

TR 90 - 58 J

AN EXISTENTIAL-PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF
INTERRACIAL LOVE RELATIONSHIPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHRISTOPHER JAMES ROSS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Research Psychology.

CROSS

My old man's a white old man
And my old mother's black.
If ever I cursed my white old man,
I take my curses back.

If ever I cursed by old black mother
And wished she were in hell.
I'm sorry for that evil wish
And now I wish her well.

My old man died in a fine big house
My ma died in a shack.
I wonder where I'm gonna die,
Being neither white nor black.

Langston Hughes (Wilkinson, 1975)

To Dolly who is everything to me .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank:

Professor Dreyer Kruger for acting as my supervisor and also for his patience and time.

The people who willingly took part as subjects in this research.

Professor Amedeo Giorgi and Trevor Hoek for their assistance and advice.

Ina Roux, Neal Barratt and Paul Musto for their encouragement and support.

Dr Christo van Graan for his financial backing during the years of my studying.

Pam McKenzie for typing this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to explicate the experience of interracial love relationships between Blacks and Whites in South Africa. As a point of departure, a basic question was established which would elicit the actual experience of this phenomenon. The researcher conducted twelve interviews and chose the six psychologically richest accounts. The researcher then analysed in detail (using the phenomenological method) the resulting protocols comprising the interviews. The researcher then explicated the experience and discovered that interracial love was a historical process of going through a relationship over time. The subjects experienced a particular historical background in the face of which they felt unfulfilled which brought about the potential to search for authenticity in a particular way. The subjects were placed in a situation where interracial love became a possibility. The subjects saw the other as human and fell in love. A new horizon emerged and a learning experience, about themselves and the world, occurred. The element of conflict was always present which was exacerbated by the South African Apartheid system. Subjects experienced fulfillment and disappointment depending on whether or not their historical demand was met. This structure of the experience was dialogued with the writings of existential-phenomenological philosophers and psychologists and also with that of previous research in the context of discussing particular areas of psychological significance such as historical background and Apartheid, racism, alienation, motives for interracial love, love and the universality of human nature and interracial love as a learning experience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1 REVIEW OF LITERATURE	4
1.1 Historical Overview	4
1.2 Motives for Black-White Love Relationships	8
1.3 Phenomenological Considerations	11
1.4 Racial Prejudice, Apartheid and Culture	15
CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY	25
2.1 The Phenomenological Approach	25
2.2 A Phenomenological Method	27
2.3 The Subjects	30
CHAPTER 3 RESULTS	32
A. Naive descriptions, qualitative analysis and specific descriptions of situated structures of Interracial Love ..	33
JENNY: (a) A naive description of Interracial Love	33
(b) Qualitative analysis	39
(c) Specific descriptions of the situated structure of Interracial Love	56
(d) Specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa ...	58
BEN: (a) A naive description of Interracial Love	59
(b) Qualitative analysis	64

	Page
(c) Specific descriptions of the situated structure of Interracial Love	77
(d) Specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa ...	78
KATHY: (a) A naive description of Interracial Love	79
(b) Qualitative analysis	88
(c) Specific descriptions of the situated structure of Interracial Love	111
(d) Specific descriptions of the situated structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa ...	113
 B. Only naive descriptions and specific descriptions of situated structures of Interracial Love	 114
RUTH: (a) A naive description of Interracial Love	114
(b) A specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love	119
(c) A specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa ..	122
JAKE: (a) A naive description of Interracial Love	123
(b) A specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love	130
(c) A specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa ..	132
MAX: (a) A naive description of Interracial Love	134
(b) A specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love	139

(c) A specific description of the situated structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa ..	141
C. A General Description of the Structure of Interracial Love .	142
D. A General Description of the Structure of Interracial Love Situated in Apartheid South Africa	144
CHAPTER 4 DISCUSSION	147
4.1 Dimensions of Findings	147
4.2 Current and Future Projects and Conclusions	164
BIBLIOGRAPHY	167
APPENDICES: RUTH: Qualitative analysis	169
JAKE: Qualitative analysis	183
MAX: Qualitative analysis	203

INTRODUCTION

In research of this nature, the researcher's position must be made clear. What initiates such research concerning the whole field of racial contact in general and interracial love in particular, is the researcher's attempt to adopt an unbiased view, although much of what he finds may be governed by an unconscious bias. The White person who writes about racial problems knows, consciously or unconsciously, that he can always retreat into the unassailable security of a world in which, for the most part, the White person is still dominant.

The researcher's bias is the bias of a White man who grows up in the White world of South Africa, and whose major orientation lies with Western culture, but who nevertheless feels akin and attracted to African culture. It is the bias of a White South African who has been socialised into the Apartheid way of life, who has been alienated and is trying to open up a new way of construing relational reality in South Africa.

The present thesis aims at researching the phenomenon of interracial love, to explicate the experience of love relationships between Blacks and Whites in South Africa.

Comparative quantitative cross-cultural studies of love have recently been conducted in South Africa (Munro and Adams, 1978; Stones, 1986; Philbrick and Stones, in press) but a remarkable lack of research in Black-White love relationships in South Africa is evident. In an

Apartheid country where the experience of interracial mixing is new and difficult for people to understand, it seems appropriate and necessary that research in this field be considered.

American studies, such as those of Porterfield (1978), largely based on quantitative research methods, postulate various causally related reasons for interracial love and social reaction to it. Plenty of time and money has been spent on causality and prevalence of interracial love - "why" does it happen. However, there is evidence to suggest that the question "how" does it happen, or what is it like to have an interracial love affair, has not been seriously investigated.

Not only is there a shortage of qualitative research into the actual lived experience of interracial love, but prior research does not describe much of the phenomenon. Prior research has concentrated on sociological structure and function rather than the structure of the actual experience.

American studies have outlined the "global" (universal) ramifications of interracial love. The present thesis hopes to explore the actual experience of interracial love as such, as it is situated in Apartheid South Africa. The researcher's intention is to find out how interracial love is experienced by the subject and how the experience is mediated by the broader social context of Apartheid South Africa.

The researcher believes that qualitative analysis is the most appropriate research method to seek to understand the human condition as

it manifests itself in our concrete, lived situations. Phenomenology is a method which allows us to contact phenomena as we actually live and experience them.

The researcher hopes that the thesis will contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon of interracial love as it is situated within the South African context.

CHAPTER 1 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

It is evident that no researcher of the phenomenon of interracial love has devoted his quest primarily to the question of its essential meanings as such. The emphasis has been on causality, statistical prevalence, intercultural relations and cross-cultural studies. No research has used a phenomenological analysis. Hence the literature review will focus upon some interesting aetiological findings but mainly on important and situational peripheral issues. As a point of departure an historical overview describing how we, in South Africa, have arrived at where we are is essential.

1.1 Historical Overview

The Euro-American world dominates societies outside itself through its politico-technological superiority in a similar manner to that of the Graeco-Roman empire. Domination in both cases has led to the perception of the differences between themselves and those dominated.

The perception of differences is significant in Africa. The Portuguese established contact with the southern part of Africa as early as the fifteenth century. In the years that followed the Dutch and English used the harbours as watering places for their ships. In 1652, the first permanent settlement of Europeans at the Cape was made by the Dutch. Three years before, a report had been made to the Dutch Government outlining the advantages to be gained from the establishment of a settlement. In it the writers gave their opinion as to the

'native' population.

"Some say that the natives are brutal and cannibals but this is a vulgar error...we are convinced that our own countrymen, in case their cattle was taken away without payment, would not act better than these natives...the killing is caused by revenge" Henriques (1975, p.128).

The report is interesting in that it describes the Hottentots almost in terms of equality with Dutchmen. This benign view certainly entered into sexual relations for quite a long period. It only came to an end in the middle of the nineteenth century with the settlement of the Transvaal and Orange Free State by the Voortrekkers.

Slavery of Africans and of people brought from India and the East Indies appears to have occurred from the first years of the colony. The settlers had few women with them. Inevitable sexual connections were formed with both Hottentots and Indians, both slave and free. The Dutch married these women or kept them as concubines.

Society at the Cape in this period was a medley of races. Race contacts were more free and less conventional than in a more rigid and stable society. Three out of every four children born of slave mothers were of European paternity. In 1678 the Commissioner issued a proclamation forbidding the practice of concubinage with female slaves. But the injunction against concubinage was not effective and the institution continued to flourish. Miscegenation was not only a matter of concubinage and marriage but also comprised a prostitute element.

According to Henriques (1975, p.129) the headquarters of the Dutch East

Indian Company at the Cape in 1787 was used as a common brothel with the approval of the company itself because it tended to multiply the slave population and did away with the necessity of importing fresh slaves.

The appetite for miscegenation continued throughout the eighteenth century. The alliance of Whites and Hottentots produced a group known as 'bastards'. There were also the unions of the progeny of White-slave (Malay or Indian) with the offspring of slaves with Hottentots. These people constituted the origin of the so-called Cape Coloured today.

The Afrikaner historian Gilomee, (Van der Spuy, 1978, p.11) believes that during the Great Trek the Voortrekkers identified strongly with ancient Israel's migration to the promised land. The Afrikaners have often referred to themselves as a 'chosen people' and have proclaimed 'divine intervention' in their history. There seems to have been a change in emphasis from the 19th to 20th centuries about what this 'divine purpose' was supposed to be. Whereas in the 19th century this purpose was mainly seen as the promotion of Christian Civilisation amongst the 'heathens', it was today mainly seen as the "preservation of White civilisation, and not only civilisation, but with the emphasis on White".

According to Henriques (1975, p.138) the days of the free interracial sex were destroyed by the advent of the Voortrekkers. Their character seem to have been bounded by Calvinism and colour prejudice. The Black person was damned because of his colour which was associated with sin and evil. Henriques believes that the responsibility for modern South Africa's views on race can be attributed to the Voortrekkers. Van der

Spuy (1978, p.24) does not fully agree. He believes that racial discrimination in South Africa has a long history. It had been consistently practised by the British in varying degrees throughout most of British occupied Africa. However, after the take over of Afrikaner Nationalism in 1948, racial discrimination became much more dogmatically and systematically applied.

The effects of Boer and British colonial philosophy can be seen in race discriminatory legislation which began to occur in the twentieth century. Its beginning was the law of 1902, passed in the Cape Colony and later extended to other parts of South Africa. This outlawed sexual acts between Africans and White prostitutes. In 1927, Hertzog introduced legislation which prohibited all sexual relations between Blacks and Whites. This was followed in 1949 by an Act of Malan's Government - the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, which made intermarriage between Whites and all non-Whites illegal. Thus the field of prohibition was extended from Blacks to Coloured people.

Legislation from 1950 to 1957 amended the Immorality Act of 1927 to include 'immoral and indecent acts' between Whites and non-Whites. According to the lawmakers, their object was not to check immorality as such, but to try to preserve some sort of apartheid in what one might call prostitution.

From statistical analyses of "immorality" offences from the beginning of the 1950's through to the end of the 1960's, Henriques (1975, p.132) suggests that illicit miscegenation was found more amongst highly prejudiced Whites than among their liberal compatriots. Henriques

attempts to explain this in the context of the whole White South African ethos. Having passed from a period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which miscegenation was actually socially approved, to an age in which the rigidity of Calvinism has taken over, the White wishes to condemn and reject the permissive past. Henriques speculates, that as part of this process, there remains an unconscious desire on the part of the White man for Coloured women. In having sexual intercourse with such a woman he not only satisfies this desire but acts out the archetypal colonial role of abusing the female of the subjugated group. A similar dynamic applies to White women who have relationships with Black men.

Recent studies suggest that many other factors are at play. Miscegenation now occurs between persons who are by and large economically and educationally far more equal (than was originally the case) and who have a strong emotional attachment. We therefore need to look at recent studies of motives for Black-White love relationships to gain some sort of perspective of the phenomenon.

1.2 Motives for Black-White Love Relationships

Several theories have been proposed in an effort to explain interracial love relationships (Porterfield, 1978). The notion that those who contract mixed marriages are somehow different from the rest of the population finds reinforcement in popular and professional circles. Consider the following statement by Brayboy, a Black American psychiatrist (Porterfield, 1978, p.59).

"Deep seated psychological sickness of various sorts underlie the majority of mixed marriages. It offers the opportunity for acting out personal problems...these marriages have little to do with love instead they are arenas for hostility, control and revenge".

Porterfield (1978) wonders on what basis Dr Brayboy makes these statements - how many individual cases or samples has he dealt with - how has he measured his data - on what basis would his statement be accepted as valid?

In the past Black-White couples generally become acquainted through situational contacts, mutual friends or employment. Desegregation in urban areas have facilitated these contacts. In view of the changes which have occurred within the last two decades, the basis for Black-White love relationships in the 1980's have drastically shifted from what they were two, three or four decades ago.

For practical purposes, motives for marriage as given by respondents (research quoted by Porterfield, 1978, p.62) are classified into three general categories 1) Race-related Motives, 2) Marginality, 3) Non-race-related Motives.

Race-related Motives. Many of the reasons for marriage imply racial overtones in that it appears that some underlying prejudicial motivation partially accounts for some of these individuals initiating marriage orientated relationships. Porterfield (1978, p.70) believes that these feelings are generated, to a large degree, by the psychic make-up of the social structure itself. Some of these motives are:

- 1) The other race is more appealing and interesting.
- 2) Some people want to rebel or get even with society for its injustices.
- 3) The White female is viewed by some as a status symbol.
- 4) The Black female is viewed as more independent and self-sufficient than the White female.

Marginality. The marginal man is an individual who by virtue of migration, education, marriage, or some other influence, leaves one cultural group without making satisfactory adjustment to another. Accordingly, he finds himself on the margin of each culture but a member of neither. Porterfield (1978, p.83) believes that once people cross the colour line, it is difficult for them to return to their society and be accepted, especially if they have children - this is termed "the ostracization from one's own racial group".

Non-race-related Motives. Love and compatibility - many interracial love affairs occur for the simple reason that the individuals are in love. There is, therefore, no motivational difference between an interracial and intraracial marriage. It is likely that most Black-White couples marry for precisely the same reasons that racially similar couples do. The fact that such an alliance is formed in the first place may indicate a high degree of motivation on the part of both partners. The couple's compatibility may be so high in comparison to those of the same race that the marriage may succeed despite the social context in which it takes place.

Porterfield (1978, p.83) sums up the situation that many unconventional social and psychological characteristics have been ascribed to individuals marrying interracially but present research data does not support this argument. Findings strongly suggest that an overwhelming majority of interracial dating and marriage is not related either to some pathological abnormality or to any crusade against prejudice but rather love and compatibility.

1.3 Phenomenological Considerations

If we are to understand the phenomenology of interracial love, it becomes essential to consider related phenomenological issues - the relevance of these issues will become apparent after the findings emerge on completion of the analysis. Aspects such as Being-in-the-world, potential-ness, authenticity, love and alone-ness are important to the phenomena of interracial love.

In attempting to answer the question "What is the meaning of Being" Heidegger (1962) undertakes a phenomenological investigation of the Being of Dasein. In his ontological investigation, Heidegger arrives at what he considers to be the essential structure of Dasein's being-in-the-world which he calls 'Care'. In characterizing this structure, Heidegger finds three primary modes of being-in-the-world.

- a) Dasein is Thrown (Geworfenheit) that is, man is factual. The human being is always already in a world - a world into which beyond his willing, it has been cast. The human being has

possibilities and freedom but only within limits.

- b) Dasein is Fallen (Verfallen). We are in a social world that is under the dictatorship of the 'they'.
- c) Dasein is Understanding (Verstehen). Here we enter the realm of possibilities, imagination, of the integrated self that is always ahead of itself as a project-in-the-world.

Heidegger (1962) believes that it is through this existential mode of understanding that Dasein co-constitutes its world as possibility, being-in-the-world is always a being-toward (i.e. always a becoming). When the Dasein fails to constitute the world in such a manner, that is, when he finds himself closed off to the world and to himself, then his existence becomes deficient.

Binswanger (Valle et al 1978, p.301) is interested in the concrete existence of the human being in his everydayness and how he is worlded (the ontic) while Heidegger's project was of a fundamentally different order (ontological in nature).

When Binswanger (ibid) makes a diagnosis of a particular patient, he investigates this Thrownness in terms of their Umwelt (biological world), their Fallenness in terms of their Mitwelt (social world) and their Existential Possibilities in terms of their Eigenwelt (self-world).

In Binswanger's (op cit, p.302) investigation of man's concrete existence, he finds not only that man is being-in-the-world as care but also that man is being-beyond-the-world in love. This is what he calls man's dual mode of existence - being-in-the-world-beyond-the-world.

Love is viewed as co-existence - it is the possibility of we-ness, the ontological possibility of the I-Thou relationship.

Porterfield (1978, p.61) believes that many interracial marriages occur for the simple reason that the individuals are in love. Social psychologists, Baron et al (1984, p.241), define love as an intense emotional state that occurs when one is raised in a culture that stresses love, when an appropriate love object is present and when some type of physiological arousal is attributed to love. The definition does not describe the experience of love as such - what does love really mean?

Luijpen (1977, p.311) describe the proper character of authentic love. "Subjectivity as appeal" - the loving encounter always implies the other's appeal to my subjectivity - both individuals in the relationship are able to allow the other to be themselves subjectively. "Be with me" - it is the other's appeal to me to leave my self-centeredness, to share in his subjectivity, to accept, support and increase it. "A new dimension of existence" - the appearance of the other's subjectivity as appeal calls me to 'conversion', to a change in my self-realization. The truth of my own essence prescribes to me that I argue the world in order that the other can exist. "Love as yes to the other" - his appeal to me means that he invites me to affirm his subjectivity, to offer him a possibility to exist, to convert to his freedom, to accept support and share in his freedom. My "yes" to his appeal is known as love.

According to Luijpen (1977, p.318) I experience in love as the road towards my own destiny, the fulfillment of my own being as "having to

be". Love is the availability of my subjectivity, my belonging to the subject who the other is. In giving and surrendering myself, my own "self-hood" is revealed to me. My proper self is the available self. In love I lose my inauthenticity. As existence, I am a certain "yes" to the world and equiprimordially a certain "yes" to myself.

Luijpen (op cit, p.325) believes that through love I "create" that which I see, I make the other be what I see. This creativity is evident in the pedagogical situation (as it should be practised). Through the educator's love the child/student is raised above himself and becomes master of the situation and is able to realize himself on a level he would never have reached if he had been left alone. Learning physiognomically reconstructs our world - genuine learning is authentic, liberating as from "the they" and it is the authentic acting-perceiving of the body as subject. "All genuine learning is the unlearning of bullshit" Colaizzi (Valle and King, 1978, p.133).

The realization that one is no longer "alone" testifies perhaps most eloquently to love's creativity. Love creates a "we", a being together that is experienced as wholly different from every other kind of "we" experienced in other encounters. The "we" of love can be expressed as fulfillment and happiness.

My world is "re-created" by the other's love (Luijpen, 1977, p.325). The world is the correlate of my self-realizing subjectivity. Through his love the world shows its kindest face to me and becomes accessible for me on my self-realization. Through the other's love the world becomes "my homeland". Children whose parents are incapable of love or

being there for them are destined to meet the world as a harsh place.

A Black is only a Black when he is refused admittance to a park because of racism (Luijpen, 1977, p.324). A Black is only a Black because of the pressure of anti-Black prejudice. One could, of course, say that a Black remains a Black when there is no racism - but such an objection presupposes that being Black is purely a biological matter and such a view disregards the human aspect of being Black.

Luijpen (1977, p.324) believes that the other (as in racism) makes me be "facticity" - making-one-another results in determination or social facticity. Our making-one-another-be makes us bearers of a social body. The loving encounter, however, does not make the other be facticity but rather subjectivity - love "creates" the "subject". It seems that Apartheid society has created Black-White others as facticity. One wonders if, whether through interracial love relationships Black-White others are able to become subjects.

1.4 Racial Prejudice, Apartheid and Culture

Baron et al (1974, p.206) believes that prejudice may be viewed as a negative attitude towards the members of some social groups, whereas discrimination involves specific harmful action directed towards the object of prejudice. Discrimination is sometimes overt, but in many cases it takes more subtle forms such as tokenism, reluctance to help or viewing all members of the disliked group as being physically and behaviourally similar.

Baron et al (1974, p.181) proposes theoretical explanations of prejudice. They outline the following:

- 1) Direct intergroup conflict stems from direct economic competition between distinct social groups.
- 2) Social categorization occurs when individuals divide the social world around them into two distinct categories - "us the ingroup" and "them the outgroup". Sharply contrasting feelings and beliefs are usually attached to members of the ingroup and outgroup. Each group seeks to view itself as superior to its rivals and prejudice arises out of this clash of perceptions.
- 3) Specific personality traits where prejudice is often linked to a broad and complex cluster of traits which are termed 'the authoritarian personality'. High authoritarian individuals show pattern of submissive obedience to authority and punitive rejection of groups other than their own. Such persons tend to view the world in rigid Black-White categories.
- 4) Early learning experience where children acquire negative attitudes towards various social groups because they are exposed to such views on the part of others (parents, teachers, peers) or because they are specifically trained in them.

Stember (1976) believes that the sex problem is at the core of the race problem. The emotion surrounding the sex problem induces profound hostility towards Blacks and places strong barriers in the way of achieving an integrated society.

It has been suggested that skin colour is an important factor in mate selection amongst Blacks (Henriques 1975, p.75). That is to say a large percentage of Black men choose brides of a lighter colour. Why this pattern would have been established is not difficult to elucidate. In Colonial Africa, White was the ultimate symbol of authority. In addition, through miscegenation, the progeny attained a status inferior to that of the White but nevertheless superior to that of the Black. Thus the lightness of colour was inevitably associated with the beneficial in life. African values were eroded and in part replaced by White values. Skin colour symbolized the whole White world in Southern Africa.

Henriques (1975, p.80) writes that from the earliest times of Colonialism both in Africa and North America (slavery) there developed a whole mythology concerning the sexuality of the Black person. Blacks were credited with a potency and virility far exceeding that of Whites. In the male Black the myth concentrates on an exaggeration of the size of the genitals. In the female, the myth concentrates on her capacity for sexual responses which is far greater than her White sister. The Black became a symbol of sexual freedom which is denied to the White in his society.

In the contemporary world the myths of White superiority and Black sexuality still persists. Henriques (1975) and Stember (1976) believe that the sexual history of the Black and the history of domination of the White has affected sexual relationships between Black men and White women. The situation when a Black man is involved with a White woman has a specific psychological basis. It appears to be composed of two

main elements which at times are opposed to each other. Convention and law put her out of his reach. He knows she is forbidden to him which inevitably increases his desire for her. His ego is inflated because she has chosen him instead of a White lover. Co-existing with such feelings are those associated with her whiteness as a symbol of the oppression of Black people. In her person he can take revenge for all the humiliation he has suffered in her world. Thus to possess her is to satisfy the desire for a forbidden object and simultaneously to accomplish her humiliation through having intercourse with the despised Black.

The White woman's attitude in such a relationship depends in part upon the whole mythology of the Black invented by the White. He, too, is forbidden to her but the attraction he holds for her is greater than this. According to the myth the Black is outside the ordinary conventions which have surrounded sexual activity for the majority of Whites. He represents the uninhibited free man who invokes all the sexuality she may possess. It is analogous to the experience of the repressed White male with a prostitute.

Historically, in South Africa, the greatest area of miscegenation was that concerned with White/slave-master/"baas" and the Black/female slave/"meid". Thus the White man, as the oppressor, was, from the point of view of the exploited women, seen as the embodiment of that which was powerful and authoritative.

For Henriques (1975, p.90) the problem which has to be faced - and the

myth of Black sexuality has fostered its growth - is that the Black individual through the historical colonial experience, has become imbued with White values. In the sexual expression of that process the White person becomes the desired partner. Despite the upsurge of Black Consciousness and desegregation, the Black person will be the victim of this process for some time to come.

On describing Apartheid, Lever (1978) writes that race more than any other single characteristic is the most important social differentiating factor in South Africa. The race of the individual affects every aspect of his social life. It dictates where he may live, where he may work, whom he should marry, the places of entertainment he may visit, the amount the state will spend on his education, the university he may enter, his right to elect representatives to the central parliament and so on.

The policy of Apartheid claims to take cognisance of the different cultures of various groups and to protect those cultures. Separation is supposed to be based on culture and not racial differences. The supporters of the policy claim that the goal of Apartheid is the elimination of prejudice and discrimination. Discrimination is seen as a temporary but necessary measure until such time as the final stage in separation is attained. It is claimed that the ideology of Apartheid is in the best tradition of Western culture and Christianity. The policy of Apartheid is offered as a solution to the race problem.

In South Africa, Blacks and Whites are the only serious contenders for power. Lever (1978, p.7) points out that the sociological differences

between Whites and Africans are not based solely on anatomical features, the numerical sizes of their respective population and the gap in their living standards. Nor does this history as competition for land fully explain the nature of their present relations. Lever believes that there are important cultural differences which serve as sources of friction.

Whites are apt to view witchcraft as an indicator of the primitive or savage mind of the African. The belief in witchcraft has extended to urban areas and has been resilient in the face of acculturation - it is fairly common practice in the cities for Blacks to consult both a medical doctor and an isangoma.

Aspects of the marriage system of Blacks which cause concern to Whites is particularly that of lobola which transfers custody of the children to the lobola-payer's side of the family. It seems that Whites tend to view the institution of lobola in terms of their own value system rather than in terms of the value system in which the institution arose and in which it makes most sense. The stabilising factor of lobola in binding families together and the protection which it offers is often overlooked by Whites.

Lever (1978) believes that religious differences are not as important today as they once were (the derogatory term "kaffir" means "heathen" in Arabic) but the culture of Blacks include in part, a belief in a supernatural being. Lever quotes Mokitini (Lever, 1978, p.11) "in many cases the Africans have not grasped the real meaning and nature of the

church. Denominationalism became tribalism in a new form".

Some of the beliefs which characterise African culture are not shared by all Blacks. There are a number of Blacks who are completely detribalised and their members increase every year. The process of acculturation is proceeding predominantly in one direction. Blacks are absorbing the norms and values of the dominant White group.

Manganyi (1977) believes that the Black man's destiny is White. Kruger (1983) agrees in that Western culture has universalized itself and has forced most non-Western cultures to give up that which was really central to their own historical traditional being.

Manganyi (1977, p.113) believes that technocratic Western man has denied the reality of the vitality of the body. Through the process of substitution and compensation he developed a phantom body representation (sociological schema) which gave him a deceptive impression of wholeness and unity.

Manganyi (1977, p.144) sees the origins of alienation as the development of the devaluation of the body, the emergence of ambiguity and anxiety around the body and the general context of a symbol system which has been dualistic and two-valued. The colonizer was already alienated from his body by the time he made contact with Blacks - he institutionalized racism as part of an elaboration of this alienation.

In various historical contexts the scapegoating of the Black man were in complex ways coping mechanisms in an attempt by the racist to deal with

tensions that had developed as a result of psychic splitting. The White technocratic body had been polarized on the basis of "good" values (upper body) and "bad" values (lower body) - this split of the collective psyche required resolution. Good objects are generally internalized while bad objects are driven out of conscious awareness or repressed.

Manganyi (ibid) believes that it was the split in the collective psyche and the resultant tensions which led to the creation of the negative sociological body schemata of the Black man. The Black man became the repository of the bad-values of the lower pole of the White body.

The split between "good" and "bad" objects develops with respect to body representation during early development - through socialization the development of individual and sociological schemata of the body and the dynamic formulations of others reveal that there exists a complex fantasy structure which has supported both culture and institutionalized racism which has led to dehumanization in racist Black-White interaction.

Manganyi (1977) emphasises bodyliness which is dictated by the conviction that the devaluation of the body is one of the core elements of the alienated condition and the prevailing fantasy social structure which creates the scapegoat.

Kruger (1983, p.118) believes that the White person in general, and the Afrikaner in particular, feel threatened by the numerical superiority of Blacks. For the Afrikaner the only solution is to be in control of the situation. Kruger believes that the Afrikaner would not have felt so

threatened if he had not in the first place perceived essential differences in culture and life-style between himself and the Black majority. These differences form the basis for extreme prejudices (shared by all White groups) which cannot be overcome by mere intellectual means or by carefully staged political programmes.

Kruger (1983, p.117) in his article "The Africanisation of the White South African", juxtaposes "spiritually and creatively exhausted" Western culture and African culture where "God, ancestors, man, animal and plant are part of an unbroken chain of being" and poses the question "Could we not have a serious look at African and see what aspects of it can be incorporated with the spiritual dimension of an emergent new life-style in South Africa".

Kruger's main thesis is that South Africans should try to understand what is happening to contemporary Western man. Western culture has universalised itself and has forced other cultures to give up their own historical and traditional concerns and to adapt the Western extenuating, alienating way of construing reality.

Kruger's thesis further postulates that Western culture is spiritually and creatively exhausted and can no longer provide the solution to the problems that have been brought about by the Western technocratic culture.

Kruger's final thesis is that South Africans as rational thinking people should examine the meeting and merging of Western and non-Western culture and to see to what extent South Africa can give creative answers to our

problems within our context, drawing both the European experience and the creative potential and possibilities of the African context.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 The Phenomenological Approach

What is being attempted in the present thesis is a direct analysis of the psychological meaning of naive descriptions of personal experience provided by different individuals in situations that are easily recognizable as belonging to everyday life.

Giorgi (1985) believes that psychologists as human beings living in the everyday world are not foreign to the kind of experiences being provided by the subjects, within relative social and cultural contexts. Such things as thinking, learning, depression, anger, loving, caring and others are phenomena both individually experienced and perceived in others at one time or another. In everyday life, certain practical ways of perceiving, understanding and dealing with such phenomena are developed, but these pragmatic modes of coping do not have the clarity, precision or systematization of a scientific perspective. Nor are they necessarily completely nor exclusively psychological as they are lived although psychological aspects are almost always included.

The science of psychology wants to understand these everyday phenomena in its own terms and in a more precise way. Since its commitment to become a natural science, psychology has historically and primarily attempted to gain this precision and systematization with either a laboratory setting or one type of quantitative measurement or another. In doing so, Giorgi (1985), believes that many important aspects of these phenomena "as lived and experienced" were either overlooked or severely distorted because the

methods of the natural science were invented primarily to deal with phenomena of nature and not experienced human phenomena.

The purpose of the method used in the present thesis attempts to do justice to the lived aspects of human phenomena. To do so one has to know how someone actually experienced what has been lived. This means that a description becomes necessary when it is possible to get one.

While there are still many unsolved problems surrounding the use of descriptions in psychological research, the overall assumption of this thesis is that a qualitative analysis of description can yield psychological insight of a value at least equal to what quantitative approaches yield, although different in character and style. Giorgi (1985) argues the case for descriptions - he believes that descriptions pervade science. Articles containing verbal descriptive results appear in major scientific journals. Interpretation and discussion sections of scientific articles communicate their ideas through language. Interviews presupposes information that is communicated linguistically. Certain aspects of psychology, such as therapies basically consist of descriptions. Thus descriptions have pervaded and continue to pervade psychology.

For Giorgi (1985) the primary issue does not seem to be the fruitfulness of description, but what one does after the descriptions are obtained. The sections that follow in the thesis specify the procedures that are used and indicate the types of findings that emerge from the application of a qualitative method to descriptions. Giorgi (1985) believes that

there are many possible ways of doing phenomenological research, depending upon the type of phenomena being researched and the interests of the investigation - many variations within the framework of the fundamental approach are possible. The method must always dialogue with the subject matter and vice versa.

According to Giorgi (1985) one cannot help but notice that there is a lopsided development in the realm of psychological methods. Psychology is ultra-sophisticated with respect to progress in quantitative method, but aren't other procedures available? Before accepting the position that no other options are possible, it is important to see whether such a decision is indeed the only possible one. The critical question is the following one: Does it ever make sense in psychology to pose a qualitative question? For example, is it meaningful to ask "why" a person has an interracial love affair as well as "what is it like" to have an interracial love affair?

It seems that both aspects of the question make sense and that psychology should endeavour to find a way to answer this type of question systematically and rigorously. Some qualitative procedure that could answer such a question in depth is necessarily because transformation into quantitative scales cannot do it. Phenomenology is precisely the approach that tries to discover and account for the presence of meanings in the stream of consciousness.

2.2 A Phenomenological Method

A detached description of how phenomenologists in practice approach

research is beyond the scope of the present thesis. Here the phenomenological method will merely be presented as it was conducted in the present thesis.

The guiding theme of phenomenology is to go "back to the things themselves" (Giorgi, 1985, p.8) - for the phenomenologist one interpretation of that idea means to go to the everyday world where people are living through various phenomena in actual situations. Since the present thesis is researching the phenomena of interracial love, the researcher is interested in obtaining descriptions of interracial love. The subjects, after a brief introduction concerning the researcher's interest in the psychology of interracial love, are confronted with the statement "Will you please describe as fully as you can your experience of interracial love, whether and how it changed you life: how you came to be involved in it and how you see your future in the light of this relationship".

Because of the complex nature of the phenomenon of interracial love, the researcher had to go beyond the statement "Describe your experience of interracial love" - this was, however, the opening question in each interview - from there onwards the descriptions were in response to questions that arose from issues that emerged. In the final analysis, the essential point was that the end product emerged as a concrete description of the experience of interracial love. Giorgi believes that the means justify the end and that this type of method is completely valid as he outlines in "Phenomenology and Psychological Research" (1985).

The actual method contained various essential steps, expressed most generally, they are as follows:

- 1) The researcher read the entire description in order to get a general sense of the whole statement.
- 2) Once the sense of the whole had been grasped, the researcher went back to the beginning and read through the text once more with the specific aim of discriminating "meaning units" from within a psychological perspective and with a focus on the phenomenon being researched. Giorgi (1985, p.11) states:

"Since one cannot analyse a whole text simultaneously, one has to break it down into manageable units. Since it is a psychological analysis that we are interested in, it seems logical that the units should be made with psychological criteria in mind. Thus the meaning units that emerge as a consequence of the analysis are spontaneously perceived discriminations within the subject's description arrived at when the researcher assumes a psychological attitude toward the concrete description, and along with it, the set that the text is an example of the phenomenon"...of interracial love.

- 3) Once "meaning units" had been delineated, the researcher went through all the meaning units and expressed the psychological insight contained in them more directly. This was especially true of the "meaning units" most revelatory of the phenomenon under consideration. Here it was decided that two aspects were essentially relevant (as recommended by Professor Giorgi, 1987, while visiting Rhodes University) - (a) the experience of interracial love in Apartheid South Africa, and, (b) the universal experience of interracial love.
- 4) The researcher synthesized all the transformed meaning units into a

consistent statement regarding the subject's experience - this was referred to as the 'specific structure of the experience'.

- 5) The researcher synthesized all the specific descriptions of the experience into one general description of the experience. While the specific descriptions remained more faithful to the concrete subject and specific situation whereas the general descriptions tried as much as possible to depart from the specific to communicate the most general meaning of the phenomenon.

2.3 The Subjects

The six subjects were Jenny, Ben, Kathy, Ruth, Jake and Max. None of them were known to the researcher except Max. The researcher managed to contact the subjects through various sources of reference and enquiries. The researcher approached them to be subjects because they were all seriously involved in interracial love relationships except Kathy whose relationship had ended. It was decided to include Kathy as it became evident that her experience would be important for the study.

JENNY is a twenty-five year old White Irish born female. After graduating in Ireland she came to South Africa and accepted a teaching post at a private church school. Jenny fell in love with a Black teacher.

BEN is a twenty-seven year old Black Tswana male who was born in Soweto. He has recently joined an all White legal firm and after completing his articles, wishes to practise as a lawyer. Ben is romantically involved with a White university lecturer.

KATHY is a twenty-one year old White Zimbabwean born female. Her parents were actively involved in the Rhodesian Army before the fall of the Smith Government. Kathy is a first year university student and had a short but significant love affair with a Black student.

RUTH is a twenty-four year old Black Zulu female graduate who lives with her American executive husband in an independent homeland. Within the next few years they plan to move permanently to America.

JAKE is a forty year old White British male Masters degree graduate who has been married to a Sotho woman for eight years. They have a child and live in an independent homeland.

MAX is a thirty year old Black Tswana male third year university student. He intends following a career in geology. Max is involved in an interracial love relationship with a White teacher.

CHAPTER 3 RESULTS

The results are presented as follows:

Each naive description of the experience of interracial love of each subject is followed by a qualitative analysis. In the qualitative analysis meaning units were discriminated (left-hand column). These discriminated meaning units were then expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love (middle column). These discriminated meaning units were then also expressed more directly in psychological language with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love situated in Apartheid South Africa (right-hand column). The qualitative analysis of each description was then again synthesised into a specific description of a situated structure of interracial love. A general description of the structure of interracial love was arrived at by integrating the insights obtained from the six specific descriptions. (Note that only Jenny, Ben and Kathy's qualitative analysis will be fully presented while those of Ruth, Jake and Max will be presented in the Appendix).

A. Naive Description, Qualitative Analysis and Specific Description of Situated Structures of Interracial Love.

JENNY: (a) A Naive Description of the Experience of Interracial Love.

R. Describe your experience of interracial love.

S. I was completely ignorant I really didn't see him as a Black person, he was a teacher. When he offered to take me out I thought this was great, it was a chance to see South Africa - it developed from that, its now about two years later. I am now beginning to see that he is a Black guy and that there are many problems - if I had known in advance some of these difficulties I wouldn't just have drifted into it.

I now came to the realization that it is because I came from a non-racist society and I now find myself living in a racist society.

Initially there was conflict, I could not understand why I could not freely go into the township with him - I now realize I am in South Africa and things are like this - its such a different world - these vast differences really annoyed me but I now realize I have to make adjustments - in the beginning I wasn't going to accept or adjust to anything.

R. Describe what you were like before the experience of interracial love.

S. Before I just thought I must do something to change my life - I never took any interest in Ireland's political set up. I had a reasonable social life, friends, beer, I knew nothing about South Africa. When I arrived here I still didn't want to know anything about it - but gradually I became interested - change, socially aware - It has

been a broadening experience even though I fought against accepting this thing - at first I could not understand why we could not do the normal things couples do - but a few months ago I realized I would have to change, it was no good bumping my head against a brick wall - during this time I went through a crisis period and started drinking caused by this frustration - because I did not understand the situation.

R. Describe what motivated you to go into this relationship?

S. In the beginning it was not a very noble motivation - I was lonely, it was Christmas. I did not even like him very much I thought he was cocky and domineering, but he invited me out, I thought I may as well go - I am in Africa so what the hell - then it just started.

R. Describe what gave you that potential, ability to enter into a relationship of this nature?

S. I suppose I always had an inquisitive nature; I have been fascinated by other cultures - I have always wanted to know more about them - what made it easy to go out with him was knowing him for five months before we went out - then I did not see him as a Black guy - it certainly wasn't a problem - he was foreign to me, but interesting and intellectual, I thought I could learn from him, he could answer my questions.

R. Describe what you have discovered about yourself in Africa.

S. Originally I had an unrealistic picture of Africa - In Kimberley I saw luxurious homes, this is not what I had imagined - the first night I spent in the township with him, going to the outside loo I realized I am now really in Africa, also sitting around in shebeens with people drinking. Strangely, I also went out with White folk to their posh houses - but conversation was stiff I could not relate, I never went

back - the small houses in the township were much warmer and welcoming. It felt more Irish and at home.

R. Do you find Africans are more in touch with their feelings, with reality, more open?

S. They are almost too much in touch with reality, they live too close to the edge - experience too much, dying and living are so close for example I went to a funeral of a small child, the mother cried that day but Monday she was back at work - also the stealing, for example his tape was stolen which he seemed to accept very casually - Relationships also, Black men have so many girls - I have been so confused, Black people look so much alike - I have not been able to really distinguish his male friends and their different girlfriends - I find it strange how they can just swop - to me a relationship is a big thing.

R. How do you see your future in the light of this experience?

S. Initially I never thought of the future, I never thought it would last because I was convinced that all Black men were basically liars in terms of boy-girl relationships - he could have been with one girl one night and then come to me the following night - and he would of course deny anything to the contrary - this aspect I found very disturbing - casual sex is alien to me.

R. How do you feel about this type of thing right now?

S. I am battling to get used to it - understanding it. His friends cheat on their girlfriends. If they can do this then he can do things behind my back in Grahamstown. I felt depressed and sulked - to accept this sort of thing is difficult - I do not know if I'll ever manage it. It may be a socially forced type of thing - economics - mining labour force without women - laws and economics separate husbands and wives hence the need for girlfriends - also what about the tradition of many

wives for one man - maybe this sort of cultural thing will not change.

R. Come back to the question of your future.

S. Its hanging in the balance because I do not believe what he says - but something has happened recently that has made me realize that I could still love this guy despite all that - so I now pretend to trust him - for the relationship's sake, it is essential that I trust him.

R. What cultural differences are there, and how do you cope with them?

S. For example, this weekend we went to Johannesburg, we stayed in a very crowded flat, one of his friends looked at me and said I am hungry, I felt like saying so I am, let's go to a restaurant, Black men expect women just to do things for them. My problem is I cannot cook. Girlfriends make food just appear as if by magic. I mean at home, people (visitors) used to get a cup of tea if they were lucky.

Another example - initially I used to work at night and one of the guys used to drive me home, sometimes we would pop into a hotel for drinks - he saw us and it was as if he had caught us in bed - because I was his woman he expected me to stay at home - I was shocked at his reaction.

Another example we had a lot of problems in February - we almost broke up in February, he was convinced that someone had put a curse on him - he thought and was convinced that someone he knew had gone to a witchdoctor - Initially I thought this was just an excuse, but thinking about it carefully its not so far removed from Ireland where it is believed that someone can put an evil-eye on you and your luck can change - so I am open to believe in witchdoctors - So I have actually encouraged him to see a witchdoctor to rid himself of anything that could be harmful to our relationship - it has cost R500.

R. What is so special about this relationship for you - where does the

specialness lie?

S. I feel he loves me - back home I had been engaged but it was something that everybody expected and did - I am glad that I managed to get out of that - that is why it is special to me. I can feel a sense of specialness but I cannot rationalize it, the love between us is great and special.

R. The African lives a more bodily world, it is reflected in dance, ways, spontaneity holding hands, touching. Do you think that through him you have discovered your bodyliness - do you live more of a bodily life?

S. Over the weekend we went to Johannesburg - to a flat which was very crowded, we were all sleeping on the floor, one of the girls wanted a shower so she undressed and in a naked state went to the bathroom - I also felt like a shower but when I proceeded to put a towel round me, he started laughing, I told him I didn't think that I could walk around naked. I felt self-conscious - but Black people are not as self-conscious about their bodies - but now I don't feel embarrassed to sleep with him while others are in the same room - also I now go to the loo in front of him. Also with music he dances spontaneously, at first I thought he was in love with himself - it turned me off. After a long time I realized that this is just what is done - slowly I have also started dancing with less restrictive feelings.

R. What about sexual aspects of your relationship?

S. He was only the second guy I went to bed with. I used to have a big problem possibly because of a Catholic background which emphasized the badness of sex, so sex never really happened. In Ireland people mostly get very drunk and then go to bed and nothing happens. My first night with him was quite a shock because we had been drinking and even

though I suffered a tightening of the vaginal muscles and thought he would never get in even if he tried, but it just sort of happened - I feel I have grown sexually. I was quite worried at one stage because there was a time where I just couldn't stop thinking of sex - but things have sort of eased off I think it was the novelty.

R. Have you grown in this relationship?

S. An acceptance which is so blessed - before there was so much frustration - you cry, drink, smoke - weekend boozing binges. I am trying to change - I think I am less selfish, I am more accommodating and less obviously jealous - I used to be so jealous of Black women with their lovely faces and skins.

R. Is there anything else that you can think about which would be useful for my thesis?

S. The Black people's acceptance of children is also different from my own - my sister fell pregnant at an early age and my father nearly went for the shot-gun, it was like the end of the world, I was young and also thought it was terrible, how could she have done such a thing - Black women have children from different men - I have got used to it now - he has a child with another woman and there is still a feeling of resentment and even feel guilty for feelings of resentment.

(b) Qualitative Analyses

Discriminated meaning units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based upon perspectives that description was an example of interracial love.

Discriminated meaning units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to relevance for the phenomenon of interracial love.

Discriminated meaning units expressed directly in psychological language with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love situated in Apartheid South Africa.

1.S's experience of interracial love is that she was completely ignorant and did not see him as a Black person.

1. Initially S experienced interracial love through ignorance of racial issues which opened up the possibility of un-selfconscious interaction with people who have a different skin colour.

2. S's lover was a teacher. When he offered to take her out S thought this was great, it was a chance to see South Africa. It developed from that.

2. The initial interaction took the form of an invitation to S for a date with a Black teacher, it opened up opportunities for S to explore the country with a citizen

of that country in which she was a new
comer.

3. It is now about two years later and S
is beginning to see that he is a Black guy
and that there are many problems.

3. Through experience of a society in
which race is an issue, S discovered
that her lover was "Black" as opposed to
her being "White" and came to be aware of
difficulties.

3. In a society where race is an
issue, people experience
difficulties.

4. If S had known of some of these diffi-
culties in advance, she wouldn't just have
drifted into it.

4. S would have avoided interracial
interaction if she had been aware of the
difficulties she would have to face.

4. Apartheid society led to S
contemplating being inauthentic
and unfree in order to avoid the
problems of being free in an un-
free society.

5. S comes to the realization now because
she believes that having come from a non-
racist society and finding herself now

5. The experience of interracial love in
a racist society results in a state of
incongruity between S's self-concept and

5. Apartheid society leads to the
narrowing of personal freedom.
It is difficult to be free in an

situated in a racist society has brought her life's experiences - this engenders unfree society.
about conflict. S could not understand why feelings of conflict and tension.
she could not freely go into the township
with him. S now realizes that she is in
South Africa and things are like this, for
S it is a different world.

6. These vast differences really annoyed S but she now realizes that she will have to make adjustments - in the beginning S wasn't going to accept or adjust to anything.

6. S has gained the perspective that adjustments in the face of experience is essential. The lived nature of the interracial relationship has to be evaluated and adjusted in the face of S's experience of society.

6. In an Apartheid structure, interracial lovers experience the attitudes of society which questions the experience of having people of other races as meaningfully present.

7. Before the experience of interracial love, S thought that she must do something to change her life. S never took any interest in Ireland's political set up.

7. Politics had never been a lived reality for S, but through being forced to reflect on her own once taken for granted meaningful relationships because of political

S had a reasonable social life, friends and issues, S becomes socially aware. lover. S knew nothing about South Africa. When S arrived in South Africa she still didn't want to know anything about it, but gradually she became interested, changed and became socially aware.

8. The experience of interracial love has had a broadening effect on S even though she fought against accepting this thing. 8. S has gained the perspective of a broadened horizon through interracial love eventhough she initially resisted interracial love.

9. At first S could not understand why they could not do the normal things couples do. A few months ago S realized that she would have to change, she believed that it was no 9. Initially S did not understand the implications of interracial love in a racist society. The experience caused a crisis for S and she realized that she

good bumping her head against a brick wall would have to change in order to cope
- during this time S went through a crisis with frustration.
period and started drinking which was
caused by frustration, because she did not
understand the situation.

10. In describing what motivated S to go into the relationship, she admits that in the relationship was not present for S. beginning it was not a very noble motivation. What was present was her own need for S was lonely, it was Christmas. Initially S did not even like her lover very much. She thought he was cocky and domineering, but he invited her out. S thought that she may as well go - she was in Africa so what the hell, then it just started.

10. The interracial nature of the relationship was not present for S. What was present was her own need for companionship and her need to have someone to show her around in the new country.

10. The Apartheid system denies the face of loneliness and a willingness to become part of Africa.

11. S believes that the ability and potential to enter into a relationship of this nature

11. S's curious nature created the possibility to be open to different

lay in S's inquisitive nature and her fascination by other cultures. S had always wanted to know more about them.

12. What made it easy for S to go out with her lover was that she had known him for five months before they went out. S did not see him as a Black guy, it certainly wasn't a problem.

13. S's lover was foreign to her, but interesting and intellectual. S thought that she could learn from him, he could answer her questions.

14. In thinking about having discovered something about herself in Africa, S believes that originally she had an un-

relationships.

12. Familiarity, as a person, as a similar human being paved the way for love which later became reflectively understood as human beings an interracial love affair.

13. Eventhough S experienced her lover as a "foreigner" the attraction lay in the potential for learning about the country.

14. S's true self is revealed in Africa, S experienced a bond between herself and Black Africa which somehow reminded her Africa which has resulted in

realistic picture of Africa. In Kimberley of a "return-to-home". S alienation from the "heart-of- saw luxurious homes, this is not what she experienced a sense of alienation from Africa. had imagined. The first night she spent in that part of Africa which was not really the township with him, going to the outside African. loo, S realized that she was not really in Africa, also sitting around shebeens with people drinking. S also went out with White folk to their posh houses - but she found conversation to be stiff and could not relate. S never went back (to the Whites) the small houses in the township were much warmer and welcoming. S felt more Irish and at home.

15. S finds that Africans are almost too much in touch with their feelings and with reality, they live too close to the edge, experience too much, dying and living are so

15. Through interracial love S has experienced the authentic relationship Blacks have with their emotions.

15. The Apartheid system denies the opportunity for Whites to really understand Black reality.

close. As an example, S describes how she went to a funeral of a small child, the mother cried that day but Monday she was back at work, also stealing seems to be accepted very casually.

16. S finds that relationships are different. Black men have so many girls, S has been confused.

16. Through interracial love S has experienced different norms which have resulted in feelings of confusion.

17. For S, Black people look alike. S has not been able to really distinguish his friends from each other. S finds it strange how they can just swop - for S a relationship is a big thing.

17. S experienced feelings of ethnocentrism,, enstrangement and difficulty of accepting Black norms of love relationships.

18. Initially S never thought of the future. S never thought it would last because she

18. S's experience of conflict with Black norms of sex clouded the possibility of a

was convinced that all Black men were future for her love relationship.
basically liars in terms of boy-girl
relationships. S believes that her lover
could have been with one girl one night and
then be with S the following night - he
would of course deny anything to the contrary
- this aspect S found very disturbing -
casual sex is alien to S.

19. S is battling to get used to it (casual 19. S experienced difficulty in broadening
relationships) and to understand it. S her horizon to the extent that it could
realizes that if his friends cheat on their girlfriends then he is also capable of doing found in other cultures. In the process
things behind her back in Grahamstown. This S felt depressed and withdrawn.
This makes S depressed and she sulks. For
S to accept this sort of thing is difficult,
she does not know if she'il ever manage it.

20. S supposes that it may be a socially forced type thing, economics, mining labour force without women - laws and economics separate husbands and wives hence the need for girlfriends - also what about tradition of many wives for one man - maybe this sort of cultural thing will not change.

21. S sees her future as hanging in the balance because she does not believe what he says, but something has happened recently that has made S realize that she could still love this guy despite all that -

22. So S now pretends to trust him for the relationship's sake. S believes that it is essential that she trusts him.

20. S came to realize that South African economic system of separation forced cultures to adopt alien norms - once adopted these norms are firmly entrenched.

21. Because of an experience not specified by S, S feels that she could continue to love the person despite important differences in their perspectives regarding relationships.

22. S thus pretends to trust him in order to maintain the relationship and feels that she must trust him in order for the relationship to grow beyond the uncertain

20. The Apartheid system of separation forces cultures to adopt different norms which become entrenched.

unsteady stage the relationship is in.

23. As an example of cultural differences S describes a weekend when she and her lover went to Johannesburg. They stayed in a very crowded flat and one of his friends looked at her and said I am hungry. S felt like saying that she was also hungry and that they should go to a restaurant. Black men expect women just to do things for them. S explains that part of the problem is that she cannot cook. S says that girlfriends make food appear as if by magic. At S's home people (visitors) used to get a cup of tea if they were lucky.

24. S cites another example. Initially when S used to work at night, one of the guys used

24. S experiences cultural differences in interracial interaction. S had difficulty in coming to terms with her experience of the dominating sexist attitude of Black males. S experiences cultural differences in interracial love situations. S has

to drive her home, sometimes they would pop into an hotel for drinks - once S's lover saw them and it was as if he had caught them in bed, because S was his woman he expected S to stay at home. S was shocked at his reaction.

25. Another example of cultural differences, S remembers that they experienced a lot of problems in February. S and her lover almost broke up, he was convinced that someone he knew had put a curse on him by going to a witchdoctor.

26. Initially S thought this was just an excuse, but after some thought S realizes that its not so far removed from Ireland where it is believed that someone can put an

difficulty in coming to terms with her experience of the possessive and untrusting nature of Black males.

25. S experiences cultural differences in interracial love situations. Initially S had difficulty in accepting her lover's belief in witchcraft.

26. S realized that the possibility of witchcraft was not as alien to her as she first imagined. S's Irish background had paved the way for the reality of the

evil eye on you and your luck can change - so S is open to belief in witchdoctors. S has actually encouraged her lover to see a witchdoctor to rid himself of anything that could be harmful to their relationship - this has cost them R500.

27. For S, the specialness of the relationship lies in the fact that she believes that he loves her. Back home S had been engaged but it was something that everybody expected and did - S is glad that she managed to get out of that, that is why it is special to her. S can feel a sense of specialness but cannot rationalize it, she feels that the love between them is great and special.

28. S believes that she has discovered a

supernatural S found common ground in her own cultural background which freed her to accept one of the cultural differences she initially had to contend with.

27. S's experience of interracial love has been that of a love that allowed her to be more authentic. It is a love she lives but finds hard to reason out and which also did not merely follow expectations of others.

28. Through interracial love S experiences

sense of bodyliness because of the relationship, she describes the time that she and her lover went to Johannesburg to a flat which was very crowded, they were all sleeping on the floor. One of the girls wanted a shower so she undressed and in a naked state went to the bathroom. S also felt like a shower and proceeded to put a towell round her, S's lover started laughing. S told him that she didn't think that she could walk around naked. S felt self-conscious. S believes that Black people are not as selfconscious about their bodies. Lately S does not feel embarrassed to sleep with him while others are in the same room, also S now goes to the loo in front of him. Also with music S knows that he dances spontaneously, at first she thought that he

a discovered sense of authentic bodyliness. S has learnt to live more through her body and to become less selfconscious of her body, in the same way that Blacks do. This is also lived out in terms of her realizing her potential for less restricted and less inhibited dancing.

was in love with himself, it turned her off. After a long time S realized that this was the done thing - slowly she also started dancing with less restrictive feelings.

29. S's lover was the second guy that S went to bed with. S used to have a big problem, possibly because of a Catholic background which emphasized the badness of sex, so sex never really happened. S experienced in Ireland that most people get very drunk and then go to bed and nothing happens.

30. S's first night with her lover was quite a shock for her because they had been drinking and even though she suffered a tightening of the vaginal muscles and thought that he would never get in even if he tried, but for

29. Before the experience of interracial love S experienced sex in a negative restrictive way.

30. Through the experience of interracial love S has gained sexual maturity.

S it just sort of happened. S feels that she has grown sexually.

31. S was quite worried at one stage because there was a time where she just couldn't stop thinking of sex - but things have sort of eased off. S thinks it was the novelty of interracial love S became overly sexually aware - but as time went on she gained sexual stability.

32. S believes that she has grown in the relationship in terms of an acceptance which is so blessed. Before there was so much frustration for S. She used to cry, drink, smoke and go on weekend boozing binges. 32. Through the experience of interracial love S has gained a broadened horizon of acceptance and accommodating which has dispelled negative emotions.

Now S is trying to change - she thinks that she is less selfish. S now sees herself as more accommodating and less obviously jealous. S used to be jealous of Black women with their lovely faces and skins.

33. S believes that Black people's acceptance of children is different from her own. S cites the example of the time that her sister fell pregnant at an early age and her father nearly went for the shot-gun. For S it was like the end of the world, S was young and also thought it was terrible and questioned as to how she could have done such a thing. S realizes that Black women have children from different men. S has got used to it now. S's lover has a child with another woman and there is still a feeling of resentment. S feels guilty for her feelings of resentment.

33. Through interracial love S experiences a sense of partial acceptance of cultural differences. S does not own the possibility of full acceptance, S feels guilty at her feelings of resentment.

(c) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love.

Jenny grew up in Catholic Ireland where marriage was expected and sex was perceived as a taboo subject. Jenny related her experience of Ireland as bland and routine and she did what was expected of her.

She had the potential to search for an authentic existence through her curious nature and the desire to overcome ignorance. Her feelings of unfulfilledness demanded that she search for authenticity in a foreign environment, in a society that was closer to its roots, 'being' as different in a particular way to match her own historical need of superficiality and a lived empty technocratic society.

She went to Africa where interracial love became possible through her potential for wanting to learn about the country and feelings of loneliness and her need for companionship. She accepted a date with a Black teacher whom she saw as a similar human being.

Jenny's true self was revealed in Africa. Sitting on a loo in the township she became aware of herself and was reminded of home. The immediacy of her Irish historical context was unfulfilling to her to the extent that she was living above her Irishness and it needed her to actually search for meaning in an entirely foreign context in order to have her own historical being revealed to her. Her past came to her from her future; it emerged out of the Africa that she was going into, her own being emerged from it. The difference between Ireland and Africa - Africa as a truly organic experience (as with the difference

between South Africa and Africa) is that in Africa, it was possible for her to live the potentiality she was searching to fulfil - hence she avoided White South Africa.

For Jenny, interracial love manifolded certain problematic realities - she discovered Black and White differences. She felt confused in the face of unacceptably different norms of love and sex. She could not adjust to dominating, possessive and untrusting Black male traits and strange traditions (witchcraft) although she did find common ground in her own background which led her to accept the possibility of witchcraft. She experienced incongruence between her self-concept and life's experiences - she felt that she would have avoided interracial love if she had known about the problems.

In the face of the experience, Jenny came to realize that adjustment was essential and possible so she continued to love despite differences of perspectives. She believed that the relationship allowed her to be more authentic in her 'being', bodily and sexually. She also experienced a broadened social horizon. However, it was evident that her broadened horizon of acceptance and accommodation was only partial in that she still felt resentment and guilt.

On the one hand she came to realize her potential self (historical Irishness) yet on the other hand she found herself in a conflict situation; she was not freely able to change to a horizon (as lived reality) of full acceptance (cross-cultural differences); she remained bound to her factual Irishness.

(d) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa.

Jenny came to realize that a society which considers race to be a major issue results in difficulties for individuals which could only be overcome through inauthentic means.

She experienced Apartheid society as narrowing personal freedom. Apartheid questioned the experience of having people of different races as meaningfully present to each other. Apartheid denied Whites the experience of Africa which led to alienation from the 'heart-of-Africa' - it denied the opportunity for Whites to really understand Black reality hence Whites did not see the 'full-humanness' of Blacks.

She came to realize that Apartheid caused cultures to adopt norms which were not originally part of their culture. (Example: Creating an economic structure where Black men were separated from wives and therefore resorted to 'sex-without-love' life styles which eventually permeated and affected the whole of Black society).

A. Naive Description, Qualitative Analyses and Specific Descriptions of Situated Structures of Interracial Love.

BEN: (a) A Naive Description of the Experience of Interracial Love.

R. Describe your experience of interracial love.

S. I have had more than one relationship across the colour line but these relationships were flat, merely physical sexual forces, but this relationship with this special woman, she is attractive and well educated; she lectured at the local university where I was a student - the way it started, I saw her on campus. We were interested in the same activities, sharing similar ideas and gradually there was that interaction, intermittent and continuous - then it just happened - we became close - then I realised this was not just physical when you feel you are used or using - for a man like myself who grew up in Soweto in a racially torn apart country like South Africa where stereotypes are embedded, we are taught that other people (Whites) are not people - they are different because they think they are superior - so we can't look at them in the same way - but people are slowly beginning to realize that we are all human beings. These White women that I used to jump in and out of bed with would be ashamed to confess this - they were the sort of women who see themselves as doing something for the rebellious cause, daring, so that one day they could say I even slept with blacks - these relationships were affectations.

R. Describe your motivation in having these fleeting affairs?

S. It was sexual and a venture to prove something to myself, to satisfy my ego, to explode the myth of white superiority, women are all the

same.

R. Describe this very meaningful relationship?

S. It is going far beyond being sexual, we share so many secrets, we advise each other, she shares my victories, we talk about all the normal things intimate people would talk about.

R. You have been able to go far with her, describe your experience.

S. Maybe because of the age factor involved, she is 12 years older than me - in my society it's taboo for a younger man to go out with an older woman - she understands and appreciates my immaturity and advises me accordingly - I tend to be impulsive - we talk a lot about my family, my parents are divorced. I am the eldest, I have to run the family obligations - she advises me on what to do. The relationship has helped me to discover that a person of a different skin colour is just a person - this took quite a while.

R. Describe your world before your love experience.

S. I saw the world differently - before this relationship I thought that Whites were all racists and they all looked similar especially facially - but afterwards White faces became distinguishable and dissimilar - I started realizing that not all Whites are racists - after the relationship I began to see White women as more racist than White males, maybe out of fear, feminism has not gained such a stronghold in South Africa as in Europe - both Black and White women still feel they are being used - Calvinistic society teaches that sex is bad, we are not even taught sex education at school. White women tend to be more racist (than White males) because when Black men make a pass at them they tend to feel offended - in South Africa great emphasis is placed on physical appearance and skin colour - the prevailing attitude is that

White is superior.

R. How does a Black person feel about this, is there a chance of him becoming alienated from his body - is there a chance of him despising himself.

S. No, not in the case where he has made a break-through.

R. Describe any possibility of personal growth in an interracial love relationship.

S. Oh, absolutely - you start to see beyond so many frontiers, your own stereotypes and short-comings, you start appreciating humanity for what it is - also we can move beyond the influence of our particular education - our education stresses economic needs in order to fill certain posts, it determines your life after the education period - the type of education we should be getting is how to live and appreciate other human beings.

R. How far has Western technological culture been responsible for this situation?

S. I would not only condemn Western culture but also African culture - from an early age on your culture determines what you do - all societies impose restrictions and limitations. Coming back to Western society - Plato said a just society is a happy society - I am not happy if I cannot freely make a pass at a White woman.

R. Describe the experience of this meaningful relationship.

S. For example, it has changed me - for example, sex is different, it's not just a question of fucking it is now an exchange of pleasures - emotionally it has opened up a lot of psychological dimensions I am now able to see myself in different ways - we talk and share experiences, exchange ideas - our future where do we go from here - we discuss how long is this relationship going to survive - it is a sad question.

We must be realistic; she is older than me - even though I can now overlook age in a relationship - from an African cultural perspective - I am expected to become married and have children - my mother does not approve of this relationship she also knows the type of emotional involvement in it, instead of going home for holidays with my brother I go away with her I am becoming the sort of rebel in the family - in this instance it has changed my life - perhaps it is also because of my growing up -

R. Describe thoughts have you had about the future?

S. We steer away from an in depth discussion - I haven't applied myself to it.

R. Is there anything else - external pressures or experiences you might like to relate - a very pleasant or unpleasant experience within the relationship?

S. One evening we decided to eat out at a game reserve (owned by an Afrikaner family). The owner is a client of our legal firm and recognized me, in the past he had never taken much notice of me, but let me first tell you that I have never experienced this with a Black woman but White women are more openly affectionate in public...

R. This is interesting because it seems that the type of bodily relationship is different to that of what you had with a Black woman...

S. Yes.

R. It seems as if your bodies were instinctively closer, your touch, the way you hug each other.

S. Just hugging, and being together and not having to have sex and to prove how manly you are. Also the actual sexual act, much more controlled, waiting for each other to come - this brings about an

understanding of how dynamic your body is, a self-understanding, some things you can do that you never thought you could do - applying discipline - Having said this there is no doubt that a lot of Black women because of exposure and education are developing in the same way.

R. Describe sexuality within your relationship.

S. It is more spontaneous, but its not because of the colour aspect, it is because of our emotional closeness, I see her for what she is, as being a person - sex is just part of it.

To come back to the question of the evening at the game farm experience - the owner felt offended, he may have felt that she was a betrayer - this goes for both Blacks and Whites - once my girlfriend was approached by my former Black girlfriend, her confronting her was inspired by race, the fact that the White woman loves me was not considered.

R. Describe a meaningful experience you had with your loved one.

S. One evening we went to a restaurant, came back a little tipsy, had a lot of wine and did the normal things lovers would do together.

(b) Qualitative Analyses

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based upon perspective that description was an example of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed directly in psychological language with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love situated in Apartheid South Africa.

1. S has experienced more than one relationship across the colour line, these relationships were flat and merely physical sexual forces.

1. S's previous relationships with White women were transitory sexual affairs, more so than love relationships.

2. S has a special relationship with an attractive and well educated woman who lectures at the local university where S had been a student.

2. S is placed in a "marginal situation" where education and attraction create the possibility of interracial love.

2. South African separatist laws attempts to prevent the possibility of marginality.

3. For S the relationship started when he saw her on campus and discovered that

3. For S, interracial love commenced through a discovery that he (Black)

3. The South African system denies the possibility of interracial mixing.

they were interested in the same activities and ideas.

4. For S there was gradual interaction, then it just happened and they became close.

5. S realized that it was not just physical where you use or are used.

6. S grew up in Soweto, situated in a racially torn apart country like South Africa where stereotypes are imbedded.

7. S was taught that other people (Whites) are not people they are different because they think they are superior, so they cannot be looked at in the same way.

and she (White) were similar (cross-cultural similarities).

4. For S, the beginning of interracial love was possible through gradual interaction and feelings of closeness.

5. For S, interracial love means more than physical attraction.

6. S is a product of a racist stereotyped society.

7. S was indoctrinated to believe that Whites were not people in the true sense because of their attitude of superiority.

6. South African society produces racist stereotypes.

7. The South African system socializes inequality which is based on White superiority.

8. For S, people are slowly beginning to realize that we are all human beings.

8. For S, the "humanness" of what was emerging became a reality, not only for him, but a possible reality for society.

8. South African society may possibly become more egalitarian if interaction between Blacks and Whites becomes a lived reality.

9. The White women who S jumped in and out of bed with would be ashamed to confess this - they were the sort of women who see themselves as doing something for the rebellious cause, daring, so that one day they could say I even slept with Blacks - these relationships for S were affectations.

9. S's current relationship is different from previous transitory affairs with White women who had sexual intercourse with him and were motivated by need to prove, through sleeping with a Black man that they opposed the current system.

9. The South African system breeds people who feel the need to prove (inauthentically) to others that they oppose the system.

10. For S the motivation for having these fleeting affairs was sexual and a venture to prove something to himself, to satisfy his ego and to explode the myth of White superiority.

10. S's motivation was similarly inauthentic in that he was feeding his ego by proving in this way that Whites were not superior.

10. The South African system cause feelings of inferiority (alienation) and in order to overcome inferiority people have to prove to themselves that they are not.

11. S found all women to be the same.

11. S discovered that Black and White women are more similar to each other than different.

11. The South African system does not encourage the discovery of equality.

12. For S, his meaningful relationship goes far beyond being sexual, they share secrets and victories and advise each other, they talk about normal things intimate people talk about.

12. For S, a meaningful interracial love relationship develops beyond sex to a sharing as in all normal love relationships. Love seems to transcend race as a physical dimension.

13. S believes that he has gone far with her perhaps because of the age factor, she is 12 years older than him, this enables her to understand, appreciate and give advice about his immaturity and impulsiveness. She also advises him as how to run his family obligations - S's parents are divorced and being the eldest has

13. S believes that because of his lover's maturity, (age) this love has developed, she is able to understand and advise him personally (immaturity) and on his life's responsibilities (family). For S, his lover has played a role in his other human 'relationships'. S's lover's involvement has transcended possible

responsibility.

cultural barriers to reveal a lived reality that is essentially human.

14. After a while the relationship has helped S to discover that a person of a different skin colour is just a person.

14. With time the relationship has brought about the discovery that people are no different despite differences in skin colour.

15. In S's society it is taboo for a younger man to go out with an older woman.

15. In S's (Black) society it is culturally taboo for a younger man to date an older woman.

16. Before the relationship S thought that all Whites were racists they looked similar. But the relationship has brought about the realization that Whites are not all racists and their faces have become distinguishable.

16. For S, the relationship has brought about the realization that Whites are not all racists and their features are physically distinguishable. For S, Whites become open for him, for interaction in individual/interpersonal terms rather

than in stereotypical terms.

17. The relationship taught S that White (South Africa) women are more racist than White males perhaps this is because of fear or because feminism has not had the opportunity to liberate women as yet (in South Africa). Both Black and White women still feel they are being used. Calvinistic society teaches that sex is bad, S was not taught sex education at school.

18. S believes that in South Africa great emphasis is placed on skin colour, the prevailing attitude is that White is superior.

19. S believes that those Blacks who have

17. S has gained the perspective that White women have been less accessible to meaningful interaction than White men. S assumes that this is due to fear, lack of feminism and sex education and Calvinistic influences - all these factors have generated racism.

18. For S, in South Africa extreme emphasis is placed on White skin colour superiority. S feels he has been discriminated against.

19. S believes that Blacks who have

17. There are many elements in South African society which eventuate in racism.

18. For S, a cornerstone of the South African system is based on the myth of White superiority.

19. Despite repressive South

made a breakthrough do not feel alienated nor do they despise themselves.

20. S believes that interracial love provides the possibility for a liberated personal growth, it provides the opportunity to see beyond so many frontiers, your own stereotypes and shortcomings, you start appreciating humanity for what it is.

21. For S, it gives him the opportunity to move beyond the influence of his particular education (Black education).

broken through Apartheid structures are able to move away from feelings of alienation and self-despising.

20. S sees interracial love as a vehicle for growth providing the opportunity for new horizons. Meaningful interaction and intimate interpersonal experience reveals the hidden and uncovers new realms for Dasein.

21. For S, interracial love provides the opportunity to develop beyond the influence of Black education. Meaningful interactions and exposure allows negative and artificial boundaries to be

African structures certain individuals are able to move beyond the system (and in so doing become more authentic and less alienated).

20. The South African system does not provide for the opportunity to realize individual potential.

21. Black education is an inhibiting force for the individual but which helps to maintain the status quo.

broken and for Dasein's potential to be realized/made real in lived experience.

22. For S, his education stresses economic need in order to fill certain posts, it determines your life - ideally education should teach how to live and appreciate other human beings.

23. S believes that both Western and African cultures determine what people do, all societies impose restrictions and limitations.

24. S quotes Plato (within a Western society context) "a just society is a happy society", but S feels that he cannot be happy if he cannot freely make a pass at a

22. For S, his education has been a determining factor as opposed to a liberating factor. It has covered rather than uncovered the shared nature of humanity.

23. S believes that all cultures determine human behaviour and limits the extent of Dasein's freedom.

24. S believes that his society is not a just society because he is not free to fall in love with whom he pleases. For S, his freedom has thus been artificially

22. Black education hinders rather than advances potentialities.

24. The South African system breeds an unjust, prejudiced society.

White woman.

25. For S, the meaningfulness of the relationship lies in the fact that it has changed him. Sex is no longer a one-sided physical pleasure but an exchange of pleasures. For S it has emotionally opened up a lot of psychological dimensions - he now sees himself in different ways - he is able to talk and share experiences.

26. S is able to 'talk about the future of the relationship'. It is a sad issue. For S the future must be dealt with in a realistic manner, even though he now overlooks age in a relationship it remains a problem from an African cultural perspective.

limited by the other.

25. For S, the specialness of interracial love lies in the fact that it has changed him. He has a heightened sense of self-awareness, understands the equality of sexual exchange and the importance of sharing.

26. For S, the sad future of the interracial affair must be dealt with realistically. He has personally moved beyond cultural barriers (age is one of them) but his society imposes restrictions. S, having overcome what

26. South African racist society does not provide a future for interracial love relationships.

He is expected to become married and have children.

was for him great intercultural barriers, in contrast, is still restricted by the factual reality of his own original social ground.

27. S knows that his mother does not approve of the relationship even though she knows the type of emotional involvement in it.

27. S's mother cannot accept cultural differences even in the face of the love for a child. (The older generation is culture bound).

27. The historical separateness of South African society is validated/lived out as real even by those who are not part of the "ruling race".

28. S realizes that instead of going home for holidays with his brothers, he goes away with his lover and he is becoming the rebel in his family - this S sees as an example of a change in his life.

28. For S, interracial love has broken the close bond he had with his family. For S, the breaking of racial barriers has meant great changes, some of which are reflected in relation to his family/historical past.

29. S steers away from an in depth discussion about his future, he hasn't applied himself to it.

29. S is unwilling to face his future as a reality for him.

30. S has experienced more openly expressed affection in public with a White woman than with a Black woman. Just hugging and being together and not having to have sex to prove masculinity has become important aspects in his relationship. For S the sexual act is now more controlled and understanding. The potential of this awareness is also to be found in Black women who have been exposed to education and development (Western style).

30. For S, interracial love has made the expression of love and sex more authentic. For S, authenticity is possible for all Black people who are prepared to expose themselves to change. S's understanding of sex has also deepened, as has his understanding of others.

31. S believes that his relationship is more spontaneous from a sexual point of view not because of the colour aspect but

31. S believes that emotional closeness has brought about sexual fulfilment and a realization of who his lover is, and

because of their emotional closeness, he has deepened his appreciation of her as
sees her for what she is, as being a person a person/as a human being.
and sex is just part of it.

32. S describes an unpleasant experience
stemming from external pressures.

32. Interracial love sometimes
engenders unpleasant experiences.

32. In South Africa, interracial
lovers can expect unpleasant
experiences.

33. One evening they decided to eat at a
game reserve owned by an Afrikaner family.
The owner was a client of his legal firm and
recognized him. In the past he had never
taken much notice of S. The owner felt
offended, he may have felt betrayed by her.

33. The Afrikaner feels offended and
betrayed by interracial love. For S,
the interracial relationship has thrown
his relationship with non-significant
others into relief - giving them a
different and altered physiognomy.
"The face" of these relationships alter
almost immediately.

33. In South Africa the
Afrikaner in particular is
experienced as prejudiced
against interracial love.

34. S believes that the question of

34. S believes that South Africans

34. South African racist society

betrayal applies to both Blacks and Whites. S's lover was approached by his former Black girl friend, the confrontation was inspired by race. Love was not considered to be an issue.

generally feel betrayed by interracial love which is seen as a racial issue. The aspect of love is not considered. For S even the "face"/physiognomy of his more meaningful relationships change.

see interracial love as an issue of race and not love.

35. S describes an example of a meaningful experience he had with his lover. One evening they went to a restaurant, went home a little tipsy and did the normal things lovers would do together.

35. For S, interracial love has the possibility of providing meaningful experiences in a way that may be lived in an everyday way giving depth to his ordinary existence.

(c) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love

Ben grew up in what he experienced as a racist stereotyped society where Whites were believed to be superior and where racial discrimination was grounded in Black education, Calvinism and feminism. Ben experienced a world of cultural boundedness, barriers and taboos where relationships were dealt with in stereotypical terms and even sex was politically motivated. He inauthentically fed his ego to prove that Whites were not superior. He lived in a society where people felt alienated and self-despising.

It is evident that Ben had the potential to search for an authentic existence. Motivated by the desire to work through the myth of White superiority he found living in a racist society disturbing and he wanted to move beyond it. He had to overcome his own feelings of lack of self-esteem because of the prejudice directed against him. His historical experience demanded that he searched in White women to overcome the 'Whiteness' of Whites and 'different-otherness'.

Ben found himself in a marginal situation at university where he felt less historically bound and had the opportunity, by means of gradual interaction and feelings of closeness, to be able to enter into an interracial love affair. Ben experienced his particular love as a vehicle for growth towards new horizons. Ben discovered that love transcended racial-cultural barriers and myths. Through love Ben discovered sexual fulfilment, sharing and caring, he discovered that the 'other' was a similar 'human'being, he was able to move beyond the

limitations of Black education. For him, the specialness of the relationship lay in the fact that he gained a heightened sense of self-awareness and authentic love.

Ben was unwilling to face the future as a reality - despite overcoming racial-cultural barriers he felt restricted by his own cultural-social ground. It is evident that on the one hand he became an authentic 'subject' through love - yet on the other hand he remains historically bound as a social 'object'.

(d) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa.

Ben experienced feelings of inferiority and alienation as a result of the myth of White superiority. Apartheid created inauthentic 'beings' as a reaction to racist stereotypes where historical separateness was a lived reality and was taken for granted. Apartheid ideology used institutions to restrict individual potential.

Ben experienced South African society in general and the Afrikaner in particular as prejudiced against interracial mixing - interracial love was viewed as a racial issue while aspects of love were forgotten - hence interracial lovers could expect unpleasant societal experiences and no real future.

Despite repressive structures, Ben experienced that people (marginal) were able to move beyond the system and were able to become more authentic and less alienated and were able to see the 'other' as human. He believed that interaction between Blacks and Whites would result in a more egalitarian society.

KATHY : (a) A Naive Description of the Experience of Interracial Love.

R. Describe your experience of interracial love.

S. This was not my first experience of a love relationship. Let me tell you about this one. We were good friends since my arrival at university and this affair is a recent thing and it only lasted a few months. If I have to talk about conflict I would say that conflict didn't really come into it because we were going out with each other, conflict had already been resolved when we were friends, conflict was worked through while our friendship developed. The conflict revolved round his racist attitudes, I don't like to consider myself racist but I suppose we all are to a certain degree and he would always say things like 'yes, you White people do this and that or you're not enjoying yourself with us (Blacks). I'm sure you would be enjoying yourself with other White people.' He couldn't accept that I was enjoying myself just where I wanted to be not where he told me that I should be. I resolved these issues by just ignoring him, I told him that he was talking nonsense and just carried on doing whatever I wanted to do and eventually he saw that and just accepted it. On my part I certainly didn't feel strange because he was Black, it didn't bother me but I think it bothered him. We used to talk about this, he used to say that people would talk about the affair and say this and that, he has two sisters on campus and he was worried about what his sisters would say and what his family would say and things like that. When we first started going out, I wouldn't say he wanted to keep it a secret because I wouldn't stand for that, but he wanted to keep it quiet as such, he

said it would look bad on my part because apparently among Black guys on this campus there's this thing that if you go out with a White girl it's seen in bad terms, any mixed relationship is viewed negatively, they can't accept it for being love and he felt that it would be damaging to me.

R. Would you agree with that?

S. I don't know, I don't think it would have, I wouldn't have let it bother me, I am sure people would have had something to say, but I have had a lot of that stuff this year anyway because I have a lot of Black friends, I didn't walk out and say right now I'm going to have a lot of Black friends it just happened that way. I play B S M sport (Black Student Movement) and I go to a lot of B S M meetings, so flack has always been there, this boyfriend thing is just a recent development but I had a bit of trouble like if I went to a party and I was the only White kid there I never had any trouble from the Black kids but the White kids would come up with things and say I was denying my race.

R. How did you feel about that?

S. I was pretty hurt about it, at one stage I felt terrible and guilty - they even set me up and framed me for taking dope and tried to get me into trouble, it was a hell of a story, they were so angry about it, this was the extent to which they would go - I just sat down and thought 'no stuff this I'll be friends with whom I want and no one will tell me how I should choose my friends'. There was also this thing in my res that I only talk to you if you have a Black face, because of this absurdity all the White girls didn't talk to me so I just ignored the situation and gradually they have come right and they are now as sweet as sugar to me. I found if you don't fit into this preconceived idea they want to place you into a pigeon hole and if you don't fit then they

don't know what to do with you.

R. It seems to me that you are prepared to rise above the pressures of society 'to do your own thing' - what gives you that courage, that potential, that possibility?

S. This may sound contradictory but I am actually a very insecure person. I am actually going to the Clinic because I have such a low self-image - I really don't know what it is because I really like people to approve of me so I don't know what it is, but I just cannot bring myself to dislike someone just because of his skin colour. I generally care what people think of me, but in this situation it is different. I will be friends with whom I want to be.

R. Tell me about your actual relationship.

S. He really decided that our friendship should go further, it never occurred to me, I thought we could just go on being friends, because he always just used to come and take me out and everything but it was always very platonic, we used to go out in a group of four and apparently he had been planning to start a serious relationship with me, one evening we went to watch videos and we got off with each other and it just took off from there.

R. Describe your feelings, your reaction.

S. I was a little uncertain because I knew what a racist person he was and I couldn't figure out his motive. I felt it would be easier if we were just friends and I think the problems I had with him were actually just because of him and not because of a racial thing, the things I didn't like about him you can't put down to race - with him there wasn't such a cultural difference because he's been to private schools and travelled overseas so he's not really a typical Black. From my side I

saw it as a personality clash, but from his side he saw it as a racial issue, he's popular on campus, everybody knows him, most people in B S M knows me, seeing everybody knows us and everything he felt that it would be too many people looking at us and wandering what was going on, he just felt because of these reasons we should eventually call it off, but I think we are still going to remain very good friends I don't think anything in our friendship is actually going to change, we just decided to stop going out with each other.

R. How do you feel about all this?

S. I was very angry about it, I discussed it with a friend and we both felt that he was stupid because he cannot rise above fuck you know its like the Government says you can't do it, so you don't do it and he is just fitting into their world - he is just doing exactly what they are telling him to do. I am really angry about it - it wouldn't have mattered so much if it was something I had done or if he didn't like something about me, if I had been a nagging bitch, that would have been one thing, but just because I have a paler skin than he has I was very angry about it.

R. Describe the quality of the actual relationship.

S. This is probably another reason why we didn't give it too much of a go because I don't think that the relationship ever really progressed beyond a very deep and close friendship and it took off from there and not the overwhelming passion type. It was a situational thing because we were friends and because we saw a lot of each other it sort of happened - during the actual affair we felt very affectionate, we experienced greater feelings for each other as compared to when we were just friends.

R. Tell me about the specialness of this relationship.

S. I don't think this was actually better than previous relationships, in fact it may have been worse because I think it was just a personal thing I felt I could easily dominate him and I didn't like that, he was always very laid back, this had nothing to do with culture or race but was a personality thing - he is like that with everybody, he wants to please everybody all of the time.

R. If this relationship had lasted how would you have coped with societal pressure?

S. I would have ignored it.

R. And from you family?

S. My God! I had no intention of telling my family because my family are Zimbabweans after all and I had no idea what my parents would have done, they might have pulled me out of university or kicked me out of the house, they might have done a number of things. I never actually thought of the relationship in the long term. I just thought of it in the here and now and my parents don't need to find out. So I suppose I went into it knowing that it would not last, also he is notorious for his quick little flings.

R. Describe cultural differences, did you learn anything from him?

S. Not actually from him, I've learnt a lot about Black people from my other friends, from girls, it could be because they are more like African while he's pretty Westernized as such. There were things like he doesn't like me to drink or get drunk, he also has the attitude like at a party he'll dance with me once and that will be it while he goes off and dances and I'm expected to stand around and do nothing - he had this funny idea of sexism, he has been brought up with the idea that men are wonderful and that women must take a secondary role, I don't know if

this is a racial or cultural thing, I haven't found this to be the case with White guys. Also in public he was not to be touched, but we are used to this sort of thing. I noticed he had a very rhythmic style of dancing, he used to say 'you Whites have no rhythm at all' - he has in actual fact taught me how to dance better on his terms. But in the actual love relationship I didn't find anything so very different.

R. Do you think this experience has changed you in any way?

S. No I don't really think so, If I've learnt about anything, then its about him as an individual - I think that if he could have let pressure get him down so easily then it could not have been so important to him in the first place.

R. If he had been able to cope with the pressure would you have been able to continue with the relationship?

S. Yes I would have, but even if he had been White because of what he was like it would not have lasted anyway - we were compatible as friends but not lovers.

R. What do you think gave you the potential to enter a relationship of this nature?

S. I think interracial relationships is a no issue to start off with - I am not a racist I see him for what he is and not the colour of his skin - I can see past his skin.

R. How did you grow beyond the attitude of your family?

S. I really don't know. I was actually brought up by a succession of maids and a male housekeeper with whom I really got on well with. We also lived on a farm for a while and I used to play with the little Black kids - it seems as if I developed an understanding of the African way of thinking, a thinking that is understanding, unaffected and logical - during my adolescence I was only exposed to Whites until I

came to university I sort of drifted away from Black people, when I was younger I could speak an African language fluently, but I cannot speak very well now and stuff like that which really bugs me - I just drifted totally away from Black people, when I got here it was just like a snap back into the past and I was just at home again. A lot of girls in res don't understand why I'm the only White girl who is accepted by a relatively radical militant Black circle who don't really like White people as a rule - if they like you they like you, if they hate you they hate at least there is no pseudo-liking like in Whites, this is what I like about them because you know exactly where you stand with them - they are very honest.

R. Describe significant early experiences.

S. Our male housekeeper was accepted as part of the family, he had been with my father before the marriage of my parents, after school I used to spend some time in his hut with his people, I used to get into trouble of course even with eating - I preferred mielie-meal.

R. Why and how were these things possible?

S. I always used to feel welcome. My grandmother had this huge loving maid who would place me on her lap and put her arms around me. Black people with children are not harsh or cruel but at the same time keep you in place - this is what I liked, my family were very quick with their hands, if you did something - you got a smack very sharply, whereas with the maids I never really wanted to do anything naughty I don't remember ever being reprimanded by them - our housekeeper was in certain ways like my father, he was concerned about me, he used to pull me out of bed in the morning and used to see to it that I ate my food - my father was always away in the Army. I never got on with my mother,

she never stayed at home to be a "boring housewife" she has had an accounting career. Our African maids used to tell me stories and African myths. I have one brother, I do not get on with him very well, he's an absolute little racist - he's been in Afrikaans-type schools.

R. What is it like for you to live in South Africa, a most typical racist society?

S. My parents are pretty racist, my father refers to Blacks as "Kaffirs" - of course when he says this we end up fighting and I end up getting into trouble - this has been with me at home so I don't find it difficult or different in society - I just got angry and made myself unpopular. I feel I cannot remain calm about an issue such as racism which is inexcusable.

R. How do you see your future?

S. This country will not remain racist for all that long. We are waiting for the revolution. But its a bit scary to think that far ahead.

R. How have you acquired this sort of outlook?

S. I always used to be very sensitive, I always used to see Black kids in the frozen winter without shoes and I used to ask my mother, but why? She used to say because they are Black - it just never made sense. I felt so sorry and used to take it to heart and couldn't ignore the fact of some of their poverty - I just felt that it wasn't right.

R. Describe the emotion of interracial love.

S. The only strong emotion was the fear of my parents finding out - "Oh God, my parents would kill me!!" But there was no guilt or shame.

R. Getting back to the relationship, what now?

S. We will carry on being very good friends, in the future we will see each other a lot, certainly most weekends - What has now changed is that

there will be nothing physical anymore. All the while we were friends there was this attraction, but I knew for various reasons that it would not work out, we had to prove to ourselves and just got it over and done with, got it out of our system. In future I will always be open to either Black or White guys. In fact at the moment there is one Black guy and one White guy with whom I'm pretty friendly with.

(b) Qualitative Analyses

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based upon perspective that description was an example of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed directly in psychological language with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love situated in Apartheid South Africa

1. It was not the first experience of a love relationship for S. S and her lover had been good friends since her arrival at university. The affair was the most recent one and it only lasted a few months.

1. S had experienced love affairs before her experience of interracial love. For S, interracial love had developed from a friendship situation (in a university context).

1. Friendships between people of different race groups develop where interaction occurs. This is possible in some marginal contexts, despite South African separatist ideology.

2. For S, conflict did not come into it because they were going out with each other, conflict had already been resolved when they had been friends, conflict was worked through

2. S did not experience conflict in interracial love. Conflict had been resolved during the development of interracial friendship.

2. Conflict, instead of being an absolute issue, as apartheid apologists posit, can be resolved through interpersonal interaction.

while their friendship developed.

3. For S, conflict revolved round his racist attitude. S did not like to consider herself racist but supposed that all people are to a certain degree. S's lover would always say things like "you White people do this and that or you're not enjoying yourself with us" (Blacks). He would be sure that she would be enjoying herself with other White people. S's love could not believe that she was enjoying herself just where she wanted to be and not where he told her that she should be.

4. S resolved these issues by ignoring her lover and doing what she wanted to do. Eventually her lover came to accept it.

3. S did not experience any racist feelings even though she lived in a racist world where she considered her lover to be a racist. S's lover could not accept that S was totally non-racist. S's lover could also not accept that S was comfortable with him as a person.

4. S resolved interracial issues with steadfastness and resolution which eventually brought about her lover's

3. Separatist policies can engender suspicion at a personal level, suspicion with respect to the honesty and integrity of people of other race groups.

acceptance of the possibility of S's "non-racial-ness".

5. S did not feel strange because her lover was Black. It didn't bother her but she thinks it bothered him. They used to talk about this, he was afraid that people would talk about the affair. He was worried about what his sisters and family would say.

5. S lived alone in marginal existence which excluded the "us" and "they" of race. S experienced her lover to be part of the world which concerned itself with racial attitudes of society and family.

5. Separatist philosophy, although developed at a collective level or a meta-level, is lived as troublesome at an interpersonal level.

6. When S and her lover first started dating he wanted to keep it as quiet as possible because he said it would look bad. Black guys on campus would disapprove, they would see it in bad terms, any mixed relationship is viewed negatively, they can't accept it for being in love and S's

6. S lived in a world where racial prejudice adversely effected the possibility of interracial love. S lived in a world in which not only were Whites prejudiced against Blacks, but Blacks were also prejudiced against Whites.

6. The South African Apartheid system has successfully indoctrinated separatism from "out groups".

lover felt that it would be damaging to her.

7. S did not agree with her lover, criticism would not have bothered her even though criticism would have been there. S has experienced a lot of Black friends.

7. S's experience had, for her, taken her beyond the stage of being overly concerned with criticism, and felt it difficult to agree with much concern.

8. S didn't walk out and say right, now I am going to have a lot of Black friends, it just happened that way. S played B.S.M. sport and went to a lot of B.S.M. meetings, so black had always been there. The boyfriend thing was just a recent development. S had a bit of trouble when she went to Black parties, she never had any from the Black kids but the White kids would say that she was denying her race.

8. S's experience with Black people was not the result of reflective choice, instead S found herself to be freely involved with people of other race groups, even in the face of criticism from Whites who accused her of denying her own race.

9. S felt pretty hurt about these accusations, at one stage she felt terrible and guilty - S felt that they (Whites) even framed her for dope taking and tried to get her into trouble, this was the extent to which they would go because of their anger.

10. S thought "no stuff this". She would be friends with whom she wanted and no one would tell her how she should choose her friends, S believed that Whites in her residence saw her as only communicating with Blacks. S believed the situation to be absurd and ignored it. Gradually Whites have come right and they are now as sweet as sugar to S.

11. S found that if people don't fit into

9. S felt that the extent of the anger expressed by members of her own race group was unjustified and extreme, and was hurtful to S.

10. S's resolution motivated her to rise above racial prejudice. Members of her own racial group came to accept her.

11. S experiences people as demanding

9. Apartheid creates the possibility of immoral and hurtful practices.

10. Some people are willing and able to make a stand against the way of life advocated by apartheid ideology.

11. Through classifying people

the preconceived ideas of Whites then they want to place you into a pigeon hole, if people don't fit them they don't know what to do with you.

conformist behaviours and if people refuse to conform then others cannot cope with the ambiguity.

in to various categories the Apartheid system breeds ambiguity and conflict.

12. In describing what gives S the courage, the potential and possibility of interracial love, she says, even if it sounds contradictory, that she is a very insecure person. She is going to the Clinic because she has such a low self-image. She does not know what it is because she likes people to approve of her. S cannot bring herself to dislike someone just because of their skin colour. S generally cares what people think of her, but she finds the situation to be difficult. Her resolution is to be friends with whom she wants to be.

12. S's search for security and self-esteem has motivated her journey into interracial love despite the conflict rages between S's authenticity and society's inauthenticity.

13. In describing her love relationship S says that it was her lover who decided that the friendship should go further. It had never occurred to S, she saw the two of them as friends, they had had a very platonic relationship up to that time, they used to go out in a group of four. S reveals that her lover had been planning to start a serious relationship with her. One evening they went to watch videos, they got off with each other and it just took off from there.

14. S describes her feelings (at that point) as a little uncertain because she knew of his racism and couldn't figure out his motive. S felt things would have been easier if they had just remained friends. Problems S experienced with her lover were because of

13. S experienced her lover as motivating the love relationship. S's motive up to that time had been friendship. The interracial love relationship began in a situation where they were intimately together.

14. S was suspicious of her lover's intentions at initiating a physical relationship because of his contradictory attitude in which he initiated sex with a White person when he was prejudiced against Whites.

14. The Apartheid system engenders ambiguity and contradiction in terms of a lived reality.

him and not because of a racial thing.

15. Things S didn't like about her lover were not because of race. With him there wasn't such a cultural difference because he had been to private schools and had travelled overseas - S feels that he is not typically Black.

15. S's negative attitude toward her lover arose because of his personality and not because of racial or cultural issues. S denies that race was an issue for her with respect to the relationship's failure.

16. S saw the problem in the relationship as a personality clash - while her lover saw it as a racial issue. Because of his popularity on campus and because most people in B.S.M. knows S, her lover felt that there would be too many people looking at us and wondering what was going on. Because of these reasons he felt that they should eventually call off the relationship but

16. S experienced her lover to be so personally locked into interracial/cultural differences that it motivated him to end the intimate aspect of the relationship, whereas, S felt the failure of their love relationship to be because of personality differences.

remain good friends.

17. S believes that they are still going to remain very good friends, nothing in their friendship is going to change. S and her lover decided to stop going out with each other.

17. Despite the hurt of love which was destroyed by racism S believes that a continued bond of friendship between her and her lover was possible and worthwhile.

17. The issue of race can be very present in the lives of people. Overcoming racism is a challenge for some people, a challenge that gives their life meaning, but which serves to frustrate such people if others do not meet this challenge.

18. S feels very angry about it, she feels that he was stupid in not being able to rise above what the government dictates, S believes that he is fitting into their world. For S it wouldn't have mattered so much if it had been something she had done, or if he hadn't liked something about her, but just because S has a paler skin makes S

18. S experienced anger because her lover was unable to rise above the limitations of racism. S would have felt less anger if the reason for the split had been a personal one. The issue of "race" was very present for S through the attitude of her lover.

very angry.

19. In describing the quality of the actual relationship, S believes that this is another reason why they didn't give it much of a go. S does not believe that the relationship ever really progressed beyond a very deep and close friendship - it was not a very passionate affair. For S it was a situational thing because they were friends and because they saw a lot of each other it sort of happened - during the actual affair they felt very affectionate and experienced greater feelings for each other as compared to when they were just friends.

19. S gained the perspective that the reason for the relationship's failure was due to the fact that the relationship never developed into "we" but remained "me" and "you". Even though they were very close they were never real lovers beyond the realm of physical intimacy. S experienced the physical relationship as developing "merely" because the two of them were "friends" - and the relationship never progressed beyond that level.

20. In talking about the specialness of the 20. The relationship was unsatisfactory

relationship S does not think that this relationship was actually better than previous relationships, in fact S believes it may have been worse because it was just a personal thing. S felt that she could easily dominate him which she didn't like, S found him to be very laid back which had nothing to do with culture or race but was a personality thing, S found him to be like that with everybody , he wants to please everybody all the time.

21. If the relationship had lasted for S, she would have coped with societal pressure by ignoring it.

22. S had no intention of telling her family because they are ex-Zimbabweans

for S since her lover did not meet S's expectations with respect to his personality, since S experienced her lover as being too passive a person - S denies that her lover's race was an issue in the failure of the relationship.

21. Societal pressure presents itself as a real issue that needs to be dealt with, one way or another

22. S was motivated to keep her inter-racial love affair a secret out of fear

22. Historically the Apartheid system has the potential of

and she had no idea what her parents would have done, they may have pulled her out of university or kicked her out of the home.

23. S never actually thought of the relationship in the long term. She just thought of it in the here and now and S felt that her parents did not need to find out. So S supposes that she went into the relationship knowing that it would not last, also S knows that he is notorious for his quick little flings.

24. In describing cultural differences S

of possible negative repercussions from her culture bound family. These negative repercussions constituted the possible withdrawal of support for S's own project. S lives the cultural demands of her history as a personal project.

23. S was aware that the relationship had no potential future hence her acceptance of her lover as a flirt and which brought about the lack of shared commitment with the family.

24. S's altered interracial/cultural

breaking up families. (Because people tend to live the cultural demands of their history as a personal project).

did not learn anything from her lover. S Admits having learnt a lot about Black people from her Black girl friends. S believes this could be because they are more like Africans while he was pretty Westernized.

25. S's lover did not like her to have a drink. At parties he had the attitude that he would dance with S and then go off and dance with other girls, while S was expected to stand around and do nothing. For S her lover had a funny idea of sexism, he had been brought up with the idea that men are wonderful and that women must take a secondary role. S is not sure if this was racial or cultural. S did not find this to be the case with White guys. Also

horizon had broadened before her inter-racial love experience began.

25. S pre-reflectively lived with contradictory realities with respect to her lover, since on the one hand S states she experienced her lover as Westernized, but nonetheless, still culture-bound enough for her to be angry with his chauvinism. S also experienced her lover as being a passive person, but, in social contexts being dominating in terms of his cultural tradition.

in public he was not to be touched.

26. S noticed that her lover had a very rhythmic style of dancing. He used to say "you Whites have no rhythm at all". S's lover taught her how to dance better on his terms.

27. In the actual love relationship S didn't find anything so very different.

28. S does not believe that the relationship changed her in anyway. If S has learnt anything then its about him as an individual.

26. S's own capacity for rhythm was made more present for S through her association with her lover, who's culture was bodily more in tune with rhythmic dance.

27. S experienced no great difference between interracial love and love within her own race.

28. Although S states that she did not "learn" much about African culture from her relatively "Westernized" lover, some aspects of African culture were made more real and more present to her.

29. S thinks that if he could have let pressure get him down so easily then it could not have been so important to him in the first place. S believes that if her lover had been able to cope with the pressures she would have been able to continue with the relationship, even if he had been White, because of what he was like it would not have lasted anyway. S believes that they were compatible as friends but not as lovers.

30. S believes that she had the potential to enter a relationship of this nature because she did not believe interracial relationships to be an issue to start off with. S does not see herself as a racist and sees her lover for what he is. S sees

29. S gained the perspective that committed lovers would love in the face of any adversity, those who do not cope fall by the wayside - this is a universal fact no matter the race or culture. Interracial/intercultural interaction can constitute a learning experience in which certain potentials are opened up and made real.

30. Dasein's authentic capacity for freedom for S was realized in the fact that she experiences no racist/cultural barriers and this opened up for her the possibility of intimate interaction with people of another race or culture. This

past the colour of his skin.

allowed S to experience her lover in a way that went beyond skin colour.

31. S is not sure how she grew beyond the attitude of her family. S was brought up by a succession of maids and a male house-keeper with whom she really got on well.

31. For S, Black people were historically present in a meaningful way, since early childhood S experienced Black caregivers to be loving and kind.

As a child S lived on a farm for a while and used to play with Black kids. S believes that she developed an understanding of the African way of thinking which is unaffected and logical.

32. During S's adolescence she was only exposed to Whites until she came to university. S drifted away from Black people. When S was younger she could speak an African language fluently, but now S can-

32. During adolescence S drifted away from the influence of Black people because she was separated from them and exposed only to White people. Familiarity with Black people had receded to beyond S's

not speak very well - this fact worries her. S drifted totally away from Black people. When S arrived at university it was just like a snap back into the past and she felt at home again.

33. S believes that a lot of girls in her residence do not understand why she is the only White girl who is accepted by a relatively radical militant Black circle who really don't like White people as a rule, if they like you they like you, if they hate you they hate you. For S there is no pseudo-liking like in Whites, this is what S likes about Blacks because you know exactly where you stand with them - For S, Blacks are very honest.

immediate horizon, but later exposure to Black people, brought them back into S's immediate horizon.

33. S realizes that members of her own racial group do not understand her acceptance by the "out" group. S has experienced the "out" group to be more honest and authentic in their everyday dealings with the world.

34. S describes significant early experience by remembering their male housekeeper (Black) who had been accepted as part of the family, he had been with her father before the marriage of her parents. After school S used to spend some time in his hut with his people. S used to get into trouble because of it. S even preferred eating mieliemeal.

35. S feels that these things were possible because she was always made to feel welcome (by Blacks). S's grandmother had a huge loving maid who would place S on her lap and put her arms around S. S experiences Black people with children as neither harsh nor cruel but at the same time manage to keep children in their place - this is what

34. For S Black people had been meaningfully present, and S felt at home in their company and at home with their traditions.

35. For S, Blacks had been meaningfully present in more positive ways than the presence of her own family.

35. The Apartheid system overlooks the fact that Blacks as domestic servants in a historically colonial country are often meaningfully present to White children as caregivers.

S preferred. S's family were very quick to smack, whereas with the maids S never had the desire to do anything naughty. S does not remember ever being reprimanded by them.

36. S saw Steven, the housekeeper, as in certain ways like her father. He was concerned about S - he used to wake her in the morning, and he used to feed S. S's father was always away in the army.

37. S never got on with her mother. S's mother never stayed at home to be a "boring housewife", she was an accountant. S's African maids used to tell her stories and African myths.

38. S has one brother and does not get on

36. S's father was not always present for her but she recalls the meaningful presence of a Black male housekeeper whom she came to see as a fatherly figure.

37. Black people and African culture were meaningfully present for S in ways that even her mother was not.

38. S experienced her brother (and

with him very well. S sees him as a racist. S's brother attends an Afrikaans school.

family) as racist who was bound to a culture with rigid boundaries.

39. S describes her experience of living in a racist South African society from the point of view that her parents are pretty racist. S's father refers to Blacks as "Kaffirs" - this causes fighting between S and her father which results in trouble for S. For S this attitude has been with her at home so she does not find it difficult or different in society - S reacts by becoming angry and making herself unpopular. S feels that she cannot remain calm about an issue such as racism which is inexcusable.

39. S lives in an ambiguous world. S experiences her family and society as racists, yet she sees herself as non-racist and different - the incongruency leads to conflict between her and her family and feelings of anger.

39. The Apartheid system brings about incongruency between the experience of self and the demands of society - this leads to a conflict situation.

40. S sees the future in terms of the

40. S is convinced that the future of

40. Some people believe that the

country not remaining racist for all that long. S says that she and her friends are waiting for the revolution - S finds it a bit scary to think that far ahead.

society is based on change as brought about by revolution. S is optimistic about the future of society but frightened by her own thoughts and does not feel at ease thinking so far ahead.

Apartheid system will be changed through revolution.

41. S believes that she acquired this sort of outlook because she used to be very sensitive. S always used to see Black kids in the frozen winter without shoes and asked her mother why - S's mother's reply was because they are black. For S this did not make sense. S felt so sorry and used to take it to heart and couldn't ignore the fact of this poverty. S felt that it wasn't right.

41. Many inequities in the experience of Black people were present for S which S believes broadened her interracial and cultural horizon in terms of the way Whites understood Blacks.

41. The Apartheid system/racist thinking is present for some people as unjust and wrong as are the manifestations of poverty and suffering within such incidents.

42. In describing the emotion of interracial 42. S's parent's attitudes were present

love for S is the emotion of fear - fear of the parents finding out "Oh God my parents would kill me" - she says, but for S there is no guilt or shame.

43. In describing the immediate future of the relationship S believes that she and her former lover will carry on being very good friends in the future they will see each other a lot, especially over weekends. What has now changed for S is that there will be nothing physical anymore.

44. For S, while they were friends there was an attraction, but she knew of various reasons why it would not work out. They had to prove to themselves and just get it over and done with, get it out of their

for her in a negative way, and S experienced fear and trepidation but no guilt or shame.

43. For S, all that remained was friendship. 43. The system reproduces itself and perpetuates itself.

44. For S, the urge of love had to be revealed and worked through in order to be explored in order to become free from it (or free through it). S lived it as an urgency to be free from it.

systems.

45. In future S will always be open to either Black or White guys. At present S is experiencing a very close friendship with both a Black and a White guy.

45. S lives as open to encounters with Blacks and Whites and lives this as freedom.

(c) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love

Kathy grew up in a world where she experienced Whites and Blacks as prejudiced against each other. Kathy experienced existence as conflict, she saw her family and society as racist while she saw herself as non-racist - the experience of conflict led to a lack of self-esteem.

She felt demanded to search for an authentic existence. In her past, Black people who worked for her family were often far more immediately and meaningfully present to her than her own family. Her father and mother were often absent and were not there for her. Neither was her culture there for her in an exciting and meaningfully present way as were the myths and legends and traditions of Black people. So her history demanded that she fulfil her life through someone who represented the life that was meaningfully present to her.

At university Kathy had the opportunity to develop intimate friendships with Black people. This was not the result of reflective choice, instead her already historically broadened horizon allowed her to be freely involved with Black people. Through intimacy and motivation on the part of her lover, they became lovers. Her search for security, meaning and self-esteem motivated her journey into interracial love. For her, the experience was taken up and explored in order to become free from it (or free through it). She lived it as an urgency to be free from it.

In the face of criticism from society, she experienced anger and hurt.

She came to realize that society demanded conformist behaviour and could not cope with ambiguity. She pre-reflectively lived with contradictory realities with respect to her lover, since on the one hand she experienced her lover as Westernized, but on the other extremely culture bound. From the onset of the relationship, she was suspicious of her lover's motives because she knew that he was a racist. She admitted experiencing difficulties in the relationship, not because of racism but because of her lover's personality. (He was not able to rise above racism).

Kathy saw no potential future in the relationship, hence her reluctance to share her experience with her family. She also kept her secret out of fear of negative repercussions from her family. She experienced the failure of her love relationship as stemming from personality differences between her and her lover. She felt that the relationship never developed beyond 'me and you' into 'us' and she also felt that societal pressure which presented itself as a real issue, was never dealt with. So Kathy's demand was not completely met because her lover was not ultimately a representation for her of what she historically sought - he was far too much like her in a sense (her racist family and Westernized society) that it was unfulfilling for her.

However, interracial love was a learning experience for Kathy. Certain potentials were realized. She gained the perspective that authentic love should rise above any racial issue. She became more in touch with her bodyliness, she was able to dance in a more rhythmic way. She discovered that there was no real difference in the quality of love of interracial lovers and members of similar race. She came to live as open

to encounter with both Black and White people and lived this as freedom.

(d) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa.

Kathy experienced living in a marginal context despite or because of Apartheid ideology. She felt alone in her belief that friendship between people from different race groups could develop where interaction occurred - some people were able and willing to make a stand against Apartheid ideology, the challenge gave their lives meaning. Kathy believed that race-culture interaction could resolve current conflict in South Africa.

She experienced that Apartheid ideology which was developed and controlled at a collective societal level was lived by many South Africans as troublesome at the interpersonal level - this resulted in misunderstanding, ambiguity and conflict.

She experienced South Africa as historically colonial which overlooked the fact that Blacks could be meaningfully present to Whites (Blacks as caregivers for White children).

She experienced Apartheid as manifesting poverty and suffering which she saw as unjust and wrong. However, Kathy was optimistic about the future because despite the system producing and perpetuating itself, she believed that changes would be brought about by revolution.

B. Only Naive Descriptions and Specific Descriptions of Situated Structures of Interracial Love.

RUTH : (a) A Naive Description of the Experience of Interracial Love.

R. Describe your experience of interracial love.

S. Its different, its the community that makes it more different but in our house it is just the same, I mostly forget that he's White - when we go out we have a problem. For example, when we went to Durban there was a guy who started being angry, he was vulgar, we tried to avoid him - basically the problem is caused by the community.

Around here people are used to us, they don't care, they are used to us. But of course there are people who don't like it - mostly Blacks, Black guys who think I'm a whore - when they realize we're married they mostly keep quiet - since we've been married most of the people realize we mean business - similarly with my folks at first they really didn't like the idea, but on my wedding day they were the happiest people - my mother often visits, in fact she is here right now.

R. Describe what you were like before interracial love.

S. Its a difficult question because I didn't love anybody then I wasn't in love, I had affairs, I had one close affair, the main thing is that I hate an affair where I don't have a say - everything a guy says has to be done because I'm a woman, unlike this relationship, my husband is understanding, there is a quality of trust that wasn't there before.

R. Describe your experiences of Whites before interracial love.

S. Before I didn't really care for White people, I didn't care for anybody who doesn't care for me that goes for both Blacks and Whites.

R. Did you ever see yourself as inferior because you were Black?

S. No I did not see myself as inferior. As a scholar and student I was one of the good girls round campus. I had a problem with fellow students, they used to criticize us and say we were always partying, we were always in trouble, also I used to have a lot of general male friends, a lot of girls didn't like me so I developed this attitude that I would do what I want I don't care what the next person says - when I was exposed to Whites and in dealing with the superior-inferior thing. I fought for myself and would never give the other one a chance.

R. Did you ever have a negative self-concept.

S. Yes because I was so very shy, I had a problem of associating I used to say, like a self-defensive thing, I don't care what others say, but deep down I did care, I was very reserved, sometimes I used to drink a lot to overcome my shyness, but now because of him and meeting a lot of people I am learning.

R. What has he done for you?

S. He made me realize that I can stand up to what I am and that I am worthy, I do not doubt myself, he encouraged me, I am still shy but less so.

R. Tell me about the relationship, what makes it so special?

S. The relationship is so special that it proves that there is nothing wrong with the two colours, Black and White can live together without problems - its special because people give it so much attention, everybody is looking, its not only special to us its as if others are also aware its special to them. Why should they care so much about it, nobody cares about the ordinary affairs but everybody wonders about this affair - its such a good thing.

R. It seems as if this relationship has taken you away from the ordinary and placed you both in a special category?

S. Yes, and I am proud, and I know there are people who say this is his wife, this makes me proud. In our home he cares for me more so than any other guy. The caring makes it very special.

R. What motivated you to fall in love with a White guy. What gave you the courage to have moved so far?

S. I didn't have that much courage myself, if it wasn't for him - there was a time when I wanted to pull out - not because he was White, but he made me see you can't run away from something - maybe because of problems at home, my home was burnt, my grandmother is a Trade Union leader she didn't support disinvestment, they believed that she was not with the Blacks, I also had pressure at school, my life was at stake, if he hadn't given me that much love I maybe would have died but he was so good to me it was worth the risk.

R. How do you see your future in the light of what has happened to you?

S. We have such a beautiful future, I would like to go into an accounting career, we will one day move back to the States with beautiful kids - I have a very bright future.

R. Tell me about your future kids.

S. Around here kids will have a problem, 'your mother's Black', they will be reminded, they will have to understand that with us there is no Black, no White, there are just people.

R. When you realized you were in love with him, how did you feel about that?

S. I was amazed, I didn't want it to happen, I was trying to fight my feelings, my problem with him was that he had to go to the States anytime, I was afraid that he would have to go back and I didn't see any

future in being lovers.

R. When you first met him...?

S. I was scared.

R. Describe your experience of cultural differences.

S. Firstly the company that he wanted, his friends that he likes to laze around with and my friends didn't really click and he was brave enough to make my friends accept him and he made his friends accept me. At first I was a bit scared and not very open with him.

R. Describe other cultural differences.

S. We Blacks have a string of relatives, he couldn't really understand this, he was surprised how we can be close being distant relatives, we have big extended families - with him only his parents and brother and sister are important - with me it is much more - also anybody has a say about me, with him he does what he wants to do - lots of distant family came here to ask for something like money, he does not understand why they should do that.

With respect to food there are certain foods that I cannot eat like sea food and snails certain food I eat he cannot even look at like tripe. One time we went to eat out, he always insists that I eat something different, so I tried I ate and I loved it.

R. Is there anything else?

S. He is not a fussy person he eats anything, but he never understood why I used my hands when I'm eating he was shocked when I used to chew bones. When I met him he was close to Blacks already, many Black friends, he understood Black ways he was into us, he was playing our music, he was dancing like us although we fight sometimes and I say you follow like this and that because you guys can't dance very well, but I

can't say there was something so different that I had to notice it.

R. Describe your sexual experience of interracial love.

S. I think now its O K. With my past affairs there wasn't a lot of romance in bed. The guy never cared whether I come first or wait for me so that we could both come - when I say I think now its good, it is because I am used to what he wants, all the positions which I didn't feel very comfortable about in the beginning. Sex in this relationship is better than with other relationships, it was for the first time that I met a guy that really cared for me especially in the fact that he waits for me to come, because most Black guys as long as they just get on top and come thats it - I love this part of the relationship.

R. Do you think that an interracial love relationship has the potential to open your eyes to make you grow to become more self-fulfilled - to expand your potential to make you aware of things that you would never have been aware of?

S. I really think so because in my subconscious mind I did feel inferior - but not now, I feel so comfortable I can fight him and tell him what I want to, I sometimes think is this really me yelling at a White guy. Or is it really me making this guy miserable if I did something wrong to him - it makes me realize that Whites don't really hate us, it is like any other person - sometimes it makes me feel so good that he loves me. I have become more honest, if I miss him I go and look for him, we trust each other, its not like in the past where this did not happen, one would be afraid to look for your partner in case he was messing around - I would never before go and look for my guy unless he was expecting me - he might be with another woman and I would be so disappointed, so to avoid surprises don't surprise anybody - but now it is different.

R. Discuss the relationship in terms of spirituality.

S. I was a religious person even before the relationship, but I have become closer to God even though I always believed anyway that we are all His children, we are all the "Children of God" so this relationship proves that we are all equal in the eyes of God I have lived up to God's will.

R. Is there anything else you would like to discuss?

S. I think we have covered everything but what you must also know is that there are a lot of things that happen in a Black-White relationship just as things can happen in a Black-Black or White-White relationship it is not a question of which relationship is better it depends on the individual person and whether you've got the right person for you - finally the most important thing is love.

(b) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love

Ruth grew up in a culture which she experienced as limiting. Black women were treated as subservient to Black men. Ruth experienced society as racist which cultivated the idea of White superiority. She grew up in a world where she experienced a loss of sense of her individual worth. She experienced no real give and take in love affairs. She experienced Black men as domineering who dealt out crude sex without love and care. She experienced no feelings of humanness for people she did not positively associate with. In the face of her culture and society she strove to be independent, she attempted to deal with 'superior' Whites in an assertive way. She attempted to overcome

her negative self-concept, her inauthenticity eventually made her turn to alcohol.

Ruth had the potential to search for an authentic existence. Her historical experience demanded that she overcome her loss of individual worthiness, her cultural servitude and the myth of White superiority. She felt these issues to be immediately and meaningfully present to her.

Initially when she realized that she was in love, she experienced shock and concern because she saw no future in the relationship, but through the encouragement of her lover she was able to pursue her drive in the face of obstacles. She came to realize that society's views about interracial love was different to her own, society emphasized racial differences between her and her husband, society expressed vulgarity and anger to the point of violence. She became concerned about the future of children growing up in South African society. Ruth experienced a difference between the racist values of society and the non-racist values within her own home.

Initially she experienced cultural differences through interracial love. Differences in mixing with particularly significant people, and different family structures and different habits and traditions. Ruth experienced a desire on the part of her and her husband to overcome differences - the paying of lobola played a big role in bridging cultural difference. Through interracial love she experienced a broadened horizon which understood and accepted and overcame cultural differences.

For her, interracial love was a learning experience, she came to view interracial love as no different from love between similar races. She came to realize that interracial love was accepted within the immediate social environment. (Those who are exposed to it eventually come to accept it). Ruth also came to realize that society in general and her family in particular respected the institution of marriage - marriage seemed to lessen the effect of race. For the first time she experienced trust and understanding in a relationship. She seemed to gain a sense of self-worthiness.

For her, the specialness of interracial love was the realization that it was not morally wrong, but right in the "eyes of God" - hence she felt closer to God. The specialness was also manifested through society who viewed interracial love as unique and different, which placed her in a special social category which she accepted with pride. The specialness of the relationship was also situated in "you-for-whom-I-care" aspect and through it she gained sexual fulfillment. Through authentic love she was able to be herself and gained the perspective of humanness of all White people.

She believed that she had a wonderful future filled with love, children and a successful career - this would be made possible by leaving South Africa and living in the United States of America.

(c) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa.

Ruth experienced Apartheid ideology as emphasizing race-culture differences which denied the possibility of interracial marriage as an accepted reality. Apartheid ideology ignored the importance of love which could free people from the limitations of race-culture boundaries.

She experienced the socialization of 'dehumanness' of members from other groups which developed negative self-concepts, which could eventuate in frustration, misunderstanding and violence. She experienced Apartheid as morally wrong - not only did it bring about conflicting values between society (as racist) and individuals (as non-racist), it certainly denied a happy future for interracial lovers.

JAKE : (a) A Naive Description of the Experience of Interracial Love.

R. Describe your experience of interracial love.

S. My general overview is that it is no different from my first marriage which was with a French woman and I've had probably the same kind of problems that I've had with my first wife, but I'm older and am able to handle any problems that have come up which I don't think were racially related. After the experience of interracial love I see the world in a different way. Before the relationship I was married to a White woman in Botswana, I graduated and went to Australia for three years, went to Botswana with my White wife, lived in a multi-cultural situation and my attitudes there I am quite clear about, I was quite prepared to work with Blacks but I did not see them as friends and certainly not lovers, in fact one case in point we had had friends, he was from Sweden and she from Lebanon, they had many Black friends and invited us all to parties and we found it very peculiar - at that time I found mixing peculiar - I had never experienced mixing before, at university we had one Black chap in our class, we felt that perhaps he was being helped through the courses I still feel Blacks are perhaps helped through courses - so we went to Botswana and were introduced to people at parties - at that time we felt that this wasn't perhaps normal, we said "they're nice but they keep inviting these Black people".

R. How did this attitude change, something must have happened?

S. What happened was that we had problems in our relationship - sexual problems, my wife had several abortions because of scarring, she had been the first woman I had made love to and we had a divorce - we

remained friends, when she left I started having a relationship with our maid - I was attracted to her, probably sexual attraction due to lack of sex and I got to know her and realized she was very clever and I put her through school (secretarial school) and she got a job, subsequently because of that, and I stayed with her for about two years and I was very close to her I didn't find her lack of education, she spoke little English yet at the end she spoke like I do and she very quickly picked it up because she was so brilliant - I didn't think that I would stay with her I was scared at the time that my wife would hear and there was a chance of my going back to my wife - also she wasn't very pretty compared to my wife who was blond, this girl was attractive and I like her, she thought she would be able to stay with me but I knew I would not do it - certain events happened, I separated from her because I moved to another country which was Lesotho. I think the relationship took place in a type of situational context. Yes I think it was any woman who was closest, it might have been another woman, I think it was a sexual need and loneliness and everything else.

R. The fact that she was Black, didn't it make a difference?

S. I don't know, I made love to her, I may have seduced her or whatever, maybe because Whites have this feeling about what a Black woman is like, we all have that dream, what is a Black women like, she actually turned out to be a virgin which I didn't expect but from the blood and everything else, then we became involved, I think people can become involved if they are in need of companionship and sexual companionship and I think if a woman can give you the sexual companionship that you want as opposed to the intellectual one and looking after the home and doing everything right, I think sexual

companionship is a very important factor - and when you get involved with sexual companionship its nice, its warm and its loving even if its on a different intellectual level - the sexual companionship thing takes over - this happens even in White-White, people get involved in relationships, people are lonely, not everybody can pick up girls whenever they like, when they do land in a relationship and its a good sexual one, sex takes over and companionship, one becomes close and the closeness becomes a bond - this bond will happen between anybody irrespective of colour, colour does not come into it.

R. Tell me about your current relationship?

S. I've been married nine years.

R. Describe the quality of the relationship.

S. The relationship started out roughly as my previous relationship on a sexual basis - In Lesotho I was a lonely man, and a White man, an immigrant coming into a Black country doesn't find White women - men generally want women, if you don't have a hang-up and you've been through it already you can go to bars and pick up women - I didn't have hangups at that point, I had broken through women were all women - I started getting the feeling that I preferred Black women, I was more attracted to them. I met my wife through a friend who was living for many years with a Black girl - I went out with her, she didn't want to go out with a White man because of the attitude of the society, it took a long time before we were together, we did go out socially in Black-White groups until we became lovers - at that point we were sleeping together but she did not want us to be seen in public mainly because of attitudes of parents and pressure from family friends and men, particularly Black men who call Black girls who go out with White men "whores" - It was a big thing for her to go out, after we started going

out together I didn't find any problems.

The love aspect of our relationship as far as I am concerned when two people have a sexual relationship do everything for each other, no matter the colour - its important to enjoy each other whereby you create a bond and you learn about them and their lives and their children - it may not always lead to a marriage - as an academic I was also enjoying the learning process I found the cross fertilization of civilizations interesting - In Botswana, the maid I had had an affair with, her father was a witchdoctor, she used to take me to the witchdoctor and the family and they accepted me and killed goats and did things and I would go with a Professor friend to their village and they would slaughter animals. I lived with them, carried water in buckets from wells, it was very exciting and intellectually stimulating, it also stimulated my relationship.

R. Would you say that your intellect and education opened up the possibility of these experiences?

S. Yes also my academic level and having broken through the initial race barriers I didn't feel that Black and White was an issue - however, I was in the back of my mind thinking "my God what are my parents going to say" - living in Southern Africa I knew I would have to play the roles and consider carefully where we were allowed to go together and where not - I also realised that social pressure was more heavily exerted on my Black women because of her family and her social context, I was nine thousand miles away from my family, there were less pressures I was a free agent.

R. Where does the specialness lie in the relationship?

S. Our child has really created the specialness, if we had no children

it might have been equivalent to a White-White marriage with no children - and I might have been able to go away. He is such a wonderful child, that reinforced it - the common denominator between us - the child is the link between man and woman - I love him so totally, without the child we would still be discussing petty issues - the sexual thing is gone, we have now got to an age where we realize as responsible parents that the love of our child is a unifying fact and we don't need to find other lovers or whatever.

R. Discuss initial cross-cultural differences between you and your wife - how you coped with these differences.

S. Initially there were not much cross-cultural differences because initially the relationship was based on sex - she had never before been out with a White man, she had a Black boy friend, I don't know why she was attracted to me, a White man - I do know that her mother who was a matron at a hospital came into contact with many Whites, also her father had friends - her family certainly didn't feel antagonistic toward Whites - yet they did feel their cultural situation was different and didn't think that their daughter would break out of that cultural situation.

R. For example, the question of lobola - how did the two of you deal with that?

S. I didn't believe in it and I wasn't asked to pay lobola directly - I took my wife to England and put her through an expensive secretarial course which cost more than lobola. We could have married before but I wanted to see how she operated in England, in a different cultural setting - she decided to go with me, she made up her own mind without the influence of her parents - so when we married we felt it was right for both of us - we discussed it together.

R. Describe cultural differences in raising your child?

S. No I don't think there are any cultural differences, both our attitudes are that we want the best for him, there are no cultural differences because of my high academic attainment, to some extent I am more involved in nutrition aspects which my wife accepts, she is totally absorbed in raising the child - last week when he had gastro enteritis she remembered medical things that I had forgotten - I am probably more scientific, she accepts this and does not go back to her cultural things as far as "I will treat him with muti as my mother did" - she is from medical families and is open-minded, if we have any medical problems we discuss them and go to the doctors at the first instance.

R. Describe societal issues related to your relationship.

S. I am not sure where I fit in or don't fit in as a response to my own personality or because I have a Black wife, in terms of inter-societal relationships I am a loner, my wife is extrovert she makes friends with people of all races at a level which I feel is somewhat below me - I don't think my relationship has affected my status in society - as a single man I used to go out a lot and was a member of tennis clubs and things but since marriage I don't feel that I have become a recluse because of the relationship but rather family centred - my father was also very family orientated. I do lots of the cooking, the garden and the cars and I don't really have an urge to go out to the golf club - but its not because I have a Black wife. I do notice that I don't get invited to things anywhere, but that may be because of my own personality, I have had vibes like that before - I believe I am a social person in certain ways, but I'm always talking politics, heavy subjects is not what people always like - my wife can meet with anyone and never

have any problems.

R. How do you see your future?

S. I would like to talk about children in terms of that - firstly I don't see any problems related to the mixed marriage situation whatsoever - what I do is not related one tiny bit to her - my problems are as an economist trying to find a niche in a developing country. Questions of continuity of jobs and they are not affected at all - its a question of whether I am rusty in my particular field as a researcher in my field I have to consider competition - my wife in fact is an advantage, I have a Masters Degree in Development Economics and if I go elsewhere I will only be affected by the fact that I have worked in a so-called homelands - in a place like Zambia, she would be a great asset, or Asia or anywhere else, she is such a great ambassador of her colour I am proud of her - my only problems are my own credentials and how I can gain access.

R. Is there anything else you can think of?

S. Lets get back to the child, so many people say mixed marriages are O K but what about the kids - I do not really see any problems of identity - but of course as he gets older I do not know what the situation will be, at the moment he is four and unable to distinguish colour differences - at the moment he tends to mix more with White children because of our socio-economic set up. At a dinner party the other evening I asked one of our White neighbours if she would allow her daughter to date my son at the age of seventeen and she said she didn't know - so I am concerned that if he spends too much time in a White orientated environment perhaps with all the things I expose him to, eventually with which elite does he go with, in which society? I am concerned about that, also I have criticized his mother for not teaching

him her language, she has also not taught me - this is important, she believes English is the important language and it does not matter - but I ask how will it relate to the majority of Black society of which he may be identified with if he is rejected by White society who may see him as coloured - is he going to have a problem? And where does he fit - we don't know that, I like to think that in Boputhatswana the society he will go into, will be the top echelons of that society, he will find others who speak English and who don't believe in race - I do accept the fact that he will experience problems from some people - he has already experienced a bit of conflict - at pre-school children say to him "your mommy is Black" - he says "no my mommy is brown". I hope that through his education and personality and abilities that he will be a leader and bridge the gap between these two (Black and White).

(b) A Specific Description of the Situated Structures of Interracial Love.

Jake grew up in a world where he experienced the myth of Black sexuality as meaningfully present for him, but Blacks belonged to the 'outgroup'. Whenever Jake came into contact with Blacks he experienced feelings of strangeness and unnaturalness.

Academia and learning gave Jake the potential and desire to experience knowledge of other cultures, it also made him a marginal man but a lonely man who searched for 'Being' in a world of tennis clubs and bars. Jake had to wait until he was mature enough and be situated where he could discover and live out his possibilities. Jake had the potential to search for an authentic existence through his experience of academia

and learning and felt demanded to overcome his loneliness and sexual curiosity.

When Jake's relationship ended with his White wife he was situated in close contact with his Black female servant. His interracial affair was motivated by the need for sex, especially the myth of Black sexuality - and by his loneliness and need for companionship. Through the experience of the relationship, Jake discovered intellectual similarities which altered the physiognomy of Blacks for him. Jake discovered that the sexual propensity of Blacks was a myth, but he discovered that through sex his loneliness could be overcome.

For Jake interracial love was initiated by friends who were in a similar situation. It was made possible by his own feelings of openness to interracial mixing as well as his lover's exposure to Whites, even though he experienced initial resistance to socially reveal their feelings on the part of Jake's lover. Jake overlooked tradition (lobola) and dispelled any uncertainty as to his lover's ability to cope cross-culturally by taking her to England.

Jake experienced society as viewing interracial love as a moral transgression. Jake found that he was, in terms of the relationship, dictated to by society. Jake did not know where he fitted into society, this was based on the possibility of being a loner and because he was married to a Black woman. Jake experienced conflict in the difference of racial attitudes between him and his family, but the distance between him and his family (who lived in the U.K.) gave him a

sense of freedom.

For Jake, interracial love was a learning experience. He came to realize that an interracial affair which was based on a sound sexual relationship could move beyond race (as an issue) to being 'bonded'. For Jake the specialness of the experience of interracial love was their child who was the embodiment of love and was the ultimate bond and unifying factor. Through love it became possible for race-cultural differences to disappear and similarities between race-cultural groups to emerge.

Jake experienced feelings of uncertainty about his child's identity as the child grew older. Society's double standards made Jake concerned about his child's future place in society. Jake believed that the child should be exposed to both cultures in order to flexibly move between cultural groups and beyond racial prejudices. Jake saw his own future as based on his own resourcefulness (rather than by being limited by racial issues).

It is evident that some of Jake's essential demands had been met - those of learning about 'others', sexual fulfillment and love. But it seems as if Jake's demand for loneliness had not been completely met. Jake remained a marginal man, a man on his own.

(c) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa.

Jake experienced the Apartheid system as dividing the world into 'in

groups' and 'out groups' which formed the basis of racial prejudice. The system dictated individual modes of 'being'. Myths of other groups were perpetuated and Jake believed that the future of the individual should not be based on race but on individual resourcefulness. The double standards of Apartheid society imposed potential identity problems for children from interracial marriages.

MAX : (a) A Naive Description of the Experience of Interracial Love

R. Describe your experience of interracial love.

S. Well, there's nothing very different being in love with a Black woman except you have problems which stem from different upbringings - if one can really kind of address these problems, compromise here and there, then it ends up like a love affair between a Black woman.

Coping with the problems basically involves getting to know the person and trying to find out more about her background and in the light of that try to adjust and I suppose she is doing the same as well.

I find I have adjusted to a great extent, there are certain things that I have sort of compromised that I would otherwise not have. I mean within my upbringing like non-negotiable type of things.

With us like in the Black community we have this thing that women usually don't have to say anything in the relationship, men are actually the dominant part, they dictate the pace, but now in this relationship, I have learnt that we should sit and discuss things and come to some mutual agreement - its more like the two of us complementing each other.

R. Describe your experience of the reaction of your family and society to the relationship.

S. I would say there is generally mixed feelings within my family actually there are many people that would be very much against it and there are those who would kind of accept it not being sure whether it would work out.

I would say people that are close to me the distant family - it stems from the fact that they don't want to hurt me - its a question of if I think this is the best for me then...(long pause). Even though my

mother and father accept it.

I'm not sure, I don't know whether they accept it because they're happy with it or because they don't want to hurt me.

S. I have never openly discussed it with them and they have never openly spoken against it.

R. Describe your experience when you take her home.

S. My mother would basically retreat to the background, this stems from the way we have been brought up so there is not much communication between her and my mother. This also happens with my father, but my brothers and sisters talk to her.

There is a generation gap because my brothers are more at ease when they speak to her.

R. If you brought a Black girl into the house how would your mother react?

S. Very differently, she would talk more, but I would say that my mother is getting used to the idea.

R. Describe the reaction of your friends.

S. Again its a question of mixed feelings it depends on my relationship with them and the kind of political views that they hold - so I had to lose quite a few friends but I have also made new friends but not within my community, outside.

R. Describe your experience of these particular friends.

S. I think they are very meaningful to me, they basically understand what is happening, there is not sort of conditional acceptance with them - they accept me in spite of (pause) these friends are mainly Whites and Coloureds.

S. That is what I am basically saying is that my circle of friends have widened, unlike before where I was moving in Black circles only there

was no rejection from them because at that time I was moving with a Black lady - but when this happened some of them divorced themselves from me - I also started making friends with her friends - that was basically enriching to me because I started looking at things in a broader perspective.

R. Describe your experience of differences before and after the relationship.

S. Before I met her I think my attitude towards Whites were that I didn't trust Whites, there was a certain amount of dislike or even hate, I did not see them as I saw other Blacks. But when I met her she really proved that Whites are no different from us. So that discovery made me open to Whites.

R. What do you think of yourself now?

S. My self image is much better than before because the experience was enriching, my eyes opened up really looking at things from other angles unlike before. That fulfilled me.

R. This fulfillment, this specialness where does it lie?

S. The relationship is special in the sense that it has opened my eyes to many things - she is so fantastic she has become part of me.

Other relationships were part of me but the difference lies in the fact that I can relate to the world in a much broader sense.

R. How did the relationship start, how was it possible for you to fall in love with a White woman.

S. I was brought up in a Black community, I have this Black experience, I was fortunate in that I attended a private Catholic school so that I grew up in a Christian background so in spite of the fact that I had these deeply rooted suspicions of Whites there were at least some other

forces trying to counter it. It was a situation of living in two worlds that is the Christian community at school and the Black community of home. It was in some way conflicting views I was torn apart by these two on a daily basis. I had an identity problem.

R. Has this that has happened to you given you the opportunity fulfill those things you didn't have before.

S. Ja it did because I am not so sure if I had attended a Government school for example which did not have a religious basis I do not know how I would have responded to her. These facts make compromising easy. We were teaching together at the same school. When she came she was just like another teacher until we got to know each other better on a personal basis it is from there that our friendship really started it later developed more than friendship.

I became scared I believed initially that it would not last in terms of the community, in fact, I tried to run away from it for a while but it didn't matter how much I tried to run away from it, it seems that things had to be that way, I had to come to grips with what was actually happening.

I think it was part of my destiny, it had to happen because if that was not the case I think I would have been successful in my efforts to have run away from it.

R. What now - where do you go from here?

S. That is the big question, we have a lot of problems. One way of getting out of this thing is leaving this country because if you have to think of the future of the children and if you're going to get married, we are hoping to get married in any case.

R. Does this make you happy?

S. It makes me happy. But what makes me sad is the fact that I would

perhaps have to leave the country.

There is an element of both happiness and sadness?

R. Let's discuss the possibility of children how do you feel about that?

S. I would be glad to have children alright but then I realize that the children are also going to have hassles, they will have a lot of problems if we remain in the country - this means that moving out of the country is the only viable alternative - things will be pretty normal once we move out of the country as long as we don't live in a state that interferes with our lives.

R. What about people anywhere in the world seeing a mixed couple?

S. Attitudes of people will always be there but it is different if laws don't enforce things.

R. Coming back to the relationship itself tell me about its depth - the feelings.

S. I don't understand what you mean by depth but all that I know is that I had other relationships before but I have given them all up I am really just concentrating on her - I have accepted that I will lose friends and I have lost friends but it does not matter.

R. Tell me about her - her feelings.

S. If it was not for me she would have left South Africa - I am her only reason for staying here.

We are prepared to sacrifice all these things for this relationship - with all its pain and changes.

Our love is worth it - I am prepared to sacrifice almost anything for it because I think she is worth it - she means so much to me.

R. Describe her worthiness.

S. She would make a very good mother to our children and she would be a really good wife - we have a tremendous amount of understanding between us - this will take us places - these aspects I have not noticed in previous relationships.

R. These qualities of motherhood, honesty and truth are things you have not found in previous relationships?

S. Not to the same extent - with her they are very positively pronounced.

R. Do you think that White women generally have these characteristics?

S. I wouldn't know I have not had much contact with White women.

R. Has she ever told you what she sees in you - what does she love about you that makes this so worthwhile for her?

S. I don't know - you better ask her.

R. Anything you would like to tell me about the sexual aspect of your relationship?

S. To be honest she is not the best sexual experience I have had, but I have realized that sex is only part of a love relationship and I love her very much.

(b) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love.

Max grew up in a world where cultural differences between race-cultural groups were primary. Max experienced his culture as expecting him to have a love relationship with someone from his own culture. This was seen as normal where no difficulty would be experienced. Max, as a Black male, was expected to be the dominant partner in any love affair.

From an early age, Max experienced an identity problem. On the one hand he had been exposed to the Black experience while on the other to Catholicism. He felt torn apart by both forces and did not know where he truly belonged. In the face of conflict, he felt demanded to search for an authentic existence. The experience of Catholicism had opened the possibility of new horizons. While teaching, he was able to see a White female teacher as a similar human being. Through close contact friendship developed into love. Max's initial reaction was shock, fright and uncertainty, but this was overcome by attraction and love.

Max came to realize that interracial love could only be experienced as 'normal' if cultural differences could be overcome. He experienced his parents and older generation family as locked into their own culture which meant that they were resistant to change and accepted the relationship with reservation. Cultural differences prevented open discussion about the relationship with his parents. Max experienced mixed reactions from friends within his own community and those with strong political views rejected him. Max came to realize that negative attitudes towards interracial love existed globally but not to the same extent as in South Africa.

He believed that interracial love was in his destiny. Through the experience he felt that he had adjusted and changed and had become more worthwhile in a new horizon of 'let-be-ness'. Younger generation family members were less affected by cultural differences and he gained more accepting friends outside his community. His perspective of equality became a lived reality and his sense of self-esteem and awareness grew. He came to realize that love extended beyond mere

sexuality. For him, the specialness of the relationship was found in acceptance, sharing, and worthiness. Max believed that his love was worth the pain and sacrifice.

He believed that the future of his love, marriage and children lay firstly, outside a racist society, secondly, through commitment, and thirdly, by the acceptance of social rejection.

The major theme that emerged was his striving to overcome conflict. Initially he was demanded to overcome the conflicting forces of the Black experience and Catholicism, but interracial love also engendered conflict between uncertainty and attraction, between mixed family and societal reaction, between friendship acceptance and rejection, between happiness and sadness. The demand to overcome conflict had not been completely met, but in the process Max had gained authentic love.

(c) A Specific Description of the Situated Structure of Interracial Love in Apartheid South Africa.

Max believed that South Africa's negative racist attitudes were extreme, this impeded acculturation by the younger Black generation who had the potential for change and were willing to change. Apartheid had brought about vast ideological differences between groups which had resulted in individual ambiguity and ambivalence.

Despite the sad future of interracial love, sustained disapproval by society, and that there was no firm place for coloured children, committed people who were in love could rise above these issues but at the cost of sadness and pain.

C. A General Description of the Structure of Interracial Love

Interracial love is a lived experience as demanded by a particular historical background. The historical background manifests the bland routine of a meaningless world, a world of racism where the myths of White superiority and Black sexuality flourish. Moreover, it is a world of alienation and cultural servitude which emphasises cultural differences. A world where society in general and the older generation in particular are locked into their own cultures. An ambivalent world which offers Western values on the one hand and African values on the other.

The subjects feel a demand to deal with particular issues in a particular way in order to overcome feelings of unfulfillment, lack of self-esteem, negative self-concepts, loss of a sense of individual worthiness, feelings of loneliness, alienation and identity crisis.

The subjects seek something that is deeply authentic to them. Through potential-ness the subjects search for authenticity in historically different ways which lead to interracial love relationships. Potentiality is experienced as curiosity, a desire to know about different others, a desire to shatter the myths of White superiority and Black sexuality and to become independent from cultural servitude. A desire to overcome negative feelings about the self and to arrive at a more meaningfully present other.

Essential to the actual falling in love interracially is that the other is viewed as a similar human being - through situations where gradual

interactions are possible, feelings of closeness and intimacy emerge. Essential is the motivation to be loved and to love in the face of support by significant others.

A new horizon emerges within the experience of interracial love. It is a learning experience which restructures the physiognomy of the world. A true self is revealed in Africa, potentials are realized. Love transcends racial and cultural barriers where similarities across race and culture become evident. The myths of White superiority and Black sexuality are shattered.

The experience of interracial love manifolds itself in various ways. The subjects experience authentic love of sharing and caring, sexual fulfilment and an awakened sense of bodyliness. Loneliness is overcome and self-esteem is gained (a sense of 'spirituality' is gained).

In the face of strange and different norms confusion and ambiguity is experienced. Anger and hurt is experienced in the face of severe criticism from a society which emphasises racial differences and views interracial love as a moral transgression. The subjects experience an unwillingness to face the reality of a future (in South Africa) and are particularly concerned about the future identity of their children.

Essential to the experience of interracial love is conflict which is manifested ambivalently in various ways. Conflict between the "old and new horizon". Conflict between the person as "subject through love" and yet historically bound in "society as object". Conflict of values between the non-racist values of the subject and racist values of

society. Conflict between belonging/acceptance of the subject's immediate lover/family and loneliness/rejection of subject's immediate social milieu, and finally conflict of emotions between happiness and sadness, guilt and self-respect.

SUMMARY

The experience of interracial love is an historical process of going through a relationship over time. The subjects experience a particular historical background in the face of which they feel unfulfilled which brings about the potential to search for authenticity in a particular way. The subjects are placed in a situation where interracial love becomes a possibility. The subjects see the other as human and experience love. A new horizon emerges. A learning experience occurs, where the subjects learn about themselves and about the world in which they live. The element of conflict is always present. Subjects experience fulfillment and disappointment depending on whether or not their historical demand was met. The element of conflict is essential to the experience in all cases.

D. A General Description of the Structure of Interracial Love situated in Apartheid South Africa.

The subjects experience Apartheid as dividing society into ingroups and outgroups which form the basis of racial prejudice - this emphasises vast race/culture differences between groups. It implies acculturation by the younger generation who has the potential and willingness to change. Apartheid is controlled at a collective societal level and

lived as troublesome on an interpersonal level.

The subjects experience Apartheid as perpetuating the myth of other groups which engenders feelings of inferiority, alienation, ambiguity and ambivalence. In order to overcome these feelings, people live inauthentic lives. Socialization (in Apartheid society) of seeing the 'different other' as not human, develop negative self-concepts which result in frustration, misunderstanding and sometimes violence.

The subjects believe that Apartheid creates a distance between Whites and Africa. Whites therefore never really feel part of Africa. Apartheid creates certain artificial structures which engenders certain alien practices in various groups. (For example, the economic system separates Black men from their women, which causes upheaval in their family lives). Apartheid as historically colonial overlooks the fact that Blacks and Whites could be meaningfully present to each other. South African society in general and the Afrikaner in particular, is prejudiced against any form of mixing.

The subjects experience Apartheid as determining the future of people which is based on race and not individual worth. The double standards of Apartheid results in identity crises. But despite the sad future of interracial lovers in the face of sustained disapproval by society which provides no real place for their children, committed people motivated by love rise above these issues but at the cost of sadness and pain.

The subjects believe that interracial/culture interaction will solve

current conflict in South Africa. Subjects who feel optimistic about the reality of change, believe that change is possible (by revolution) despite the system producing and perpetuating itself. Less optimistic subjects believe that their future lies outside South Africa.

CHAPTER 4 DISCUSSION

4.1 Dimensions of findings

Admittedly, the general psychological description of the experience of interracial love is complex and multiple. The thesis will limit itself to a discussion of seven dimensions of these findings and consider its significance for the literature that was reviewed in Chapter 1.

Historical Background and Apartheid

According to the general description, interracial love is a lived experience as demanded by a particular historical background. All the subjects are "Thrown and Fallen" in a particular socio-historical milieu where the perception of differences and effects of Boer and British Colonial philosophy are manifested in race discriminatory legislation which pervades social/cultural forces.

The subjects experience Apartheid as dividing society into "ingroups and outgroups" which engender feelings of inferiority, alienation, ambiguity and ambivalence. Baron et al (1974, p.181) believe this to be the basis of racial prejudice - social categorization occurs when individuals divide the social world into two distinct categories - this brings about sharply contrasting feelings and beliefs and each group seeks to view itself as superior.

According to the subjects, in order to overcome these negative feelings they are forced to live inauthentic lives. Jenny socializes

meaninglessly with friends in bars. Kathy is driven towards inauthentic love. Ben sleeps with as many White women as possible to satisfy his ego. Because Ruth feels worthless she begins to drink. Jake, in his loneliness frequents bars and picks up Black women. Max experiences an identity problem and does not really know where he fits in.

It is clear that socialization in an Apartheid society engenders seeing the 'different other' as not human. Ben says "We are taught that other people (Whites) are not people" develops negative self-concept which results in frustration, misunderstanding and sometimes violence. Ruth says "In my subconscious mind I did feel inferior...there was a guy (Black) who started being angry and he was vulgar". These are clearly manifestations of negative self-concepts which result in the expression of frustration.

The subjects believe that Apartheid separates Whites from ever being truly part of Africa. The potential of this dynamic is clearly expressed in Jenny's case where her true self was revealed in Africa. Sitting on a loo in the township she became aware of herself and who she was. She needed to go into the township to experience Africa and ultimately herself.

According to Jenny's specific description, the immediacy of her Irish historical context was unfulfilling to her to the extent that she was living above her Irishness and it needed her to actually search for meaning in an entirely foreign context in order to have her own

historical being revealed to her - her real self emerges out of Africa. Kruger (1983, p.119) recognizes the possibility and importance of such a meeting and merging of Western and non-Western culture. Drawing both from the European experience and the creative potentials and possibilities of the African context, Kruger's thesis has the potential to become a lived reality. Only one subject needs to be taken as an example - It is clear that for Jake, through love, it becomes possible for race/cultural differences to disappear and similarities between race/cultural groups to emerge.

Kathy experiences Apartheid as historically colonial/^{and} overlooks the fact that Blacks and Whites could be meaningfully present to each other. Ben believes that South African society in general and the Afrikaner in particular is prejudiced against any form of mixing. Kruger (1983, p.118) seems to share this view but also adds that the White person in general and the Afrikaner in particular feels threatened by the numerical superiority of the Blacks and hence resorts to control by force. This state of affairs is based upon perceived differences which form the basis for extreme prejudice.

The subjects experience Apartheid as determining the future of people which is based on race and not individual worth. Lever (1978) believes that race more than any other single characteristic is the most important social differentiating factor in South Africa. Most of the subjects see their future as bleak.

Because Jenny was unable to totally accept all cross-cultural

differences she remained uncertain about her future. Ben was unwilling to face the future as reality - despite overcoming racial/cultural barriers he felt restricted by his own cultural/social ground. Kathy experienced no sense of future in the relationship because the relationship was largely inauthentic. Jake experienced concern about the future identity of his child. Max believed that his future lay outside South Africa which involves both happiness and sadness. Ruth seems to be the exception in viewing her future in very positive terms. She says "We have such a beautiful future" (outside South Africa).

Generally, despite the somewhat sad future of interracial lovers, in the face of sustained disapproval by society which provides no real place for children, committed people, motivated by love rise above these issues but at the cost of sadness and pain. Max believes that "Our love is worth it...(despite) sadness and pain...I am prepared to sacrifice almost anything for it because I think she is worth it".

The subjects believe that race/culture interaction will solve current conflict in South Africa - Ben believes that the process has begun "people are slowly beginning to realize that we are all human beings". Kathy is also optimistic about the future because despite the system producing and perpetuating itself, she believes that change is inevitable - people will have to learn to accept and live with each other.

It becomes clear that the experiences of interracial love generally/globally is not easy - a prerequisite is that people have to be committed and be prepared to make sacrifices. The

attitudinal/societal problems that the subjects are faced with are clearly exacerbated in Apartheid South Africa.

Racism

The general description show that the subjects are situated in a world of racism where the myths of White superiority and Black sexuality flourish. Stember (1976) believes that at the core of the heart of the race problem is the sex problem. What has emerged from a historical past is that in Colonial Africa, and elsewhere, the Whites represent the ultimate symbol of authenticity and power. Parallel to this developed a whole mythology concerning the sexuality of the Black person - this is clearly illustrated in the description.

Ben states "We are taught that Whites are not people, they are different because they think they are superior". Ben's original motivation was "sexual...to prove something to myself, to satisfy my ego, to explode the myth of White superiority". In the end Ben states "Women are all the same".

Jake states "Whites have this feeling about what a Black woman is like, we all have that dream...she actually turned out to be a virgin".

Ruth states "With my past affairs there wasn't a lot of romance in bed. The guy never cared...so that we could both come...but now it is good...sex in this relationship is better than with other relationships...with most Black guys as long as they just get on top and come, that's it".

The myths of White superiority and Black sexuality were originally clearly present for the subjects, but through the experience of interracial love these myths were shattered.

Alienation

Manganyi (1977) believes that the devaluation of the body is one of the core elements of the alienated condition and the prevailing fantasy structure which creates the scapegoat. Kruger (1983) further argues that Western culture is spiritually and creatively exhausted and in the wake of Western technocratic culture the alienated man who is far removed from his being lives a largely meaningless life.

Jenny's sense of alienation is explicit in her description of Ireland as bland and routine - a superficial life in an empty technocratic society. In order to find her true-self she needs to go to Africa and possibly finds what Kruger (1983) refers to as the creative potentials and possibilities of the African context - the African culture of a more holistic existence as part of an unbroken chain of being.

Ben describes how he lived in a society where people felt alienated and self-despising. 'People become alienated from their bodies - in the case where they have not made the break-through'. Through authentic love, Ben seems to have regained his sense of bodyliness. "The type of bodily relationship is different to that...with Black women...our bodies are instinctively closer...also the sexual act...much more controlled, waiting for each other to come - this brings about an understanding of

how dynamic your body is".

Kathy grew up in a world of racial prejudice - she describes how racial conflict has led to her lack of self-esteem and alienation. After the experience of interracial love, Kathy describes how she has gained the perspective that authentic love should rise above any racial issues - she describes how she becomes more in touch with her bodyliness - she is able to dance in a more rhythmic way.

Ruth describes how she grew up in a world where she experienced a loss of sense of her individual worth - a sense of alienation. "In my subconscious mind I felt inferior - but not now (after the experience of interracial love). She believes that interracial love (authentic love) has made her self-fulfilled.

Motives and potential-ness

The subjects feel a demand to deal with particular issues in a particular way in order to overcome feelings of unfulfilledness (Jenny), lack of self-esteem and negative self-concept (Ben, Kathy and Ruth), loss of sense of individual worthiness (Ruth), feelings of loneliness (Jake), alienation and identity crisis (Jenny, Ben, Kathy and Max).

The subjects seek something that is deeply authentic to them. Through potential-ness the subjects search for authenticity in historically different ways which lead to interracial love relationships. Potentiality is experienced as curiosity (Jenny and Jake), a desire to know about different others (Jenny, Ben and Jake), a desire to shatter the myths of White superiority and Black sexuality (Ben, Ruth and Jake)

and to become independent from cultural servitude (Ruth). A desire to overcome negative feelings about the self (Ben, Kathy and Ruth) and to arrive at a more meaningful present other (Kathy).

Heidegger (1962) believes that it is through the existential mode of understanding that the Dasein co-constitutes his world as possibility, his being towards in the world is always a being-toward (i.e. always a becoming). Through the mode of understanding, through the world as possibility, the potential-ness emerges - the subjects have the potential-ness to search for authenticity in a particular way.

On a more pragmatic level, Porterfield (1978) believes that motives for interracial marriage are (1) race-related, (2) marginality, and (3) non-race related. What now follows is an attempt to dialogue the revealed experience with the empirical pragmatics of Porterfield and phenomenological ontology.

Jenny's feelings of unfulfilledness demand that she search for authenticity in a foreign environment situated outside the superficiality of an empty technocratic society. According to Porterfield (1978), her motives would be race-related - the other race is more appealing and interesting. She is also in a sense a marginal person - she leaves her cultural group and finds herself on the margin of different cultures, but a member of neither. From a phenomenological viewpoint, Jenny needs to search for her true self outside of her own technocratic culture - in some culture that is more authentic and closer to its roots.

Ben is motivated by the desire to work through the myth of White superiority. He found living in a racist society disturbing and he wanted to move beyond it. He had to overcome his own feelings of lack of self-esteem because of the prejudice directed against him. So he searches in White women to overcome the "Whiteness and different-otherness" of Whites. Porterfield would argue that Ben was motivated by race-related motives - some people want to rebel or get even with society for its injustices. From a phenomenological viewpoint, Ben needs to search for his true-self outside of racial discrimination.

In Kathy's past, Black people (and Black culture) who worked for her family were more immediately and meaningfully present to her than her own family. So her history demanded that she fulfill her life through someone who represented the life that was meaningfully present to her. Porterfield would categorize Kathy's motives as race-related - the other race is more appealing and interesting and some people want to rebel or get even with society for its injustices. From a phenomenological viewpoint, Kathy needs to search for her true self outside her family and culture which is not meaningfully present to her - in some culture that is more authentic and closer to its roots.

Ruth's historical experience demanded that she overcome her loss of individual worthiness, her cultural servitude, and the myth of White superiority. She had also found no "care" in previous love relationships. Porterfield would view Ruth's motives as both race-related and non-race related. Race-related in the sense that the White female is viewed by some as a status symbol - Ruth as the White male's

partner would gain a certain amount of status. Non-race related motives through love and compatibility. It was clear that Ruth was extremely happy and deeply in love. From a phenomenological viewpoint, Ruth needs to search for her true-self in the realm of care and love - she searches for the possibility of co-existence, "we-ness" and I-Thou" relationships.

Academia and learning gave Jake the potential and desire to experience knowledge of other cultures. He felt demanded to overcome his loneliness and sexual curiosity (myth of Black sexuality). Porterfield would view Jake's motives as race-related - the other race is appealing and interesting - and marginality. Jake is an individual, who by virtue of migration and education, leaves his cultural group without making a satisfactory adjustment to another. From a phenomenological viewpoint, Jake needs to search for his true-self beyond the facticity of marginality and loneliness. Academia has given him the possibility of authenticity and subjectivity.

From an early age Max experienced an identity problem. On the one hand he had been exposed to the Black experience, on the other to Catholicism. He felt torn apart by both forces and did not know where he truly belonged. In the face of conflict he felt demanded to search for an authentic existence. According to Porterfield, Max's motive would be marginality. Max finds himself in an ambivalent world which offers Western values on the one hand and African values on the other. Max finds himself on the margin of each culture but a member of neither. From a phenomenological viewpoint, Max needs to search for his true-self

beyond the conflict and identity crisis of a marginal situation.

Love and the universality of human nature

According to the general description, essential to the actual falling in love, interracially, is that the other is viewed as a similar human being - through situations where gradual interactions are possible, feelings of closeness and intimacy emerge. Essential is the motivation to be loved and to love in the face of support by significant others.

Clearly a prerequisite for interracial love is that the other is viewed as a similar human being. Something makes it possible for these individuals to rise and be beyond the boundaries of racism - that something seems to be potential-ness and motivation - as discussed earlier. Also through interracial love the similarity (universality) of humans across race and culture is endorsed in most cases.

Ben discovers that "Women are all the same...slowly beginning to realize that we are all human beings". Kathy gains the perspective that authentic love rises above any racial issue. Ruth believes that "In our home it (love relationships) is just the same" (as compared to any other love relationship). Jake states that "When people do land in a relationship and its a good sexual one, sex and companionship take over...one becomes close...this bond will happen between anybody irrespective of colour". Max makes it very clear that once the couple manage to cope with societal pressures, the actual relationship is no different to any other relationship. Jenny's case is contradictory to the other subjects. Initially she saw her lover as "I really didn't see him as a Black person" - but later she says "I am now beginning to

see that he is a Black guy and that there are many problems".

The essential issue here is that of similarity - the once different other is viewed as similar. For Jenny the similar other changes into a different other - to accommodate this change she realizes that she must make adjustments and she comes to accept these differences.

According to the general description, essential to the experience of interracial love is the aspect of love. It is evident that no matter what the initial motivation was or on what basis the potential-ness was grounded, the experience of love emerges strongly in all cases excepting Kathy. Kathy did not experience authentic love, nor did she experience a lasting relationship.

Jenny believed that the relationship allowed her to be more authentic in her being, bodily and sexually. "I feel he loves me - back home I had been engaged but it was something that everybody expected and did - that is why this is special to me...but I cannot rationalize it, the love between us is great and special.

Ben describes how he gained a heightened sense of self-awareness and authentic love. "It is more spontaneous...because of our emotional closeness. I see her for what she is as being a person".

For Ruth the specialness of the relationship was situated in "you-for-whom-I-care" aspect and through it she gained sexual fulfillment. "What you must also know is that there are a lot of things that happen in a Black-White relationship, just as things happen in a Black-Black or

White-White relationship. It is not a question of which relationship is better, it depends on the individual person and whether you've got the right person for you - finally, the most important thing is love". It is evident that Ruth's love has risen her beyond the world of racism. According to Binswanger, love creates a being-in-the-world-beyond-the-world (Valle et al, 1978, p.302). Ruth's world is "re-created" by the other's love. Through her husband's love the world shows its kindest face to Ruth (Luijpen, 1977, p.325). She says, "We have such a beautiful future".

For Jake the specialness of the experience of interracial love was their child who was the embodiment of love and became the ultimate bond and unifying factor. Through love Jake was able to overcome loneliness. Luijpen (1977, p.325) believes that the realization that one is no longer "alone" testifies perhaps most eloquently the lover's creativity. Love creates a "we", a being together that is experienced as wholly different from every other kind of "we" experienced in other encounters. The "we" of love can be expressed as fulfillment and happiness.

Max believes that through the experience of interracial love he has become more worthwhile in a new horizon of "let-be-ness". According to Luijpen (1977, p.318) the person experiences love as the road towards his own destiny, the fulfillment of his own being as having to be. Love is the availability of the person's subjectivity - Max feels that he is much more himself through the experience of interracial love.

Interracial love as a learning experience

According to the general description a new horizon emerges within the experience of interracial love. It is a learning experience which physiognomically restructures the world. A true self is revealed in Africa, potentials are realized. Love transcends racial and cultural barriers where similarities across race and culture become evident. The myths of White superiority and Black sexuality are shattered. There are lessons to be learnt for each subject in each particular experience. According to Luijpen (1977) genuine learning is authentic, liberating us from the "they" and it is the authentic acting perceiving of the body as subject.

Academia and learning gave Jake the potential and desire to experience knowledge of other cultures, even though he initially sees the world as distinctly comprising the "ingroup" and "outgroup". Through the experience of the relationship Jake discovered intellectual similarities which altered the physiognomy of Blacks for him.

For Jenny, interracial love brought about certain problems. She discovered (learnt) Black and White differences. Ben on the other hand, discovered (learnt) that love transcended racial/cultural barriers and myths. He discovered that the other (White) was a similar human being.

Kathy gained the perspective that authentic love should rise above any racial issue. She learnt that there was no real difference in the

quality of interracial love compared to intrarace love.

For Ruth, interracial love was a learning experience of a broadened horizon which understood, accepted, and overcame cultural differences - she also came to view interracial love as no different from love between members of the same race. Similarly, Max gains a perspective of equality as a lived reality and through it his sense of self-esteem and awareness grows.

Interracial love as ambivalence/ambiguity and conflict

According to the general description, essential to the experience of interracial love is conflict which is manifested ambivalently in various guises.

Jenny experiences conflict between her old and new horizon - it is as if she is situated in between - she is unable to let go of her original ideas/values concerning love relationships, yet at the same time she is prepared to accept the different norms of her lover.

Ben experiences conflict in terms of what he became and yet remained. Through love he has been liberated, he has become a "subject", yet he is historically bound in society as object - in the face of society he is not prepared to face the reality of his future.

Ruth experiences conflict between her own non-racist values and the racist values of society - she in a sense, therefore, cuts herself off from society. Her home and husband become her world.

Jake experiences conflict between belonging and being accepted by his wife and family on the one hand and feelings of loneliness and rejection by the immediate social milieu.

Max never really grows beyond the conflict engendered by being exposed to both Western and African culture. He also experiences conflict of emotions between happiness and sadness, self-respect and guilt.

SOME FINAL COMMENTS

Generally speaking, the experience of interracial love reveals a positive aspect that implies that the subjects are capable of experiencing their lives in a far more broadly interactive way - they are open to far more experiences than was formerly the case.

As a lived experience, it is not necessarily feasible to say that the subjects are authentic or living in a positive relationship to their society. There are also painful aspects which allow the subjects to live authentically or they can find great disappointment in that it seems to have the potential for authenticity, but it may not end up that way because of the historical demands of that person.

The experience isn't necessarily totally negative or bad nor is it necessarily totally positive or good - there are very neutral elements that need to be identified - in many ways these relationships are very similar to "ordinary" relationships. People from within these relationships suffer from many similar issues (as in "ordinary" relationships) that emerge from their historical backgrounds. The

subjects feel demanded to experience in the hope for fulfillment. It is not necessarily a positive or negative organic searching for authenticity.

The experience can be described in psychological language as the person feeling demanded to deal with an issue in a particular way, entering into that particularness in order to discover who they are. Therefore, nothing necessarily lies positively or negatively in the phenomenon per se - they could have gone into therapy instead - it is, therefore, necessarily neutral "as suchness" in the relationship.

The important issue in terms of understanding interracial love phenomenologically as a lived experience is that the subjects felt demanded to it from their historical backgrounds.

A rigid interpretation of the experience in any particular way or from any particular specific point of view is difficult, because each individual experience has to be qualified - there is no general law, nothing is totally absolute. Each of these experiences and instances should be qualified on their own terms.

As an example, the researcher may conclude that the closest person to a genuine search for authenticity was Jenny - she came to Africa in her search to discover who she was in terms of foreignness, - it was that foreignness more than anything else that was important for her. In contrast, the researcher could see Kathy's experience as an inauthentic demand from her particular historical background. This is clearly the

case with Ben who admits that he inauthentically had affairs with White women simply to satisfy his ego.

It would, therefore, be incorrect to conclude that the experience of interracial love is merely a movement towards authenticity unless the researcher subscribes to Rogerian self-actualization theory - anyone, of course, can interpret it in that way but the present thesis attempts to allow each experiential description to speak for itself - that is why the researcher has selected the phenomenological method of research.

In the final analysis, the experience can be seen as a movement towards authenticity although this is not always achieved. Original motives may have been inauthentic, but mostly, subjects eventually experience authentic love. It would be unfair to conclude the phenomena as either very positive or very negative, it is simply an experience, sometimes good, sometimes bad - the present thesis therefore, adopts a neutral stance. But clearly the phenomenon is an experience which brings about a totally altered physiognomy of the "once different other", and it is a very broadening one.

4.2 Current and future projects and conclusions

The researcher feels confident that phenomenology as a method has allowed contact with the phenomena as individuals actually live it and experience it. Phenomenology has taken the researcher some way in understanding the human condition as it manifests itself in our concrete lived situations.

What remains as a crucial final phase of the research involves relating the specialized psychological findings to the life-world at large. This last moment of research involves a new kind of thinking whose results are the explication of the research as a gift to the life-world. The time has arrived where the researcher (and reader) elaborate the meaning and value of the research for concrete personhood and culture.

It would be relevant to think of such diverse issues as: what does an increasing, interracial marriage rate mean for South African culture? How do the results bear on the meaning and role of the South African Government? Do the results have any public policy implications? What practical implications for interracial lovers who experience psychological trauma can we draw? How do the results relate to previous quantitative/social psychology studies? What unanswered questions remain and how can they be addressed through further research.

These questions are open to various interpretations and points of view. What is obvious, from the general description and discussion, is that there is much more work to be done - the present thesis has simply skimmed the surface. At present more collecting and analysis of descriptions across a wider socio-economic spectrum should be conducted to further clarify the essential meanings of interracial love. The researcher hopes eventually to speak to the situation of the psychologist and politician and every South African, that is, as the one who is present to the other brings experience of interracial love.

It is believed that future Black-White marriages will have a more congenial climate for success if South African society becomes more

attuned to individual freedom and personal rights regardless of race. Porterfield (1978,p.171) believes that social scientists can play a vital role in improving conditions for interracial lovers through an unbiased analysis of the phenomenon so that many of the myths, misconceptions and underlying principles of failure are put to rest. "Such studies would not necessarily facilitate an increase in interracial marriages, but would certainly provide a healthier climate for those who choose to enter such a relationship".

It is further believed that Black-White marriages should have a significant impact upon race relations in South Africa. It is unimportant as to whether the incidence of interracial love relationships increase - of far more importance to many individuals is that these relationships are approved by the larger society.

Finally, the degree of acceptance of this phenomenon by society is one of the most accurate indices for measuring the extent to which a group is achieving social, economic and political equality. If complete acceptance comes to pass, the day would have arrived that discrimination in South Africa based on race will cease to exist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baron, R. and Byrne, R. Social Psychology - Understanding Human Interaction, 4th Edition, Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.
- Georgiades, D. and Delvare, I. (Eds.) Philosophy in the African Context. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1975.
- Giorgi, A. Phenomenology and Psychological Research. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1985.
- Goodman, W. and Marx, G. Society Today. New York: Random House, 1978.
- Henriques, F. Children of Conflict. New York: Button and Co., 1975.
- Heidegger, M. Being and Time. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.
- Kruger, D. An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1981.
- Kruger, D. The Africanisation of the White South African. Africa Insight, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1983.
- Lever, H. South African Society. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1978.
- Luijpen, W. Existential Phenomenology. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1977.
- MacQuarrie, J. Martin Heidegger. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1968.
- Manganyi, N. C. Alienation and the Body in Racist Society. New York: NOK Publishers, 1977.
- May, R. Love and Will. New York: W. Norton, 1969.
- Mbiti, J. African Religion and Philosophy. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1967.

- Munro, B. and Adams, G. Correlates of Romantic Love Revisited. Journal of Psychology, 98, 221-214, 1978.
- Porterfield, E. Black and White Mixed Marriages. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978.
- Philbrick, J. and Stones, C. R. Love attitude in Black South Africa: A preliminary study. Journal of Psychology (in press).
- Romanyshyn, R. Technology and Homecoming. Lecture (Not published), 1985.
- Rauche, G. A. South African Blacks and the Problem of Authentic Existence. In: (Ed.) "Philosophy in African Context". Philosophy Society - University of Witwatersrand, 1975.
- Segall, M. Cross Cultural Psychology. California: Wadsworth Inc., 1979.
- Stember, C. Sexual Racism. New York: Harper and Row, 1976.
- Stones, C. R. Love Styles Revisited. A cross-national comparison with particular reference to South Africa. Human Relations, 39(4), 379-382, 1986.
- Van der Spuy H. I. J. and Shamley, D. A. F. The Psychology of Apartheid. Washington: University Press of America, Inc., 1978.
- Valle, R. and King, M. Existential-Phenomenological Alternatives for Psychology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Watson, P. Psychology and Race. Australia: Penguin Books, 1973.
- Wilkinson, D. Y. Black Male/White Female. Cambridge: Schenman Publishing, 1975.

APPENDICES

(RUTH) Qualitative Analysis

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based upon perspective that description was an example of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Unites expressed directly in psychological language with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love situated in Apartheid South Africa.

1. S experiences interracial love as different, its the community that makes it more different but in S's house it is just the same.

1. S experiences the differences of interracial love as viewed by society. S does not personally view interracial love to be different from any other type of love.

2. S mostly forgets that her husband is White - but when they go out they have a problem.

2. S is brought to the realization of difference between her and her husband through society.

2. The Apartheid system emphasizes cross-cultural differences.

3. When S and her husband went to Durban there was a (Black) guy who started being angry, he was vulgar, they tried to avoid

3. S has experienced extreme forms of anger and vulgarity by society (own group) directed against interracial

3. The Apartheid system generates extreme forms of anger and expressed vulgarity against inter-

him. S believes that the problem is basically covered by the community.

love.

racial love.

4. S believes that people who live around them (in Bophuthatswana) are used to them, they don't care - but there are those who do not like it, mostly Black guys who think S is a whore.

4. S mostly experiences an acceptance of interracial love within the immediate social environment. S experiences derogatory manners from those (own group) who do not like interracial love.

4. The Apartheid system denies the possibility of society's acceptance of interracial love.

5. When they realize we're married they mostly keep quiet - since they have been married most of the people realize they mean business.

5. S experiences society as respecting the institution of marriage - society is less critical of interracial marriage than purely interracial love.

5. Apartheid ideology does not wish to accept that interracial marriage can become an accepted lived reality in society.

6. Similarly S's folks at first didn't really like the idea, but on S's wedding day they were the happiest people - S's mother often visits them.

6. S also experiences that her family respects and accepts interracial marriage more than interracial love.

7. S didn't love anybody before she met her husband. S had affairs and one close affair.

7. S did not experience love before her interracial relationship.

8. S hates an affair where she doesn't have a say. S believes that for Blacks everything a guy says has to be done because she is a woman, unlike S's relationship, her husband is understanding, there is a quality of trust that wasn't there before.

8. S experiences trust and understanding in her interracial love unlike previous affairs where she experienced Black men as dominating and little give and take in a relationship.

9. Before the relationship S didn't really care for White people. S didn't care for anybody who didn't care for her, that goes for both Blacks and Whites.

9. Before interracial love S experienced no feeling of "humanness" for anybody who did not care for her.

9. The Apartheid system socializes the "dehumanness" of members of the outgroup.

10. S did not see herself as inferior because she was Black. As a student she was one of

10. S experienced a positive self-concept through her ability to deal with criticism

the good girls round campus. S had a problem with fellow students, other students used to criticise S and her friend for partying and being in trouble. S used to have a lot of general male friends, a lot of girls didn't like S so she developed this attitude that she would do what she wanted to do and not to care what the next person says.

11. When S was exposed to Whites and in dealing with superior-inferior things S fought for herself and would never give the other one a chance.

12. In the past S experienced a negative self-concept, S was very shy and had a problem of associating. S used to say in self-defense that she didn't care what others say,

and to be independent.

11. S dealt with "superior" Whites in an assertive manner.

12. Before interracial love S experienced a negative self-concept of shyness and problems of interpersonal and social relationships. In order to

but deep down S did care, she was very reserved and sometimes used to drink a lot to overcome her shyness. cope S turned to alcohol.

13. But now because of her husband and by meeting a lot of people S is learning. 13. Through interracial love S experiences the opportunity to learn how to deal with social relationships.

14. S's husband has made her realize that she can stand up to what she is and that she is worthy. S does not doubt herself because of his encouragement. S is still shy but less so. 14. Through interracial love S has experienced the development of worthiness and less self-doubt.

15. For S, the specialness of the relationship lies in that it proves that there is nothing wrong with the two colours, Black and White can live together without problems - 15. Through interracial love S has gained the perspective that the specialness of it lies in the fact that inter-race mixing is not morally wrong. 15. The Apartheid structure is morally wrong.

16. It's special because people give it so much attention, everybody is looking, its not only special to S and her husband but also to others. S wonders why others should care so much about it, nobody cares about the ordinary affairs but everybody wonders about this affair - for S it is such a good thing.

17. For S, the relationship has taken them away from the ordinary and placed them both in a special category. S is proud, she knows there are people who say this is his wife.

18. In their home he cares for S, more so than any other guy. For S the caring makes it very special.

16. S has gained the perspective that the specialness of interracial love lies in society's view of interracial love as unique and different.

17. S experiences pride through interracial love which has positioned her in a special social category.

18. For S, the specialness of interracial love lies in the care that the relationship brings about - "you-for-whom-I-care".

19. In discussing the motivation for falling in love with a White guy S believes that she did not have much courage herself. There was a time when S wanted to pull out, not because he was White, but he made S see that you can't run away from something maybe because of problems at home.

20. S's home was burnt, her grandmother is a Trade Union leader who didn't support disinvestment, they believed that she was not with the Blacks. S also had pressure at school, her life was at stake. S believes that if her husband hadn't given her that much love she could have died, but he was so good to her it was worth the risk.

19. S was motivated into an interracial love relationship by the encouragement of her lover. S gained the perspective that it is important to pursue your desires in the face of obstacles.

20. In the face of potential personal threat of violence, the support and love of her husband enabled her to overcome extreme adversity.

20. Through love some individuals as engendered by Apartheid.

21. S sees her future as beautiful. S would like to go into an accounting career. S and her husband will one day move back to the States with beautiful kids. S believes that she has a very bright future.

22. In discussing her future kids, S believes that around here (Bophuthatswana) kids will have a problem, they will be reminded that their mother is Black, they will have to understand that with S and her husband there is no Black or White, there are just people.

23. When S realized that she was in love with him she was amazed, she didn't want it to happen, she was trying to fight her feelings. S's problem with him was that he

21. Through interracial love S experiences the belief of a wonderful future which includes children, a successful career and living in the United States.

22. S expresses concern at the thought of her future children growing up in Southern Africa. S has gained the perspective that her children will experience conflict between non-racist values learnt at home and racist ideology found in society.

23. When S realized that she was in love she experienced shock and concern because she saw no future in the relationship - the possibility of interracial love lay

21. The Apartheid structure denies the possibility of a happy future for the children of interracial lovers.

22. In certain instances the Apartheid structure brings about conflict between non-racist values learnt at home and racist ideology found in society.

had to go to the States anytime. S was outside her immediate horizon.
afraid that he would have to go back and she
didn't see any future in being lovers.

24. When S first met him she was scared. 24. S's first experience of interracial
love was the feeling of fright.

25. For S cultural differences firstly lay 25. Through interracial love S 25. Apartheid causes potential
in the company that he wanted, his friends experienced cultural differences of difficulties for people from
that he likes to laze around with and S's association with significant others. different cultures to mix
friends didn't really click. Initially S experienced difficulty in spontaneously and freely,
mixing with her husband's friends.

26. He was brave enough to make S's friends 26. Through interracial love S
accept him and he made his friends accept S. experienced a willingness (by her lover)
At first S was a bit scared and not very to precipitate acceptance of both S and
open with him. her husband by significant others.

27. For S, other cultural differences are that Blacks have a string of relatives, he couldn't really understand this, he was surprised how we can be close being distant relatives. Blacks have big extended families, with him only his parents and brother and sister are important - with S it is much more - also anybody has a say about S, with him he does what he wants to do - lots of distant family came here to ask for something like money, he does not understand why they should so that.

28. For S, mere cultural differences are that there are certain foods that S cannot eat like sea foods and snails - certain food S eats he cannot even look at like tripe for example.

27. Through interracial love S experienced cultural differences based on different family structures. S comes from a large extended family where distant relatives are considered important and have a say in S's affairs. S's husband on the other hand only considers his nuclear family as significant. S experienced that her husband could not understand her family background.

28. Through interracial love S experienced cultural differences based on different eating tastes.

29. S describes one time when they ate out, he insisted that she eat something different, so she tried eating and found that she loved it.

30. S believes that the sexual aspect of their relationship is now O K. With S's past affairs there wasn't a lot of romance in bed. The guy never cared whether S came first or wait for S so that both could come together. For S it is now good because she is used to what he wants, all the positions which she didn't feel very comfortable about in the beginning.

31. For S, sex in their relationship is better than other relationships, for the first time S met a guy who really cared

29. Through interracial love S has experienced a broadened horizon - for example in eating tastes.

30. Through interracial love S experienced sexual fulfilment. In previous affairs S experienced crude sex without the aspects of love or care.

31. Through S's interracial love relationship she has experienced greater sexual fulfilment and love and care as compared

especially by waiting for S to come, because most Black guys as long as they just get on top and come, thats it. S loves this part (of caring) of the relationship.

32. S believes that an interracial love affair has the potential for growth and self-fulfillment because in her subconscious she did feel inferior, but not now, S feels so comfortable that she can fight him and tell him what she wants. S sometimes thinks is this really me yelling at a White guy or is it really me making this guy miserable if she did something wrong to him.

33. It makes S realize that Whites don't really hate Blacks, they are like any other person - sometimes it makes S feel so good that he loves her.

to previous relationships. This aspect is very meaningful for S.

32. S gained the perspective that interracial love had the potential for growth and self-fulfillment. S experienced that feelings of inferiority dissipated and were replaced with feelings of self-confidence.

33. Through interracial love S has gained the perspective of "humanness" about Whites.

34. S has become more honest, if S misses him she goes and looks for him, they trust each other unlike in the past where this did not happen where one would be afraid to look for your partner in case he was messing around.

35. S would never before go and look for her guy unless he was expecting her because he might be with another woman and S would be disappointed, so to avoid surprise don't surprise anybody - but for S it is now different.

36. In terms of spirituality S was a religious person even before the relationship, but S has become closer to God even though she always believed anyway that we are all His

34. S experiences "authentic love" in her interracial relationship. The other's love has given to S the ability of "being myself".

35. Before her interracial love relationship S did not experience authentic love - the other made S to be "facticity".

36. Through interracial love S experiences a movement towards God because she believes that she is living out the Gospel of "equality in the eyes of God".

children, we are all the "Children of God" so this relationship proves that we are all equal in the eyes of God. S believes that she has therefore lived up to God's will.

37. S believes that there are a lot of things that happen in a Black-White relationship just as things happen in a Black-Black or White-White relationship, it is not a question of which relationship is better it depends on the individual person and whether you've got the right person for you - finally the most important thing is love.

37. S has experienced that the dynamics of an interracial love relationship are similar to any love relationship which revolves around the universal all embracing aspect of love.

37. Apartheid ideology ignores the importance of love which can free people from the limits of cultural boundaries.

(JAKE) Qualitative Analysis

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based upon perspective that description was an example of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed directly in psychological language with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love situated in Apartheid South Africa.

1. S's general overview of the experience of interracial love is that it is no different from S's first marriage which was with a French woman. S believes that he has probably had the same kind of problems that he had with his first wife.

1. S's experience of interracial love is that it is essentially similar to any "normal" type of love.

2. S believes that because he is older now he is able to handle any problems that have come up which he doesn't think was racially related.

2. S's experience of love is that age engenders maturity which leads to a greater ability to cope with problems in a love relationship.

3. S believes that he saw the world differently before the relationship. Before the relationship S graduated and lived in Botswana with his White wife. S lived in a multi-cultural situation but his attitudes were clear, he was prepared to work with Blacks but could not see them as friends and certainly not lovers.

4. S and his wife had friends, he was from Sweden and she from Lebanon, they had many Black friends who were invited to parties. S found it peculiar, at that time S found mixing peculiar, S had never experienced mixing before. At university S had had one Black chap in their class. S felt that the Black chap was perhaps helped through the courses. S still feels that Blacks are perhaps helped through courses. In Botswana

3. Before the experience of inter-racial love S saw Blacks as belonging to the "outgroup".

4. Before the experience of interracial love S was aware of cultural boundaries. Transversing any cultural boundary S experienced feelings of strangeness and unnaturalness. S was in a social world that was under the dictatorship of the "they".

3. The Apartheid system encourages and solidifies the tendency of members of groups to divide the world into ingroups and outgroups - this is the basis of racial prejudice.

4. The Apartheid system anchors and perpetuates the individual into Dasein which is Thrown and Dasein which is Fallen.

S and his wife were introduced to Black people at parties. At that time they felt that that wasn't perhaps normal, S and his wife believed that these friends of theirs were nice but perhaps a little abnormal because they kept inviting Black people.

5. S believes that his attitude changed because he had sexual problems in his relationship with his wife. S's wife had several abortions because of scarring, she had been the first woman S had made love to. S and his wife were divorced and when she left S started having a relationship with his maid.

6. S was attracted to her, probably sexual attraction due to lack of sex and S got to

5. S experienced a broadened horizon which accommodated the "outgroup" when his relationship with his former wife ended and he was placed in a close situation with a Black women.

6. Initially S experienced a broadened horizon through sexuality S gained the

know her and realized she was very clever and S put her through school and subsequently because of that got a job. S stayed with her for about two years and was very close to her. Initially she spoke little English yet at the end she spoke like S does and she very quickly picked it up because she was so brilliant.

7. S did not think that he would stay with her because he was scared at the time that his wife would hear and there was a chance of S going back to his wife. S also believed that she wasn't very pretty compared to his wife who was blond. The girl was attractive and S liked her. The girl thought that she would be able to stay with S but S knew that she would not do it -

perspective of potential intellectual similarities across racial/cultural boundaries. For S, the physiognomy of the "outgroup" changes - it becomes possible for S to become close to one of the "outgroup".

7. In S's initial experience of inter-racial love he felt bound to his former horizon - S found that he was in the conflict position of a situatedness between horizons, the old and the new.

certain events happened. S separated from her because he moved to Lesotho.

8. S believes that the relationship took place in a situational context - it could have happened with any woman who was closest, it was a sexual need and loneliness.

9. S is not sure that because she was Black made a difference. S made love to her. S may have seduced her because Whites have this feeling about what a Black woman is like. S believes that all Whites have that dream.

10. S discovered that she was actually a virgin, which he didn't expect, but saw this was so from the blood and everything else,

8. S's initial experience of interracial love was motivated by loneliness and the need for sex and took place because of a situational context.

9. S's initial experience of interracial love was motivated by alleged sexual propensity of Blacks. Different groups are sexually curious about those with whom they have not had sexual contacts.

10. S gained the perspective through interracial love that sexual differences between groups were not as blatant as

9. The Apartheid system perpetuates myths of other groups.

then they became involved.

11. S believes that people can become involved if they are in need of companionship and sexual companionship. S believes that if a woman can give you the sexual companionship that you want as opposed to the intellectual one and looking after the home and doing everything right, S thinks that sexual companionship is a very important factor, when you get involved with sexual companionship its nice, its warm and its loving even if its on a different intellectual level the sexual companionship thing takes over this happens even in White-White relationships.

12. S believes that people are lonely, not

he had previously assumed.

11. S became convinced that a love relationship is fundamentally based on sex. Interracial love therefore becomes possible through sex - other criteria such as intellectual, social and cultural compatibility are less relevant issues to the success of a love relationship.

12. S's experience of interracial love

everybody can pick up girls whenever they like, when they do land in a relationship and its a good sexual one, sex takes over and companionship, one becomes close and the closeness becomes a bond, this bond will happen between anybody irrespective of colour.

13. S has been married for nine years. The relationship started out roughly, as his previous relationship, on a sexual basis. In Lesotho, S was a lonely man, and a White man, an immigrant coming into a Black country doesn't find White women - men generally want women. S believes that if you don't have a hang-up and you've been through it already you can go to bars and pick up women.

14. S didn't have hang-ups at that point, S

is that through sex loneliness can be overcome.

13. S experiences the possibility of interracial love in a broadened horizon without interracial/cultural barriers.

14. S's experience of interracial love

had broken through and believed that women were all women. S started getting the feeling that he preferred Black women, he was more attracted to them.

is his developed attraction and preference for Black women.

15. S met his wife through a friend who was living for many years with a Black girl.

15. S's experience of interracial love was initiated by significant "others" who were in a similar situation.

16. S went out with her, she didn't want to go out with a White man because of the attitude of society, it took a long time before they were together. S and his wife went out socially in Black-White groups until they became lovers, they were sleeping together at that point but she did not want them to be seen in public mainly because of attitudes of her parents and pressure from

16. S initially experienced his interracial lover as not sharing similar broad horizons. Initially experienced interracial love as being influenced by less accepting attitudes of family and society. Group members consider across race/culture boundary movement as transgression and immoral.

family friends and men, particularly Black men who call Black girls who go out with White men "whores" - it was a big thing for her to go out, after they started going out together they didn't find any problems.

17. When S thinks about the love aspect of their relationship he considers two people who have a sexual relationship and do everything for each other, no matter the colour, its important to enjoy each other whereby you create a bond and you learn about them and their lives and their children, S believes that it may not always lead to marriage.

18. As an academic S was also enjoying the learning process. S found the cross-fertilization of civilization interesting.

17. S has experienced that interracial love based on a sound sexual relationship moves beyond the issue of race to a position of understanding and "bonded-ness" between the two partners.

18. Academia gave S the potential to experience (through interracial love) cross-fertilization of knowledge/a learning

In Botswana, the maid that S had had an affair with, her father was a witchdoctor, she used to take S to the witchdoctor and the family and they accepted S and killed goats and did things. S would go with a Professor friend to their village and they could slaughter animals. S lived with them and carried water in buckets from wells, it was very exciting and intellectually stimulating, it also stimulated his relationship.

19. S believes that his academic level opened up the possibility of these experiences.

20. Having broken through the initial race

process of the "outgroups" anthropology.

19. Academia gave S the potential to experience (through interracial love) cross-fertilization of knowledge/a learning process of the "outgroups" anthropology.

20. S experienced interracial love as

barrier S didn't feel that Black and White was an issue, however he was thinking in the back of his mind as to what his parents would say.

21. For S, living in South Africa he knew that he would have to play the roles and consider carefully where they would be allowed to go together.

22. S also realized that social pressure was more heavily exerted on his Black woman because of her family and her social context. S was nine thousand miles away from his family, there was less pressure, S felt he was a free agent.

23. For S, the specialness of the relation-

liberating him from interracial/cultural issues but remained worried about his parents' cultural "locked-in-ness".

21. S experienced interracial love in South Africa as having to consider appropriate dictatorally governed modes of being.

22. S experienced that distance from his family gave him freedom. S's wife who had close contact with her society felt restricted by her society.

23. S has experienced a specialness in

21. The Apartheid system dictates modes of being.

ship lies in their child. Their child has created the specialness, if they had no children it might have been equivalent to a White-White marriage with no children and S might have been able to go away. S sees his child as wonderful, the child reinforced it and was the common dominant between them, the child is the link between man and woman. S totally loves his child, without the child S and his wife would still be discussing petty issues. For S the sexual thing is gone, they have now got to an age where they realize, as responsible parents, that the love of their child is a unifying fact and they don't need to find other lovers.

interracial love through his child which has moved him beyond the importance of sex in a love relationship - the child represents the love, the bond and the unity of the two partners in interracial love.

24. For S initially there was not much cross-cultural differences because initially the

24. For S, the possibility of interracial love was initially based on sex.

relationship was based on sex. S's wife had never before been out with a White man, she had a Black boy friend. S does not know why she was attracted to him, a White man. S knows that her mother was a matron at a hospital and came into contact with many Whites, also her father had friends (White). S believes that her family certainly didn't feel antagonistic toward Whites, yet they did feel their cultural situation was different and didn't think that their daughter would break out of that cultural situation.

25. S didn't believe in lobola and wasn't asked to pay lobola directly. S took his wife to England and put her through an expensive secretarial course which cost more than lobola. S could have married before

S felt that his wife had the potential for interracial love because of his and her family's exposure to cross-cultural influences even though her parents remained culturally bound.

25. S compensated for tradition across culture on his own recognizance. Feelings of uncertainty about his wife's capability of cross-cultural adaptation motivated S to expose his wife to his

but wanted to see how she operated in England, in a different cultural setting. S's wife decided to go with him, she made up her own mind without the influence of her parents - so when they married they felt it was right for both of them, they discussed it together.

26. S does not believe that there are any cultural differences in raising their child. Both their attitudes are that they want the best for him. There are no cultural differences because of S's high academic attainment. S is to some extent more involved in nutrition, aspects which his wife accepts. S believes that his wife is totally absorbed in raising the child. S cites the example of the previous week when the child had

own culture. This act and their marriage became mutually accepted cross-culturally.

26. S's experience of interracial love in raising a child is that it is not different from any other relationship even though there are small differences of emphasis - both parents want the best for the child.

gastro enteritis. S's wife remembered medical things that S had forgotten. S is probably more scientific which his wife accepts, she does not resort to cultural things, such as muti - she is from a medical family and is open-minded. Any medical problems are discussed and doctors are consulted.

27. In dealing with the question of where in society S fits in, he is not sure as a response to his own personality or because he has a Black wife. In terms of inter-societal relationships S sees himself as a loner. For S, his wife is extrovert, she makes friends with people of all races at a level which S feels is somewhat below him. S does not believe that his relationship has affected his status in society. As a single

27. Through the experience of interracial love, S experiences uncertainty as to where he fits into society - the uncertainty of his position is based on the uncertainty of possible causes stemming from personality factors (loner) or social factors (marriage to a Black woman) S's experience of interracial love is that he has become family orientated.

27. The Apartheid system brings about feelings of ambiguity in individuals. People do not know where they fit in.

man, S used to go out a lot and was a member of tennis clubs and things but since the relationship S doesn't feel that he has become a recluse because of the relationship but rather family-centred. S's father was also very family orientated. S does lots of the cooking, the garden and the cars, and doesn't really have the urge to go out to the golf club, but its not because he has a Black wife. S has noticed that he hasn't got invited to things anywhere but it may be because of his personality. S experienced vibes like that before. S believes that he is a social person in certain ways, but he is always talking politics, heavy subjects is not what people always like. S's wife can meet with anyone and never has any problems.

28. S would like to talk about children in terms of his future. Firstly S does not see any problems related to the mixed marriage situation whatsoever. What S does is not related one tiny bit to his wife, his problems are as an economist trying to find a niche in a developing country. For S, questions of uncertainty, of jobs are not affected at all - its a question of whether S is rusty in his particular field as a researcher. S has to consider competition - S feels that his wife is in fact an advantage. S has a Masters Degree in Development Economics and if he goes elsewhere he will be affected by the fact that he has worked in a so-called homeland - in a place like Zambia she would be a great asset, or Asia or anywhere else. S believes that she is a great ambassador of her

28. S bases his future success on his own competitive economic capability rather than with concerns of limitations of interracial marriage. S sees his interracial marriage as an advantage because he believes his partner to be a good example of what people should strive for.

28. The future should not be based on race but on individual resourcefulness.

colour and he is proud of her - for S his only problems are his own credentials and how he can gain access.

29. In discussing the child S believes that although many people say that mixed marriages are O K but what about the kids. S does not really see any problem of identity - however as the child grows older S does not know what the situation will be.

29. In interracial love, S observes no problems of self-identity for the child in early childhood, but S experiences uncertainty as to the problems the child may encounter as he grows older.

30. At the moment the child is four and unable to distinguish colour differences - at the moment the child tends to mix more with White children because of S's socio-economic set up.

30. S's child has not yet reached the age of race discrimination and because of the environment mostly mixes with White children.

31. S relates the time when at a dinner party

31. Through interracial love S has

31. The double standards of

he asked one of his White neighbours if she would allow her daughter to date his son at the age of seventeen and she said she didn't know - so S is concerned that if his child spends too much time in a White orientated environment with all that exposure, eventually with which elite does he go with? In which society? S is concerned about that and has criticized his mother for not teaching him her language, neither has she taught S.

experienced society's double standards, this makes him concerned about his child's future place in society.

Apartheid society impose potential identity problems for children from interracial marriages.

32. S's wife believes that English is the important language so it does not matter but S wonders how it will relate to the majority of Black society of which he may be identified with if he is rejected by White society who may see him as coloured. S wonders if his son will have a problem and does not know

32. S believes that children from interracial marriages should have equal exposure to both cultures in order to be prepared and flexibly able to move in and out of any social circle which accepts or rejects them.

where he will fit in. S likes to think that in Boputhatswana the society he will go into will be the top echelons of that society, he will find others who speak English and who don't believe in race.

33. S accepts the fact that he will experience problems from some people - he has already experienced a bit of conflict - at pre-school children say to him "your mommy is Black", he says "no my mommy is brown".

34. S hopes that through his education and personality and abilities that he will be a leader and bridge the gap between these two (Black and White).

33. S experiences that children from interracial marriages are racially prejudiced against.

34. S hopes that his child through the character of his personality that his Dasein is understanding (Verstehen) "Being able to be".

(MAX) Qualitative Analysis

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed as much as possible in S's language and based upon perspective that description was an example of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed more directly in psychological language and with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love.

Discriminated Meaning Units expressed directly in psychological language with respect to relevancy for the phenomenon of interracial love situated in Apartheid South Africa.

1. For S there is not much difference between being in love with a Black or White woman except for the problems which stems from different upbringings, if one can address these problems and compromise then it ends up like a normal love affair.

1. S believes that cultural differences are primary and if they can be overcome then interracial love can be normal.

2. Coping with these problems involves getting to know the person and trying to understand her background and then in terms of that to adjust.

2. Coping with cultural differences in an interracial relationship means adjusting to your lover.

3. S believes that he has adjusted and made

3. S believes that he changed and made

compromises which would not normally have been the case.

4. As an example (of adjustment) Blacks don't allow women much say in a relationship. Men dominate and dictate the pace, but in this relationship issues are discussed and mutual agreements are reached.

5. S realizes that the rest of the community have mixed feelings about his relationship. In his family certain people are against it and some are unsure as to whether it would work out.

6. In S's family those who are closest to him accept it possibly because they don't want to hurt his feelings.

adjustments in the face of interracial love.

4. S believes that in love relationships between members of similar race/culture groups (Blacks) there is not much give and take.

5. S realizes that his community and family have mixed feelings about the future of his interracial relationship.

6. S's close family is opening up to new possibilities of acceptance.

7. Even though S knows that his mother and father accept the relationship, he is not sure whether they are really happy with it, if they go along with it so as not to hurt his feelings.

8. Even though S has never discussed the relationship with his parents they have never blatantly criticized it.

9. When S takes his lover home his mother and father retreat to the background, but this is due to upbringing and as a result there is not much communication between them.

10. S's brothers and sisters communicate with her because he believes there is less of a generation gap (as with his parents).

7. S's parents accept his cross-cultural relationship with reservations.

8. Cross-cultural differences prevent open discussion with parents who are sensitive about the issue.

9. The older generation of S's parents are locked into their own culture and are resistant to change.

10. The younger generation are less affected by culture and are open to change.

10. The younger African generation has a potential for change but the South African system impedes

acculturation.

11. If S brought a Black girl into the house there would be a different reaction from his parents and they would communicate more.

11. Relationships between members of similar racial /cultural groups present no difficulties.

12. S's friends have mixed feelings about the relationship depending on what sort of political views they hold. S has lost friends within his community but gained friends outside his community.

12. S has experienced mixed reactions from significant others depending on their political views. S has lost friends within his community but gained friends outside his community.

12. The South African system shapes the attitudes of individuals to the extent that change is difficult.

13. The new friends that S has made because of the relationship is very meaningful to him, they understand without conditional acceptance - these friends are mainly Whites and Coloureds.

13. For S, worthwhile changes have occurred, he discovers a world of unconditional "let-be-ness".

13. The South African system has prevented intercultural learning.

14. S believes that because he is not thinking in a different way, he can now relate more to White people, his circle of friends have widened unlike before when he was only moving in Black circles while he was occupied with Black women, but because of the relationship some of his friends rejected him, it was then that he started making friends with her friends which he found enriching and he was able to do this because he started seeing things in a broader perspective.

15. S believes that because of the relationship he sees the world differently. Before the relationship he had a distrusting disliking and even hateful attitude towards Whites, he saw them as very different. But

14. For S, through the experience of interracial love, new possibilities and horizons emerge.

15. For S, out of interracial love emerges a global perspective of equality.

16. The South African system does not encourage the realization of equality between various race/cultural groups.

the relationship proved that Whites were no different and that discovery made him open to Whites.

16. S believes that the enriching experience of the relationship has made his self-image better, it has opened his eyes and he looks at things differently and unlike before.

17. For S, the specialness of the relationship lies in the sense that it has opened his eyes to many things, the specialness also lies in the fact that his fantastic lover has become a part of him.

18. For S, previous lovers were not part of him to the same extent, the difference lies

16. For S, the experience of interracial love has engendered growth in self-esteem and a sense of awareness.

17. For S, the specialness of interracial love is situated within acceptance and sharing.

18. For S, interracial love presents the possibility of a broadening horizon.

in the fact that he now relates to the world in a much broader sense.

19. It was possible for S to fall in love with a White woman, even though he was brought up in a Black community and had the Black experience, he was fortunate in that he attended a private Catholic School which resulted in his Christian background. But in spite of this fact he had deep rooted suspicions of Whites. He was torn apart by these conflicting views, of living in two worlds, the Christian community and the Black community. This resulted in an identity problem.

20. S believes that if it had not been for his religious school background he does not

19. It was possible for S to fall in love with a white woman despite his historical past where he had experienced a conflicting white and black world which had resulted in an identity crisis.

20. S came to the realization that his Catholic background made the possibility

19. The Apartheid system has been so successful in maintaining separatism that when different ideologies meet, they clash and result in ambivalence.

know how he would have responded to her. of interracial mixing real.
The fact of this religious past made
compromising easy.

21. S met his lover while they were 21. Through the situational means of
teaching together at the same school. He close contact friendship developed into
saw her just like any other teacher until love which was made possible by S
they got to know each other better on a originally seeing his lover as another
personal basis. Then friendship started, human being.
it later developed into something more.

22. Initially S was shocked and scared and 22. S's initial reaction to the
did not believe it would last in terms of possibility of interracial love of shock,
the community. S tried to run away from it fright and uncertainty was overcome by
but found he could not, it seemed that attraction and love.
things just had to be that way, he had to
come to grips with what was actually
happening.

23. S believes that the relationship was destined to happen otherwise he would have been successful in his efforts to have run away from it.

23. A psychological birth for S, is that his destiny lies in interracial love.

24. For S the future poses a big question. S believes that they (him and his lover) have a lot of problems. One way of sorting out the problems is leaving the country especially for future children and marriage.

24. S believes that the future of interracial love lies outside a racist society.

24. South African racist society does not provide a future for interracial love relationships.

25. The thought of marriage and children makes S happy but the thought of leaving the country makes S sad. There is an element of both happiness and sadness.

25. For S, interracial love means both happiness and sadness. The relationship reflects happiness while the sacrifices reflect sadness.

25. Apartheid South Africa causes sadness for interracial lovers.

26. The possibility of having children gladdens S but he realizes that the children

26. For S, the happy future of his children lies outside South Africa.

26. The South African system has no "fair" place for Coloured

will have a lot of problems if they remain in the country, moving out of the country is the only viable alternative. S believes that things will be normal once they have moved out of the country as long as they don't live in a state that interferes with their lives.

children.

27. S believes that attitudes of people anywhere in the world will always be there but it is different if laws don't enforce things.

27. Interracial love attitudes exist globally but not to the same extent as in South Africa.

27. South African attitudes towards interracial love are extreme.

28. S does not understand by what is meant by depth of the relationship but he does know that he has given up all other relationships and is concentrating only on her. He has accepted that he will lose

28. The survival of interracial love is situated within commitment and acceptance of social rejection.

28. Despite the South African system which comprises sanctioned disapproval of interracial relationships, committed people rise above these sanctions.

friends but it does not matter to him.

29. S knows that if it was not for him she would have left South Africa - he is her only reason for staying here.

30. Because S believes their love is worth it, he is prepared to sacrifice all the pain and changes for the relationship.

31. S believes his lover to be very worthy because she would make a very good wife and mother. Also because of the understanding they have - these things will take them for S has not noticed these aspects to the same extent in previous relationships.

32. S does not know what she sees in him.

29. S believes his lover has remained in South Africa because of their love.

30. S believes that interracial love is worth the pain and sacrifice.

31. For S, the worthiness of interracial love lies in the quality of his lover.

33. S believes that she is not the best sexual experience he has ever had, but he realizes that sex is only part of a love relationship and he realizes how much he loves her.

33. S eventually realizes that interracial love develops far beyond the sexual aspect.