little. The more whites get the more they want. We are so blessed in what we've got.

Amelia: And I think they know for a fact they won't be able to handle it if they should be ... if we should all be equal. They'll never be able to handle it. The thing has gone too far.

Sidney: The thing will still go on for very long.

Daphne: I must honestly say that things seem to be getting better. Like, two weeks ago we went to Hermanus ... a predominantly white area. I believe de Klerk's⁽¹¹⁾ holiday house is not far from there. The Saturday we went to the town ... there were very few non-white people. But even then the whites' attitude was very different towards us, you know. My daughter-in-law was saying that four years ago things were very different. You were made to feel very uncomfortable and unwanted. Today things are a bit better.

Sidney: Maybe you felt comfortable because you did not meet the 'right' people. (Laughter.)

Doreen: Yes, there is still some places where you must use the back entrance of the shop.

Daphne: Ja, but it's not the law any more. That makes the difference. You get the people who still practice discrimination ... you know, like the owners of hotels because, let's face it, we read about it so often ... where families are turned away from hotels and things like that.

QUESTION: How would you explain the contents of this TV programme to a child?

Amelia: Well, I would tell my child not to believe what that man is saying. This would however puzzle the child because how can I, an adult, tell the child not to believe what another adult is saying. You'll have to go back into history in order for that child to understand. Recently my grand-daughter said that she was no longer playing with her best friend, Zinzi. When I

⁽¹¹⁾ F W de Klerk: state president elected by the white electorate of South Africa.

asked her why, she said, "Because Zinzi is a 'Guguletu'⁽¹²⁾." So I asked her, "Who told you that?" So she said this one and that one. Then I tell her ...I always tell her ... it's not true. I said to her, "Look, you are fair but your uncle Joey who is very dark looks like Zinzi ... and Terence too ... and we are fond of Terence. Terence has the same colour as Zinzi ... so you must also be fond of Zinzi." With the result that she and Zinzi are best friends again. It is very difficult because some children's parents don't understand and teach their children the wrong things.

Doreen: I would also tell my child that that man is telling lies. "It is not true. You are not a mud race my baby." (Laughter.)

Daphne: I would tell my child not to believe these ignorant, stupid people. But it's difficult to explain to small children why these whites hate us so much.

Amelia: Recently I saw a photograph in the "You" of a white baby with a swastika tatoed on the arm ... and that was still a baby. So that child is definitely going to grow up with racist ideas. That is why I say, if the younger generation can just teach that ... their children ... the same with us ... that certain people are dark but we're all God's children, so we must love one another. If Treurnicht⁽¹³⁾ and them ... wat al ou manne is⁽¹⁴⁾ ... if they don't want to ... then it must start with the younger generation.

Sidney: Ja, then it's still going to take twenty more years for things to come right.

Doreen: Yes, it's late, yes ... How can we tell our children that they must not believe this (referring to vignette 1) men. He is then treating them like animals, so naturally they are going to start believing that they are animals.

Daphne: When I think how people had to give up their homes - homes that they worked for - when the Group Areas⁽¹⁵⁾ was started. Look what it did to us. Our people were dumped into areas like Hanover Park. Do you know how much problems people in that area have with their children ... because of the environment?

(12) Gugulethu is an 'African' township outside Cape Town. In this context, therefore, the child must have meant that Zinzi is an 'African'.

(13) See footnote on p 2.

(14) Afrikaans. Translation: who are already old-timers

(15) The Group Areas Act.

Amelia: You know, I can't help hating the whites. When we were put out of District Six, my mother had to go and stay in Genadendal⁽¹⁶⁾. Two weeks after moving there she got ill ... we had to walk long distances to get to doctors and hospitals. Eventually she died ... today I still believe that it's because of the whites that she died when she did.

Daphne: When I go to places like Manenberg and Valhalla Park⁽¹⁷⁾ and I see the conditions there I always ask myself, "What chance do children living in this area have?" It's really hurtful.

Doreen: Yes, it's really a hurt and I think it's going to take us a long time to get over it.

QUESTION: After this long discussion, how would you define the term racism?

Amelia: Not wanting to mix with different races as such.

Doreen: I think that all of us ... we were brought up like that. That is why we got that in us ... where we can't mix with the whites, we can't mix with blacks ... we were brought up like that. Even the whites were brought up ... they musn't mix with us. We were also told ... I mean, our parents ... let's face it, they did not teach us, so there it comes in. It's not just from their [the whites'] side, it's from our side too because we also do not want to mix with the whites.

Amelia: But then again there I will say ... because our parents took it that they [whites] say we musn't mix with them ... so they [our parents] teach us we're not allowed to mix with whites ... and that's how we grew up ... so those who really wanted to mix with others never really got a chance.

Daphne: Racism is when whites think that they are superior and we're inferior ... and the two can't mix. That's how I feel.

Sidney: In other countries there are no racist laws but there is still separation amongst people ... separate and unequal. (Silence.) In South Africa racism is also shown in what we earn. You find you earn a little and the white man comes and does the same job and in a short period he gets promoted and he gets the bucks.

Daphne: That's why with the school boycotts, I always tell the children ... not that they're completely wrong ... I always say, "Not with your education!" I feel that is exactly what they want. They want you to be illiterate. The minute

(16) A rural township.

(17) Ghetto areas outside Cape Town.

you boycott, what have you got? If you haven't got your education, what have you got?

Doreen: I can remember with my eldest son. He worked at Rex Trueform⁽¹⁸⁾. Then three years ago there was a strike at Rex Trueform. My son was a forerunner. The bosses then found out. Then they started pestering and victimizing him. After leaving Rex Trueform he could never find a job. Rex Trueform blackened his name everywhere. Because you're black you'll always stay at the bottom.

Amelia: If our children get a better education that will also improve matters. If you are educated you'd want to stay in a better society.

Doreen: But the majority of our parents cannot send their children to better schools ... to white schools ... because of the money. They still have ways of keeping our children out. So things are still not equal.

Daphne: It even shows in our old-age pensions. Look what the African people get ... every second month ... and look at the amount they get.

Doreen: And we've got to pay the same price the whites pay for bread ... the same for milk. Whatever they buy ... we've got to pay the same price. They don't pay more than us, yet their pension is higher than ours. We must pay the same price as they. And if they find that you, as coloured, had saved up a little money you lose the pension. And what do we coloureds have? My point is this, they can buy jets for de Klerk⁽¹⁹⁾, they can buy this ... they got money and here we've got nothing. We're struggling but we survive.

Amelia: I wonder who named it actually 'whites', 'blacks' ... I mean the races. Where did it all start? There are in fact no clear distinctions between people but if you bring that up they [the whites] will go crazy.

Daphne: You get racism in your own family as well. I have a grandson who is very fair and my brother said he must come from our side of the family because our grandfather was white. So I said, is he now so proud of that? You know, it makes me very cross. My brother is always very happy if he can mix with whites. You know, when he got married a special table was set aside at the reception for whites. His daughter is just like that.

Amelia: That's why I say it starts with the parents and then it spills over to the child and that is how the children grow up.

(18) A clothing factory.

(19) See footnote on p 11.

Daphne: Because the going is so good for the whites now they ... certain blacks want to identify themselves with the whites.

Doreen: I also have a sister who is very fair, then once at Harfield Station she got into the white compartment then they threw her out. (Laughter.)

Daphne: Ja, when my brother married ... when the rest of the family met his wife they were most disgusted because she is dark. Excuse me, "Die swart meid,"⁽²⁰⁾ they said. And yet she was such a stable force in my brother's life.

Doreen: We've got apartheid in our own families. I think it all started when apartheid was brought in.

END OF INTERVIEW



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⁽²⁰⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: "the black girl". The term, "meid", is virtually always used derogatorily in the Afrikaans language.

INTERVIEW 4

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 1

Ursula: I found this article very humiliating. There was anger ... because human beings are referred to as animals.

Eileen: Ja, I feel the same.

Merle: Yes, how can they call us animals? (Drawn-out silence.)

QUESTION: Why do you think these white men behaved in this manner?

Merle: I suppose they behaved in this manner because they didn't like the idea of the pool being open to all races ... because it was only open to whites all the time.

Ursula: I don't think these whites really believed that these children are animals. It think it's indoctrination to a certain extent ... especially ... I'm sure that the people working there didn't really mind. It's the authorities and the rules and regulations.

Merle: I mean, if I should be called an animal ... (Silence.)

QUESTION: How would you explain the incident described in vignette to a child or to anyone, for that matter?

Merle: I would just say, "Ag, leave it man. Hulle's verkrampt⁽¹⁾!" or something like that, you know.

⁽¹⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: They are conservative / reactionary

Ursula: I think in South Africa it's important for us to teach our children what life is all about. I mean, especially when the news come on and reference is made to blacks and the various races ... and you will have to say, "Not 'black', it's just another man." I will obviously explain the situation to my child in the manner. (Silence.) I remember going for a drive one Sunday ... I can't remember to what place ... and there was, like, a carnival set-up and that time it was reserved for whites only and my child asked us to stop and I explained to him that we couldn't. He was only six years old at the time. He felt bad that we couldn't go. At ... at times it can be quite humiliating.

Merle: Ja, I also had lots of experiences like that. Like, when we're driving and the child then asks, "Mommy, can't we stop here?" and you have to say, "No, we can't go there," and you try to explain. "But why?" they ask. And you have to explain all over again. Anyway... (Silence.)

Ursula: I think that this type of incident (referring to Vignette 1) would have a negative effect on the children involved. It can affect them in two ways. They can either become rebellious and become really anti-white or just become so withdrawn ... so 'mak'⁽²⁾.

Eileen: The older the child, the more likely it is that the child will react ... like ... do something or say something.

Merle: Ja, some of the children will be too young to understand. (Silence.) If this type of incident is reported to the police they won't do any thing about it. Especially if they're also white they won't take any notice of what we're saying. Nearly as if they're thinking, "Praat julle maar. Ons vat nie notisie van wat julle sê nie."⁽³⁾ (Silence.)

Ursula: There is, however, a difference between now and, say, six years ago. Places have opened, like. And one can't compare a place like De Aar and a place like Sea Point, for example. I've been to De Aar and I didn't want to make use of the shops there because I knew what to expect. In Sea Point I will feel freer to do what I want to. (Silence.)

QUESTION: Is there anything else which anyone would like to say with regards to this vignette?

(Silence.)

⁽²⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: docile

⁽³⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: "Oh, complain if you want to. Whatever you have to say is of no importance to us."

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 2

Ursula: These people are lying.

Merle: How can they say things like that? Oe, my God! Hoe kan hulle? Wat is dan verkeerd met hulle⁽⁴⁾?

Eileen: Perhaps that's why Boesak⁽⁵⁾ got married to a European ... to show them ...

Merle: Now are they saying that we are 'mud races'?

Eileen: Yes.

Merle: Maar hulle't 'n bloody cheek! Ek is verdom nog witter as wat hulle is!⁽⁶⁾
(Laughter.)

Ursula: These are blatant lies. What right do these people have to make such statements.

Merle: My Vadertjie!⁽⁷⁾ Mud races! It is especially the 'boere' who believe things like this.

Ursula: Yes, people like Terreblanche ... Treurnicht ... (Silence.)

QUESTION: If your child had been watching this programme on television how would you explain its contents to him or her?

Ursula: I would tell my child that these are lies. It is not true. I mean, I would tell my child that races are categories the government has created but that doesn't mean that it's true.

Merle: I would probably explain it to my child in the same manner. They would want to know what is a "mud race" ... what do they [the whites] mean by this.

⁽⁴⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: Oh, my God! How can they? What is wrong with them?

⁽⁵⁾ Referring to Alan Boesak, a prominent church leader and executive member of the African Nationalist Congress.

⁽⁶⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: But they've got a bloody cheek. I am in fact whiter than what they are!

⁽⁷⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: My God!

Eileen: Hulle 'mean' seker swart mense is 'barbaric'.⁽⁸⁾

Ursula: (Holding up Vignette 2) This is racist. These are lies. (Silence.)

QUESTION: Ursula has just used the word "racist". How would you define the term "racism"?

Ursula: Racism is a result of the categories based on colour created by the government in this country. (Silence.) If you, for example, don't like the whites you're racist and vice versa ... and also **within** the same ... type of ... classification. I suppose that is how one can explain it. (Silence.) It is the human relationships between people ... between groups created by the government.

Merle: I would probably explain it in the same manner. (Silence.)

Eileen: I would also explain it in the same manner.

Ursula: Close to where I work there is a crèche. I'm working with a few liberal whites. There isn't much they do to change the situation. I asked the question the other day: Why do the so-called black children at this crèche come out at this hour and the whites come out at the next hour. This is supposed to be a mixed crèche. I recently made enquiries about the matter but I still see the children coming out at different times. I think you [the interviewer] should go and interview them there and ask them this question. I feel, why should they do that ... and these are all medical staff's children who attend that crèche. I have also noticed that they [the children] don't even play outside at the same time ... and if they are out at the same time they play at different ends of the playground separated by a row of tyres ... I mean, this is Groote Schuur⁽⁹⁾! On the one hand they say they're non-racial and on the other hand ... I'm sure they'll say that they have other issues that are higher on their list of priorities but to me **this** is a priority. (Silence.) The other day I had to have my bandages changed at the hospital and there was this white chap ... a nursing assistant ... and he counted the bandages that were taken off my leg and said that the people who had bandaged my leg had wasted a lot of bandages. So I just told him, "Hey, listen here, I'm paying medical aid." I'm sure if it was a white [patient] he wouldn't have made this comment ... and this was a Robin Jones dressing, so they couldn't put on only one bandage. Dit wys

⁽⁸⁾ Afrkaans. Translation: They most probably mean that black people are barbaric.

⁽⁹⁾ Referring to Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town which serves as training hospital for the University of Cape Town.

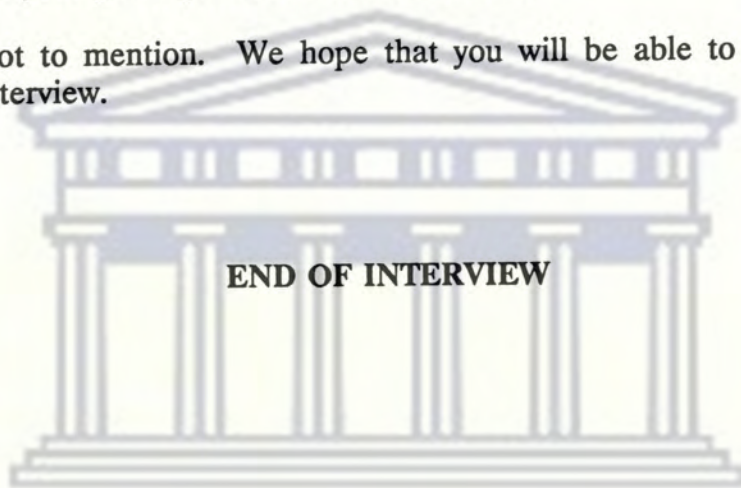
net hoe dom is die boere.⁽¹⁰⁾ I'm sure this white was just taken off the streets and asked to work there ... without any qualifications ... while there are black people with qualifications walking the streets in search of jobs ... you're never sure. You can't trust whites. (Drawn-out silence.)

QUESTION: Is there anything which anyone else would like to add or ask?

(Silence.)

Interviewer: In that case, I suppose, we can end the interview then. I wish to thank you for your participation and contributions.

Ursula: Not to mention. We hope that you will be able to make use of this interview.



END OF INTERVIEW

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⁽¹⁰⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: It just shows how dumb these whites are.

INTERVIEW 5

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 1

QUESTION: What was your reaction to this article?

Leila: I was disgusted when I read this article. Actually when I saw this reported on TV I really thought ... at the time I really felt ... **humiliated** because that is the feeling you usually get when you have dealings with people like this (referring to white men in Vignette 1)

June: When children experience things like this it scars them. It takes them very long to get over it ...

Jeanne: I've experienced incidents like this already ... up-country ... and for myself and other people that I've spoken to ... Just recently my brother returned from London ... we spoke about this. We said that we will not be able to speak objectively about our feelings and so on ... because we've had these experiences and that maybe for a new generation ... they might not have all these scars ... but for us, you know, we've had these experiences and that maybe for a new generation ... they might not have all these scars ... but for us, you know, we've come through it ... we've come through the stone throwing ... at us ... not by our youth at the police ... but at our peers ... so that your relationship with people in powerful positions ... either through colour or social status, is negative ... and you have to try very hard and at all times to overcome these feelings ...

Leila: I agree with Jeanne very much because ... I remember that when I was at school ... I didn't have any inclination to go to school. I was **rebellious** at that time ... and I finished school and everybody said I should continue my education and I said, "No ways! I want to go and work and experience what life is about." I had a very strict background. I told myself if I go and work I will experience all the wonderful things that I read about ... that time there was no TV ... but I was **brutally**, disillusioned ... I remember, when you looked for a job and you phoned, people were very made up when they hear your qualifications and they tell you to come in

for an interview ... but when you turn up they look right through you because they expected a white person /... and the anger that I felt and the despondency that I went through ... It can't get out of you. My son ... he went to Durban ... about six years ago ... and when he got to the beach ... you know, that child is born for the water ... when he got to the beach, he went right to the water and a ... beach constable came to fetch him out. Then he asked, "Mommy, why can't I swim here?" I said, "Andrè ..." I could not ... I did not ... I did not want to tell the child that it's because of his colour but then he said to me, "It's because I'm black,." He said, "Now if I become white, can I go into the water?" I said, "Andrè it's highly unlikely that you will become white." His answer to me was, "Mommy, you put the washing in the Jik⁽¹⁾ and it comes out white. If you put me in the Jik I'll become white." (Laughter.) And that is something I will remember ... and I said to myself, "Dear God, please! Don't let this child grow up in this kind of society." It has already been so embarrassing and ... many opportunities have been lost through the colour of my skin. They [whites] have to do a lot of soul-searching. If I could, I would have murdered ... that day on the beach ... we have been brutalized ...

Jeanne: But Leila, didn't you already get to the point where you realise that not all are like that ... but that ... but that those people who are like that ... but that those people who are like that actually believe that they are right ..

Leila: Yes ...

Jeanne: ... and that you tend to develop a kind of compassion for these people ... you stand outside the situation ...

Leila: Yes ... it took some hard .. and it took me also to further my education ... it took me also time to have children and to see what I really wanted for them. Unfortunately they were also exposed to this ... but I always told them, "You must believe in yourself." In my mother's day you had to be subservient to a white person and I couldn't take it ... and then in your own family ... you have it ... if your skin is lighter then you are sort of ... the best ... no matter what kind of shit you catch on ... (Laughter.) ... I'm sorry ... no matter what kind of things they do, they are the perfect people ... because they've got light skin, they've got long hair.

Jeanne: Talking of long hair ... now, all kinds of revenge was exercised upon me ... like tying my hair to the ... chair ... and making remarks ... I used to feel ... often ... that it was because I was the closest to whites people could get at ...

Norma: There was this gentleman who applied for a place at our pre-school for his child. Now, this gentleman ... he's a 'whitey'. He brought his child ... twice

⁽¹⁾ A bleaching agent.

his child wouldn't come to us. The next day this gentleman bring his child again ... we watched this child .. eventually this child wouldn't come ... that was the end of the story. The child didn't come again ... because there's mostly black and coloured children at our pre-school. We used to take whites ... but later they did not come ...

Jeanne: I think that white children learn about prejudice quite early.

Susan: This is actually a very controversial subject. We talked about this last week. We are children of a mixed marriage. I'm fair and my brother, Ian, is very dark and so on ... but as I grew up I was always aware of it ... I'm white and he's black ... and I was only three years old when I told my mother that I want to sit on a white chair because I'm white ... I didn't get that from my parents. When my brother did something wrong then I would always say, "It is that little black boy who did it ..." ... my own brother ... and I repeat, I didn't get that at home. So, people can't say that they get prejudice from their environment or that they get it from their parents. I would feel that they are actually born with it ... it ... it's something to do with what the child associates with colour ... because as a person today I hate racism. I can't stand discrimination. So why did I have that attitude? So I doubt whether children are being taught these things ... I ... (laughs) ... think they're born with it.

Jeanne: I can't accept that. I believe that there are subtle influences ... the stories you read for your children ... the poems or comic books ...

Susan: But I wasn't exposed to these things at three!

Jeanne: But still, you see ... other people ... other people are ... you're not an island.

Leona: ... same thing with dolls. I can't remember that I've ever seen a black doll when I grew up ...

Susan: I just want to endorse what I said. I know a lady who is very fiery when it comes to the struggle. She will take her little son ... who is at our pre-school ... she will take her little son all over ... where they march. Like, quite recently she was in the newspaper with her son, walking right next to the ... big guys ... (Laughter.) Then we have a little Xhosa boy, Angelo, in our class. We have another little girl, Amy ... she's a coloured but she's very dark ... so we played a game. Boys had to choose girls and girls had to choose boys. The girls chose Angelo and so they said to him, "Come on Angelo, you must choose a girl." So this little boy whose mother teach him not to be a racist said, "Take Amy because she's dark." Now, I mean, there again, the mother keeps on telling him, "You mustn't discriminate", but it comes out.

Leona: But does the mother live actively what she teaches? I mean, what you teach and what you live is two different things. His mother being in the struggle does not say she's not a racist. I mean, you can be in the struggle ... you can be involved in politics and still be a racist.

Norma: What I found with these activists is that they really only associate with those people higher up. You find they never associate with other races. I find that children of activists are the most racist.

Jeanne: We also find that if people are not racist they might be elitist. Our culture and social habits depend on where we live and it's got nothing to do with race. Race is incidental. It so happens that all your coloureds live together and all your whites live together or all your blacks live together ... that way they develop a culture. So, when you put them together you will notice the differences. It's because of where they stay or the economic situation.

Leila: I think that is a good point because I grew up in District Six and there we had all the colours of the rainbow. We had Jews, blacks, Moslems, Christians and coloureds. We all lived together. I think that parents have great role to play in this ... in the sense that you teach your children certain values ... and the thing that my mother always told me is that ... you know ... when my mother got home and asked if anybody called ... then one day I said, "Yes Mommy, there was a tall black man." (laughs) Then my mother always used to get very upset. "That is not the way to describe somebody", she always used to tell me. "You don't say that it is a tall black man. The man's colour's got nothing to do with me. It's a man who was here. A tall man." And that is some of the things we lived comfortably with then ... even with the white people that was living there. We lived comfortably with them ... we ... I think that I was lucky in that sense because I assumed then that when I go out into the world that I would have that same treatment. And lo' and behold, it wasn't so ... but ... uhm ... I could always come back to the fold ... and be pampered and be loved because of what I am na d not because of the colour of my skin, you know, that kind of thing. It is true that different areas have different norms. Of course, if a child grows up in a home where there's everything ...

QUESTION: Why do whites often behave in this manner?

Leona: Because they feel threatened.

Leila: Because they hate.

Norma: They are not human.

- Jeanne:** In the early days ... if you go back into history ... you'll find that the blacks were quite refined, affluent ... but the boers were poor. blacks looked smarter and the first proclamation that was made ... I can't remember when ... was against women. Women were barred from dressing up. Blacks were not allowed to display earrings ... all those beautiful things in public. After that followed discrimination against men. You know, it was strict ... revenge and all kinds of things.
- Leona:** To come back to the passage that we read. They felt threatened because they realised that they got to share now. They regarded that [the swimming pool] as their own and I think ... it is human to feel that way if you must share ... especially when you must share with those ... that doesn't belong to your ... that you don't feel comfortable with, in other words. That is why I said they feel threatened. Those of these people who were raised in homes where the maids were black or coloured ... and they were treated like a different species. They were not allowed to use the facilities in the house. If they needed to go to the toilet they had to go outside or into the bush ... so where these children grew up ... I mean ... these people were treated as different species and not as people and it also explains this.
- Jeanne:** These people were also the victims of this systems [of apartheid] ... ownership and power are responsible for the attitude of these people ... it was instilled in them.
- Susan:** Racism is definitely not going to disappear. Even in open countries you still find it.
- Leila:** Even in America⁽²⁾ it's still like that.
- Leona:** One even finds discrimination within your own family. Mothers are always worried about the people their children are going to marry. They're always thinking of what type of grandchildren they will have.
- Jeanne:** When women marry they always worry about "Hoe gaan my kind lyk. Jy [the husband] is so lelik ..." ⁽³⁾ (Laughter.). And when the child is there they try to overprotect the child ... as if to compensate for past sins. This is becoming so apparent in our community.
- June:** I've two daughters ... and the older one ... is quite ... dark and the other one is not so ... (laughs) ... you know, she's fairer. The older one is always asking, "Mommy, why's she that colour? Now, if I put a lot of cream on

⁽²⁾ The United States of America.

⁽³⁾ Afrikaans. Translation: "What is my child going to look like? You ... are so ugly ..."

will I also become that colour? Or when she watches adverts on television, "Mommy you must buy me that sunblock ... because ... because all the children at school ..." You know, I don't think she's happy there because all the children tend to move away from her because of her colour ... I don't know why this is. She told me recently she's only got one friend. So I asked her, "Only one friend? Why?" So she said, "Because she's like me. We're dark." And she says to me, "Mommy I want to go to school in Durban." So I asked, "Why Durban?" She was with my sister in Durban before. I think she's identified with them. She looks like them ... and she felt comfortable there. So I told her, "But you go to a good school." So she said, "No Mommy, I not like them." And yet we live in a coloured community ... all our friends ... we ... we ... we've broken away from the strict Hindu tradition ... I don't know how to deal with it.

Jeanne: I don't think you must deny her this identification. I also come from a family ... you know, my own brothers ... my two brothers are fair, my mother is fair ... and I'm dark. I can still remember ... I was still a little child ... even before I could speak ... I can still recall I know I was darker than the others ... but not because I was so aware of brown and white but because things that were happening highlighted this. The white people I met were always powerful people, and the black people were always in inferior positions ... where they were living in shanties ... I had this nanny and she was black and I began to identify more and more with her and I actually took revenge on my mother by treating Nanny as if she was my mother and kissing her and talking Zulu ... I can't speak a word of Zulu now ... I had a total black-out ... must have been because of the reaction of people to black languages. I delighted speaking Zulu because I knew it angered my mother ... because somehow I felt that I was being treated ... somehow ... not the same as my brothers ... and not by my mother and father only ... but other people's attitudes were also different ... like, "Oh shame, you've got this dark skin ..." (Laughter.)

Jenny: But it's so sad you know, she is so small and she's aware of her skin colour ... but we always tell "But ... there's nothing wrong with you." You know ... and we'll always ... boost her again and say, like, "No, but you're a pretty girl." You know ... and we'll say, "No, but you're black and beautiful." Like, we'll try to boost her ego.

Susan: But what you can do is ... I'm, thinking of Amy in my class ... she ... she's very dark-skinned ... and ...uhm ... she always looks so longingly at the rest of the class with their long hair and so on ... and once she came to me and she told me ... uhm ... and I said "Amy, you're such a sweet girl. You must stay as sweet as you are. I really love sweet children." So she said, "Yes, it's what is, inside that makes me beautiful ... to make people love me." Of course, I sat next to her and I didn't know what to do ... and there was one child with very long hair (laughs) ... and she was saying, "My Mommy only washes my hair only once a week ... so the one sitting next to her said, "You must tell your mommy she must wash your hair everyday and then

it will come like my hair. (Laughter.) You know ... but little things like that ... Tell them that beauty comes from within. I new that's a pre-schooler that told me that. You're not too young to understand.

Leila: I think ... that you ... what you should do is ... she's hurting now and nothing you can say is going to change her ... her attitude towards herself and I think you must tell her that you understand how she feels ... hurt and angry but there is nothing ...

June: Like, she says, they call her things like 'charra'⁽⁴⁾ at school and she doesn't take it lightly whereas for me ... I've been to ... I grew up in Salt River and I went to a ... so-called coloured school and ... for me ... I took it as a joke if they called me 'charra'. I would just forget it but she ... this child ... like, she ... she takes it very seriously. Like recently she went to church with a friend and her friend brother said, "Hey, Charra ..." And she came back home and she was most upset and she never went back there ... and I mean ... she's gonna be eight ...

Jeanne: If you use ... I mean there are so many examples now of successful ... beautiful black models ... and beauty queens ... I mean beauty queens are not quite what they used to be ... and if you highlighted that to her because what has been highlighted to her until now is always the ... white example ... so that she she's there is another side to this ... equally valuable.

QUESTION: If your child had been one of the children chased away from the pool how would you have responded?

Norma: I would have shouted, "Those boers ..." (Laughter.) I would have thrown stones ... I would have done just everything. It's very traumatic to the child ... because the child now finds out that the parent is not even able to protect him ... very terrible experience for those children.

Jeanne: I don't know ... I took out a lot of insurance for this type of event ... (Laughter.) No, but I did ... I sort of pledged that my kids were not going to be ... sort of raw where this was concerned. I wasn't going to indoctrinate them racially against ... or for ... people but I was going to prepare them for this situation ... I was very honest with my children about what they can expect from the world out there ... and ... they took things in their stride ... they really did. My one son was at the German High School ... and he learned ... in his matric year that there is a big difference

⁽⁴⁾ A derogatory label often given to people of so-called 'Indian' origin.

between being refined and not being racist ... because as the end of the matric year approached the racist feelings of people that they camouflaged in order to succeed at the school started emerging and ... that was traumatic for him. It took him a long time to come to terms with his classmates' racism and to realise that they were also products of the system.

Leila: What would I have done in a situation like that? Well the child would already have picked up from ... the newspaper, TV and things like that we are outcasts ... and now I take the child on the assumption that the pool is open and now the child gets hurt, I get hurt. It's very difficult. I think the child will understand part of it ... but not all of it ... I think that André's reaction would be that "This is something that I have seen ... that Mommy has spoken about." He would have expected it. But he will feel violated ... he will feel violated ... but it won't be a strange, strange feeling because this is part of his everyday life ... that is what I think. Of course I will be angry but there's nothing you can do about it. Can you sue these people?

Norma: That's the saddest part of it ... that it's a useless situation because there's just nothing they could do about it. They could be beaten and nobody to ... protect them.

Jeanne: During the unrest period I found that ... while I didn't join certain groups because of ... their militant behaviour ... you know, that type of thing ... nevertheless the next time things like this happen ... I wouldn't deny it to myself but I know that I would kill ... You know during the riots ... the police were shooting teargas ... I have this white friend ... a British lady ... and her son had to go for his military training and I said, "You know Mary, however good friends we are, if I am in a position where I must make a choice my choice has to be with my own people and if I faced your son in the street and he ... and I had to make choice between him a strange black child who stood a chance of being hurt I'd help that black child ... even if your son had to die ... and we talking about that being a big tragedy and at this time I realised that however much I am against militant behaviour I do not have a choice any more.

DISCUSSION BASED ON VIGNETTE 2

Leila: Why do these people always have to use God when they want to do something?

Leona: One thing that I've discovered is that you can actually use the Bible to

defend any tendency ... ideology.

Jeanne: This is the thing with the boers. The boers believe, they truly believe that their ideas can be defended with the Bible.

Leila: I think that it is utter rubbish what that man said and how can they print things like that and how can people ... in the day and age believe this? I get very upset when I read things like this.

Leona: I think a person can feel sorry for these people, in fact ...

Leila: But the anger I feel that they can actually say things like that.

Susan: But you're doing more harm to yourself by getting angry.

Leila: Yes, that's true.

Jeanne: That's why I say, apartheid didn't just take things away from your ... your mud races. It also took things away from your white races. They too are losing ...

Leona: And I always feel that ... when I see reports or hear things like this ... that these people must feel very, very insecure ... very threatened.

Leila: Yes, they are. A person that feels that way ... I mean, what kind of a background have they got? Who are his parents? Where did he get that? How can he? About eighty per cent of whites believe this.

Susan: They are sick people. They are really sick.

Norma: Yes, these are really sick people.

Susan: Lots of white people ... they say that they ... that they're non-racist but ... I ... when I lived in an open society I saw a lady that was ... very fond of blacks but when ... I was sitting in the car and her husband was introducing her to a black guy who was working with him ... and she shook hands with him ... the she pulled her hand back and wiped it on her dress.

Leila: You know ... and they say all these things about God and they do all these things ... but they use our black women ... they will sleep with them and they produce children ... (Laughter.)

QUESTION: After this long discussion, how would you define the term "racism"?

Leila: It distinguish people because of their colour ... their creed and their

behaviour ...

June: Discrimination against people ... against blacks.

Jeanne: It's a form of discrimination ... it's a form of violence.

Leona: I would say that racism is when a person is not recognised for what he or she is ... or can perform ...

June: Racism also depends a lot on your position ... if you're a highly qualified person now .. if you're a doctor or whatever ... you've got a certain status people will respect you but if you're just an ordinary worker like ... I'll give you an example. My husband is a technician and like he has to go form door to door when he gets his calls and like sometimes he's treated very badly and they would like leave him outside on the doorstep ... in the rain ... to go and check if he is really a technician or something ... even though he dresses appropriately and he has a name tag. If he had seen white this would not have happened.

Susan: But it also has to be stressed that it is not only in South Africa ... it is like this throughout the world.

END OF INTERVIEW



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