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AN EXISTENTIAL-PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLICATION
OF BEING-A-BLACK STUDENT
AT A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE UNIVERSITY
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RHODES UNIVERSITY

T H E S I S

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to explore, theoretically and empirically, the experience of being black in a predominantly white university. It is more specifically concerned with ^{perceived} interaction between members of different cultural and ethnic groups, namely, between black and white. Using the existential-phenomenological method the experience of seven subjects, both male and female, were explicated.

This explication revealed that black students become aware of their "difference" during interaction with members of the dominant white group. The black students perceive the behaviour of the white dominant group to be racist and this creates a great deal of latent hostility, anger, and resentment. It is suggested that a programme be developed to diffuse the conflict situation during intergroup interaction at university.

INTRODUCTION

The rich cultural diversity of South Africa provides an ideal opportunity for researchers to study intergroup interaction as it occurs in our country. This study aims to investigate the experience of being black⁽ⁱ⁾ at a predominantly white university. One basic reason for pursuing this research is that it meets certain theoretical and applied needs. First, it can be studied simply for knowledge per se. Second, the results of an investigation of this kind may have practical applications.

Black identity and the specific black experience are shaped by intergroup social relations and need to be understood in these terms. It is believed that ^{the use of} ~~using~~ the social identity theory developed by Tajfel (1972, 1978) will facilitate the understanding of how intergroup interactions affect both individual and group identities. In short, the theory is built

[(i) There is a practical problem in South Africa to find a way of referring to members of different race groups in a way that will be universally inoffensive, because racial labels entrenched in Government legislation are rejected by a number of people. Thus, in the present presentation the decision was made to use the words black, and white without capital letters or inverted commas for the sake of simplicity and uniformity. The use of these labels does not imply any disrespect for any individuals to whom these labels refer].

around a sequence of processes that can be expressed as follows; social categorization of the world involves knowledge of our membership in certain social categories. This knowledge of our category membership together with the values, either positive or negative, attached to them is defined as our social identity and obtains meaning through social comparison with other groups. Social identity forms an important part of the self-concept and it is assumed that we try to achieve a positive social identity to make our own social group favourably distinct from others on some valued dimensions (such as power, political and economic resources, and so forth). This process of achieving positive distinctiveness enables individuals to achieve a satisfactory social identity and this enhances self-esteem. If the individual is confronted with a negative social identity, he⁽ⁱ⁾ may pursue several strategies to achieve a positive self-concept.

It is argued in this research that blacks, through intergroup comparison, are seen as inferior and so form a subordinate

[(i) for the sake of clarity and not sexism, the term "he" will be maintained throughout.]

/group...

group. Faced with a negative social identity which they see as illegitimate, they will adopt some course of action to uplift their negative social identities. The work of Manganyi (1973, 1977) and the Black Consciousness Movement are seen as strategies aimed at improving black social identity as well as promoting ingroup solidarity. Furthermore, since the experience of being black at university cannot be isolated from the experience of being black within the wider context of South Africa, a subsidiary aim of this study is to gauge the relations between members of a subordinate and a dominant group. It is argued that group differences and strong ingroup solidarity may arouse grave antagonism, causing individual-interpersonal interactions to be perceived in terms of group membership. Focus upon the black student at the university of Rhodes, using the social-identity theory and the existential-phenomenological method, is expected to uncover these broader issues; as well as those particular to the university environment.

CHAPTER ONE

1. SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

1.1. An overview

Over the past decade an increasing number of social psychologists have expressed grave dissatisfaction at the excessive "individualism" which they believe to characterize the discipline (Billig, 1976). This reductionist "individualism" is one through which social contents, such as minority group behaviour, are analysed solely in terms of individual characteristics, "motives", drives, and so forth. Tajfel (1972, 1978) has proposed that it is perhaps more beneficial to adopt a 'social' approach to explain the interaction as well as the intra-action of social groups.

Using his work ~~as a basis~~ on perceptual judgement, stereotypes and prejudice, ^{as a basis} Tajfel (1972) developed a theory of intergroup relations. The three major themes that interested him were:

1. The division of society into social groups and the inter-relationship among these groups.
2. The collective action of large numbers of people.

/3. The tensions...

3. The tensions and conflicts in society that result from these groups memberships (cited in Turner & Giles, 1981).

From this intergroup framework developed the concept of social identity, in 1972, which facilitated his definitions of a social group. This concept was defined as "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p.255). A social group was seen as a composition of two or more individuals who "share a common social identification of themselves or perceive themselves to be members of the same social category" (Turner, 1982, p.17). Tajfel and Turner (1979) included in their definition the sharing of emotional involvement, as well as the achievement of some degree of consensus about the group members' evaluation of their group and membership of it; i.e. it deals with how people perceive and define themselves.

The four related concepts that form the basis of Tajfel's (1972) social identity theory are; social categorization, social identity, social comparison and psychological group distinctiveness. Social categorizations were described as

/"cognitive...

" cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment " (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.40.). Social categorizations, argued Tajfel, enable the individuals to locate themselves and others in society. Furthermore, they also " provide a system of orientation for self-reference : they create and define the individual's place in society " (ibid, p.40). The theory assumes that individuals strive to attain a positive self-definition by comparing themselves with other group members. This social comparison ^{within the} ~~between~~ groups contributes to the individual's social identity. To achieve positive social identity individuals create positive group distinctiveness for their own group. This is done by socially comparing them in terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics.

Using these concepts Tajfel and his associates developed an experimental procedure, which later became known as the minimal group paradigm, to explain social categorization effects. The aim of these experiments was to determine conditions under which individuals display ethnocentric bias. The results indicate that social categorization is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination.

The mere awareness of the presence of an outgroup is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the ingroup (ibid, p.38).

/In 1979...

In 1979, Tajfel and Turner summarised and made more explicit the social identity theory. One of the essential assumptions of the theory is that it conceptualizes behaviour as a theoretical continuum ranging from an interpersonal to an intergroup mode of action. At the interpersonal extreme of this continuum is the interaction between two or more individuals that is determined solely by their individual characteristics (intelligence, looks, charm) and not at all affected by the various social groups ^{or} of categories to which they belong. At the intergroup extreme is the interaction between two or more individuals or groups, which is totally governed by their group membership and not at all influenced by individual personal characteristics. It is most improbable that 'pure' forms of either intergroups or ~~individual~~^{interpersonal} behaviour will be found in reality. Examples approaching the interpersonal extreme would be relations between husband and wife, or lovers. An example approaching the intergroup end would be the behaviour of two opposing armies during war. Behaviour in natural social situations can be conceived as nearing one or other extreme.

Also associated with the interpersonal-intergroup continuum are the concepts social mobility and social change. Social mobility and social change are not used in their sociological sense but refer to the " individual's belief systems about the nature and the structure of the relations between social groups

/in their...

in their society " (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.35). Social mobility is based on the assumption that the boundaries in society are permeable, and hence if one is dissatisfied with one's group, movement to other groups is possible. On the other hand, the notion of social change implies that group boundaries are impermeable and it is almost impossible to leave one's own group.

Using these continua, Tajfel and Turner (1979) explained intergroup behaviour as follows : firstly, the nearer a social interaction is to the intergroup end of the interpersonal-intergroup continuum and the closer group members are to the social change extreme of the social change - social mobility continuum, the more uniform will be the behaviour displayed by individual ingroup members towards outgroup members. Secondly, the nearer members are to the intergroup and social change extreme, the more they will tend to treat outgroup members as " undifferentiated items in a unified social category, rather than in terms of their individual characteristics " (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.36). Conversely, the closer the situation is to the interpersonal extreme, and the nearer members are to ^{the} social mobility pole the more variable will be the behaviour towards outgroup members.

/This conceptualization...

This conceptualization was applied to explain intergroup conflict and social change in stratified societies. Tajfel and Turner (1979) claimed that social stratification is linked to status differences between groups. Status, as used by them, is not treated as a scarce resource like power or wealth, but as the result of intergroup comparison. One's group status compared to that of another group determines whether one's social identity is positive or negative. If the group is considered superior to another, it is attributed high status. Contrary, if it is judged inferior it has low status. To achieve or maintain a positive social identity, the ingroup needs to be seen as better than the outgroup on some relevant dimension. Factors believed to influence social identity in a social situation are :

- a) individuals must identify with and internalize their group membership as part of their self-concept;
- b) the social situation must enable social comparison to take place;
- c) the outgroup must be seen as a relevant comparison group.

If social comparison results in low status for the ingroup the individual is faced with a negative social identity. However, a major tenet of the theory is that individuals constantly strive

/for positive...

for positive social identity. Therefore individuals experiencing a negative social identity will try to change this state of affairs. To achieve positive social identity three main strategies are available. ^{These strategies} that are also used by individuals ^{not experiencing a positive social identity in order} ~~of the dominant group~~ to maintain ~~their~~ ^{that identity.} ~~positive social identities.~~

1.1.1. Individual mobility

The closer an individual is to the social mobility extreme (discussed earlier), the more likely it is that the individual will try to leave his group and join a group that has higher status and therefore provides a positive social identity. This strategy is a highly individualistic one that does not change the status of the group.

1.1.2. Social creativity

Group members may seek positive distinctiveness by using a collective group strategy to redefine or alter components of the comparative situation. This can be achieved by :

- a) comparing the ingroup with the outgroup on the same new dimension;

/b) changing...

- b) changing the values assigned to the attributes of the group so that previously negative comparisons are perceived as positive; and
- c) changing the outgroup with which the ingroup is compared.

1.1.3. Social competition

The ingroup members may try to achieve positive distinctiveness by competing directly with the outgroup. The ingroup may try to reverse the ingroup and outgroup positions on some relevant status dimension. If the outcome of comparison results in low status as well as an unequal share of scarce resources for the ingroup, intergroup conflict may emerge. Tajfel (1978) outlines some factors that may determine the adoption of a particular strategy. Two such determining factors are the perceived permeability between groups and whether the social identity is secure or insecure. Tajfel postulates that :

a completely secure social identity would imply a relationship between two (or more) groups in which a change in the texture of psychological distinctiveness between them is not conceivable. For an "inferior" group this would imply the existence of a total consensus about the nature and the future of their inferiority (1978, p.87).

/Tajfel was...

Tajfel was more interested in the insecure social identity because it is almost empirically impossible for a group, consensually "superior", to retain a secure social identity. Dynamic social conditions means that a "superior" group has to constantly perpetuate their distinctiveness, i.e. a superior group can never stop working at the preservation of its distinctiveness.

The other determining factor, namely, the perception of the permeability of group boundaries, is closely aligned to the social mobility - social change continuum. Turner and Brown (1978) feel that the selection of a strategy to establish a positive social identity may be determined by whether the intergroup relationship is perceived as stable/unstable and legitimate/illegitimate.

1.2. Tajfel's Model of Insecure Social Identity

Tajfel discusses the insecure social identity and implications arising from it as follows :

1.2.1. Superior Groups (A and B)

The insecure social identity in groups consensually defined as possessing high status may be the result of the following :

/a) The superior...

- a) The superior status of the group is, or is perceived to be, threatened by another group.
- b) The superior status of the group is linked to a conflict of values. Some members see their superior status as based on unfair advantages, exploitation and so on.

1.2.1.1. Group A

This case deals with high status groups that possess insecure social identities and of which members experience conditions conducive to leaving the group. This category is not expected to have many instances as long as the perceived threat does not become overwhelming. This category facilitates movement from one group to another (Tajfel, 1978). If the individual experiences intense value conflict he may leave the group as this conflict destroys the positive social identity the group provides.

1.2.1.2. Group B

This category deals with high status groups that possess insecure social identity and the members of which desire to stay in the group. When the group's superior status is threatened or perceived to be threatened, the group will pursue some action to

/maintain the...

maintain the superiority of the group. This may take many forms such as enhancement of existing distinctions, creating new distinctive symbols, and so forth. The individual resolves value conflict through creation of new justifications and ideologies to maintain the existing order and provide positive psychological distinctiveness for group members. These ideologies are especially accepted in conditions that prevent an individual from leaving his group, e.g. sex, racial differences and so forth. Tajfel (1978) also outlines a situation wherein, although there is a conflict of values within a group's superior positions, the superior group is not threatened by the inferior group's drive for a new social identity.

1.2.2. Inferior groups (C and D)

1.2.2.1 Group C

This category relates to a group that has low status and members desire leaving the group.

This category is a good example of social mobility described earlier (refer section 1.1.1.). Individual members face no sanctions if they decide to move from one group to another (Tajfel, 1978, p.93).

/1.2.2.2. Group D...

1.2.2.2. Group D

This section refers to a group that has a low status and members find it difficult to move to another group. According to Tajfel (1978) this category, in terms of intergroup behaviour and attitudes, appears to be the most interesting. This category incorporates social conditions which make it almost impossible for members to move to another group; examples are forms of caste systems like race, sex, or any other social differentiation systems that hinder movement. The major psychological conditions that make it difficult to move are : a strong conflict of values inherent in leaving the group; or fear of powerful sanctions for leaving; or an interaction and reinforcement of both these psychological and social conditions.

According to Tajfel (1978) the conflict of values might work in opposite directions for inferior and superior groups. In superior groups the perceived illegitimacy of the superior position may result in some members leaving even if there are strong barriers. In inferior groups a conflict of values may result in loyalty to the group and may prevent members leaving even if remaining ^{in the group} results in personal disadvantages. Consequently, in superior groups the members may leave even if

/they have...

they have to move 'downwards'. In inferior groups, however members may stay even if it is advantageous and not too difficult to move 'upwards'.

Despite the many conditions listed above the inferior group will only pursue some viable course of action to solve their social identity problems if they become aware that the existing social reality is not the only one and that better alternatives are conceivable and attainable. If this awareness exists the inferior group can utilize one of several strategies or a combination of them to solve their social identity problems. These strategies are as follows :

- a) To become, through action and re-interpretation of group characteristics, similar to the superior group. The inferior group would assimilate the cultural, social, and psychological values of the superior group;
- b) to interpret the existing inferior characteristics of the group so that they acquire a positively valued distinctiveness from the superior group and no longer appear inferior;
- c) to create, through social action and/or diffusion of new 'ideologies', new group characteristics which have a positively valued distinctiveness from the superior group (Tajfel, 1978, p. 93-94).

/The first..

The first strategy of cultural, social, and psychological assimilation is sometimes possible. It may be the first option. However, for the group as a unit to eliminate social and psychological inferiority, barriers preventing the group from obtaining access to conditions, not previously obtainable, have to be broken down. When this happens, two processes may emerge : if the group maintains its identity, its distinctive characteristics will be interpreted in positively valued terms; or there will be psychological breakdown on the side of both groups and the group's identity will disappear as it merges with the other group.

Solutions (b) and (c) share as their underlying assumption the notion of social action. Both strategies come into play in situations where the inferior group cannot merge with the dominant group and individual members cannot move into other group.^s

Solution (b) asserts that existing group characteristics are used to create a new kind of distinctiveness. A good example, notes Tajfel (1978), is the psychological changes that took place among the American black during the Black Liberation Movement. The statement "black is beautiful" and the Afro

/hairdo are...

hairdo are testimony to the old characteristics being given new positive meanings.

Strategy (c) is similar to (b). It involves the creation or invention of new characteristics to promote positive group distinctiveness. It becomes apparent in the development of new nationalisms.

In many new nations the need is felt to stress or create common bonds in order to force the pace of the development of nationhood. The forging of bonds need not be of a "racial" kind, though it has often been of this nature, particularly in the young European nationalisms of the XIXth century. The phenomenon is even clear in racism old or new; the racist ideologies have always been characterized by a frantic search for common bonds of an "innate" or "instructive" nature in the distant past so as to provide a justification for the claims of the special sort of unity that the racial group is supposed to have and of its inherent and irrefutable differences from other such groups (Tajfel, 1969, p.139).

However, the creation of new distinctive characteristics give rise to a new problem of whether the ingroup accepts the new characteristics, as well as whether the outgroup accepts it.

Two new characteristics may emerge:

- a) They may consist of attributes already valued by both (or more) groups, and which the inferior group was seen to be lacking. This results in "social competition" (Tajfel, 1978).

/b) The second...

- b) The second kind deals with situations where the new characteristics may not be valued to begin with. The inferior group will be confronted with whether or not the new attributes will be accepted as different, but equal or superior.

The importance of this second stage is that if the superior group does not accept the changes, intense intergroup hostility and marked discriminations will result.

1.3. Extensions and Additions

The noteworthy extensions which utilize the social identity theory are; Giles and Johnson's (1981) integration of the social identity theory and linguistic differentiation in interethnic situations; Turner's (1982, 1985) redefinition of social group; and Condor's (1984, 1986; Condor & Abrams, 1984) application of social identity theory to gender identity. These extensions demonstrate that the social identity theory can be successfully utilized to understand macro-social group processes.

/1.4. Conclusion...

1.4. Conclusion

Since social identity theory explains group membership and can be applied to examine the wide intergroup context in which affiliation to a group takes place, it appears to provide a suitable theoretical framework to investigate black identity and behaviour. Tajfel's model of the insecure inferior group, in particular, outlines the strategies that inferior groups may utilize to attain a positive social identity. In the next chapter the social identity theory is applied to examine black identity.

/CHAPTER TWO...

CHAPTER TWO

2. RACE GROUP MEMBERSHIP AS AN ASPECT OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

At the end of the previous chapter it was suggested that the experience of being black be examined in terms of social identity theory, especially in terms of Tajfel's consensually inferior group, namely groups (C) and (D). This chapter views blacks as being an oppressed and devalued group who, because of the low status accorded to their group, manifest feelings of low self-worth and are motivated to change their negative self-image. The notion that blacks are seen as an inferior group in South Africa needs no empirical evidence - it is clearly visible in the legal and constitutional structure of South African society. The inferior status thrust upon blacks is aptly manifested in the following quotation from Smuts's biography :

This type (i.e. the African) has some wonderful characteristics. It has largely remained a child-type, with a child psychology and outlook. A child-like human cannot be a bad human. Perhaps, as a direct result of this temperament the African is the only happy human I have come across. No other race is so easily satisfied, so good-tempered ... The African easily forgets past troubles and does not anticipate future troubles. This happy go lucky disposition is a great asset, but it also has its drawbacks. There is no inward incentive to improvement, there is no persistent effort in construction, and there is complete absorption in the present. [sic]. No indigenous religion has evolved, no literature, no art. They can stand any amount of physical hardships

/and suffering...

and suffering ... Separation [racial] is imperative, ... to prevent the native traditions and institutions from being swamped by the more powerful organizations of the whites ... "(Smuts, cited in Van den Berghe, 1965, p.114).

2.1. The social identity approach to race group membership

Before proceeding further it is necessary to outline the term 'social group'. According to the social identity theory (Turner, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) the existence of a social group is not seen to be based on any external classification of individuals in terms of a particular category membership. What is deemed important is the individual's own self-definition in terms of a particular group membership (this has been discussed in 1.1.). This concept of a social group is based on the premise that

... a number of individuals constitute and act as a group to the extent that they define themselves as such " (Turner & Giles, 1981, p.6).

Therefore, from the present point of view, blacks constitute and act as a social group only to the extent that they define themselves as such. So according to social identity theory the essence of group membership resides in the self-concept of individual group 'members'. The aspect of an individual's self-concept, which derives from his self-definition in terms of social group membership, is termed 'social identity'. Tajfel

/(1978) has...

(1978) has defined social identity as " that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership " (p.63).

An individual's social identity is hence an essentially shared aspect of 'self', and includes factors such as social class, race, sex as well as more specific group memberships as might be provided by political parties, soccer teams, and so on. An individual's social identity is contrasted to personal identity that consists of idiosyncratic aspects of "self" (hair, colour, height, personality traits, abilities, and so forth).

Although social identity is often regarded in terms of an individual's awareness of his group membership, this encompasses only one aspect of what group membership entails. One can share a common self-definition without this becoming a 'social identity'. Social identity incorporates both the cognitive act of defining self as well as the emotional significance of that membership. For the purpose of this discussion, social identity, will be used in its neopsychoanalytic sense (a feeling of oneness with ...) (Smith, 1980).

/In applying...

In applying the intergroup approach to race group identification one is confronted with the question of how blacks identify with their race group as well as with other group members. Relatively we see that group identification may be summarized in terms of two related processes:

2.1.1. Self ← group

Self is seen as an aspect of the group with which one identifies. One views oneself in terms of the attributes associated with one's group as a whole. Simpson and Yinger (1986) outline this as follows :

We know ourselves only by " taking the role of the other ", by reacting to ourselves as we imagine others react to us ... In time we learn to take the role of the " generalized other " - the norms of society and the groups with which we are associated. We come to see ourselves, to an important degree, in the light of these norms (p.112).

Zavalloni (1973) has used the term 'egomorphism' to describe this overlap between group and self-representations. Turner (1982) has outlined the psychological process whereby one comes to see oneself in terms of the ingroup stereotype when group identification becomes prominent.

/2.1.2. Self...

2.1.2. Self→Group

One views the group as a component of one's self. In viewing one's group as part of oneself, one develops a vested emotional interest in one's perception of that group (Tajfel, 1978). In particular, social identity theory suggests to maintain self-esteem we become motivated to see groups to which we belong positively in comparison to relevant outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). If one is unable to achieve a positive sense of self-esteem, one may try to change the situation, or it may end in ingroup-derogation.

2.2. The Characteristics of Race Group Identification

Given the social identity perspective concerning what group membership entails, we now turn to consider how group identification may be characterised in detail. There exists a number of factors which influence group identification and they can be classified as cognitive or emotional aspects.

/2.2.1. Cognitive...

2.2.1. Cognitive factors

2.2.1.1. Perceived similarity of self to ingroup

This is one of the most commonly held conceptions and is often the only criterion used for group identification. Williams and Brown (1980) suggest that " identification with a group arises from the perception of attributes in common with others ... " (p.10). In a similar note, Smith (1980) speaks of " people who identify strongly with a group in the sense of believing that they are typical group members " (p.18). He suggests that group identity be viewed in terms of an individual's perception of the similarity of his personality traits to the ingroup stereotype. As yet, however, there is no indication^{of} which aspects of " perceived similarity " are important criteria used to identify with the ingroup.

It may be tentatively suggested that the really important aspects of " perceived similarity " will be those seen to be related to the criteria for group membership. So, blacks may construct the social category 'black' in different ways. Some may see it as a central aspect of a social (rather than a biological) category - common fate, minority position with respect to other groups. It would be logical to hypothesize

/that in...

that in this instance a perception of the similarity of one's fate to that of blacks in general would be a central component of identifying with the group. Other blacks may use other criteria to identify with and perceive themselves as similar to the ingroup.

2.2.1.2. Perceived distinction between self and outgroup

It is important to differentiate one's image of 'self' from one's image obtained from other groups. Smith (1980) has suggested that this self-outgroup distinction may represent an aspect of group identification that is independent from the identification which one derives from one's perception of similarity with the ingroup.

2.2.2. Emotional Factors in Race Group Identification

2.2.2.1. Emotional empathy

The ability to empathise, or the belief that one can empathise with other ingroup members, may be a consequence of identification with a specific social group. This sense of empathy may partly arise from a perception of similarity: we feel we can understand others because they are like ourselves.

/However, an...

However, an important factor is the aspect of personal involvement in the category and the resulting sense of "oneness" with other group members. It has already been noted (refer 2.1.2.) that in the process of identifying with one's group one's sense of self will become identified with one's image of the group. This may facilitate development of emotional empathy. For example, a black hearing that whites attacked and killed a black man, may experience anger, humiliation fear, and related emotions on behalf of the other ingroup member.

2.2.2.2. Loyalty to and solidarity with the ingroup

Various writers have written about the bonds of solidarity that exist among blacks. Writers such as Mphahlele (1959, 1962, 1972) and Manganyi (1983, 1984) have not only written about these bonds but have also tried to strengthen them.

Furthermore, research conducted by Danziger (1975), Bloom (1960), Edelstein (1972), MacCrone (1975), Brett and Morse (1975), Schlemmer (1975), and Lobban (1975), amongst others, reveal that there does exist strong bonds of loyalty and solidarity amongst blacks.

/2.3. Being black...

2.3. Being Black in terms of Social Identity Theory

Having briefly outlined the important dimensions of group identification, we now turn to apply the social identity theory (discussed in chapter 1.) to the social category, "black".

According to social identity theory blacks will constitute a group in so far as individual group members identify with ^{that} their group. Review of studies mentioned above implicitly reveal that blacks do strongly identify with their group. Consequently it appears that blacks do constitute a group to the "extent that they define themselves as such and as a result the essence of their group membership resides in the self-concept of the individual " (Turner, 1982). The above method of suggesting that blacks constitute a group is superficial and merits further investigation. However, proving that blacks constitute a group and do identify with their group would be a study on its own. For our purposes, suffice it to say that blacks biologically and socially do constitute a group and do identify with it.

2.3.1. Tajfels Consensually Inferior Group:

Blacks in South Africa constitute a psychological minority. Tajfel (1981) distinguishes between numerical minority and a

/psychological one...

psychological one. A psychological minority is a portion of society or category that feels bound together by common traits held in low esteem, and are repressed either through legislation and codes. The dominated "minority" in South Africa is ironically a numerical majority, but a psychological minority. Blacks fill this category mentioned by Tajfel.

Blacks in South Africa have little access to power as it is allocated through legislation on the basis of race. The social and political structure are firmly based on legislation, within which rights and obligations, privileges and power are allocated on the basis of racial membership, where to be born black or white determines the civic status one will enjoy (Geber & Newman, 1980). Furthermore, they also do not have access to some resources freely available to the dominant white group. In short, blacks can be categorized into Tajfel's inferior group C and D (discussed in 1.2.2.) According to Tajfel, blacks can be viewed as an oppressed, devalued social group, who because of the low status accorded to their group, manifest low feelings of self-worth (an inadequate social identity). Since they are uncomfortable with this low feeling of self-worth, they will pursue some course of action to achieve a positive social identity.

/2.3.2. Strategies...

2.3.2. Strategies to achieve positive social identity

2.3.2.1. Acceptance

One course of action that may be utilized is acceptance of the negative social identity. As a result ethnocentrism is reversed and the subordinate group demeans the ingroup and shows positive attitudes towards the depriving outgroup. A single famous demonstration of ingroup derogation and outgroup elevation will serve to fix in mind that condition (Clark & Clark, 1947). The subjects were black and white children, three to seven years old, living in interracial neighbourhoods in either the northern or southern United States. The children were shown two dolls, one black and one white, and were asked :

1. Give me the doll that you want to play with.
2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Give me the doll that looks bad.
4. Give me the doll that is a nice colour.

Approximately 60% of the black children thought the nice doll, the doll that was the nice colour, and the one they wanted to play with was white. The doll that looked bad to 59% of the black children was the black doll. Similar results of outgroup

/preference has...

preference has been confirmed by other investigations (Lewis & Biber, 1951; Morland, 1960 in Lamberth; Porter, 1971; Rosenthal 1974, cited in Simpson & Yinger, 1986). These findings seem to demonstrate the self-hate that Fanon (1967) repeatedly addresses. However, much research generated recently indicates that things have changed, and subordinate groups that all derogated themselves do so no longer (Porter & Washington, 1982; Melamed, 1984).

3.3.2.2. Individual Mobility

This strategy refers to individuals who wish to pass out of the group that is causing them so much discomfort into a more positively valued one (refer 1.1.). This strategy is most likely to be used by group members possessing a negative social identity when intergroup boundaries are perceived as permeable, and when objectives raised by either the outgroup or ingroup are not strong. Blacks in South Africa ^{may} will experience great difficulty in leaving their group, as group boundaries between black and white are impermeable, and clearly defined. Furthermore, individual blacks attempting to pass into ^{the} dominant group (if light-skinned enough) are often stigmatized as 'cultural traitors' by other group members.

/According to...

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) this strategy is less likely to be pursued if the social arrangement is not accepted as legitimate. The security of a social system has two aspects. One concerns power. The concentration of military power in a dominant group can discourage collective group action. In South Africa the white minority has been able to dominate the black majority because they control both wealth and military power. The other sense of security is more psychological. The dominant group is secure when the subordinate group lacks "cognitive alternatives" (Turner & Brown, 1981). Cognitive alternatives are created and conceived by ^{utopian} ~~Utopian~~ thinkers who try to persuade others that other realities are possible. A good example is black nationalism fostered by Fanon (1967) and Manganyi (1973).

Individual mobility then is quite a personal strategy that does not alter the original groups' status. In the case of blacks since they cannot easily escape their minority status they may desire to change their groups' status through collective behaviour.

2.3.2.3. Social Action

The strategy of social action involves group members remaining

/in the...

in the group and trying to change the social identity of the group. This strategy is more likely to be pursued by blacks when the boundaries between groups are seen as impermeable; the system is seen as illegitimate and the security of the system is challenged. Let us examine it in more detail.

A psychological minority with a negative social identity that undertakes to improve that identity must first of all convince its own members; and must work at internal consistency. This is not because it is good for the self-esteem of individual group members, but because minority consistency is a prerequisite to the exertion of influence on the outgroups (Brown, 1986). Several strategies may be utilized to change a negative social identity into a positive one. Tajfel and his associates have outlined some :

- a) Assimilate the characteristics of the dominant group;
- b) compete directly;
- c) re-evaluate, in a positive direction, the attributes of the group;
- d) invent new attributes that will be positively valued (this has already been discussed in Chapter 1.).

/The first...

The first option of assimilating the characteristics of the dominant group may be the first option, claims Tajfel (1978). Research by Bloom (1960) indicates that this mode of action is pursued by blacks. Bloom found that blacks began to assimilate the customs of white groups to the extent that ~~the~~ white identity became a pivotal aspect in shaping black identity. Although this mode of action may be pursued, blacks cannot be assimilated into white culture because of legislation. Furthermore, no matter how 'westernized' a black man is, he is still treated as a member of the inferior group by dominant group members.

The second way to raise a social identity is by direct competition. Political competition is the most effective, but not possible in this case. Individual competition in athletics, art and science helps with social identity only if the individuals who compete successfully assert their solidarity with the group. (Brown, 1986). In South Africa competing directly with dominant group has been quite difficult. Until recently blacks were not allowed to participate with whites. However, the recent upsurge of interest in black music, for example, contains great psychological power ^{for} ~~improving~~ ultimately improving the lot of the blacks.

/The strategies...

The strategies most likely to be adopted by blacks are (c) and (d). In examining the black group in terms of these two integrally linked modes of action, we see how existing group differences are re-evaluated as well as how new characteristics are created to promote ingroup consistency and improve the negative social identity of the group. These strategies are clearly manifested in the work of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), Manganyi (1973, 1977) and Fanon (1967a;b). Let us now look at the work of the BCM and Manganyi in terms of the social identity theory as an attempt^{to} elevate black social identity.

2.3.2.3.1. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) developed major themes and exerted considerable influence over black students, intellectuals, and artists, during the 1960's and 1970's. BCM placed an unprecedented emphasis on directly addressing the psychological and cultural degradation endured by blacks (Schlemmer, Victor & Singh, 1977).

The ideology of racial supremacy in practically all walks of life in South Africa (social, economic and political) is a means whereby blacks come to believe in the inferiority foisted upon

/them (Fatton)...

them (Fatton, 1986). An intrinsic component of the BCM was to develop a counter-ideology to combat this process of psychological and cultural inferiority and institute a process of change (Kane-Berman, 1978). The development of this ideology was strongly influenced by literature on the Third World struggles during the 1960's, in particular the work of Fanon (Gerhart, 1979).

Thus, the BCM was preoccupied with black unity and national liberation. The aim was to condemn the oppressive system of apartheid. At the centre of BC ideology is the representation of a black man reduced to the homuncular status of an empty shell. This representation captures the feelings and complexes that are the consequence of racial oppression, and also enables black subjects to recognize their oppressed situation. In this way it functions as a means to promote ingroup solidarity and therefore deserves to be fully quoted :

But this type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an oblong shell he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the 'inevitable position' ... In the privacy of his toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white society but brightens up in sheepish obedience as he comes out hurrying in response to his master's impatient call ... his heart yearns for the comfort of white society and makes him blame himself for not having been 'educated' enough to warrant such luxury ... All in all the blackman has become his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity (Biko, 1978, p.28, cited in Couve, 1986, p.98).

/The BCM...

The BCM promises the restoration of the wholeness of the black man that has been lost in contact with the dominant white group, so that he will no longer be a slave but become infused with pride and dignity. This is succinctly stated by Adam (1979) :

The dehumanization of racism is countered and the violated dignity and degraded personality restored by an assertion of the intrinsic worth of the black man, a call for ~~and~~ self-reliance and a rejection of white guardianship, patronization and paternalism (p.75).

This short summary adequately demonstrates how the BCM pursues the strategy of social action. The movement is a good example of how ingroup solidarity is fostered. It aims to facilitate ingroup pride, and it is an attempt to raise the negative social identity of the group.

Manganyi, following in the steps of the BCM also pursues the strategy of social action to re-evaluate and create attributes that will raise the social identity of the subordinate group. Let us examine his contribution.

2.3.2.3.2. Manganyi's contribution : An attempt to raise black social identity

Manganyi's work (1973, 1977) contains the themes of the BCM ideology.

/Manganyi's doctoral...

Manganyi's doctoral thesis led him to conclude that there were great similarities between the body images of healthy black subjects and paraplegic black subjects. They both demonstrated the same internal psychological disorders. Manganyi situates these findings within the racist socialization of the black body.

It means ... that in the African experience there was over time developed a sociological schema of the black body prescribed by white standards. The perceived attributes ... have been entirely negative. It should be considered natural under these circumstances for an individual black person to conceive of his body image as something entirely undesirable, something which paradoxically must be kept at a distance outside of one's self so to speak (Manganyi 1973, p.51).

This phenomenon occurs not at the individual level but is "endemic to a system which entrenches cultural and aesthetic hegemony" (Couve, 1986, p.100). As Manganyi states :

My own experience in the field of the body has long led me to the conclusion that socio-cultural assault on the body requires an equally wide-ranging offensive on the socio-cultural level (1973, p.53).

Thus, Manganyi (1973) in the four essays : "Black Consciousness", "Being - Black - in - the - World", "Nausea" and "Us and them" mainly addresses the formation of a new positive black identity by challenging the old, negative one that asserts that he is a parasite on the world and that he must "bring himself into line with the white world" (Fanon, 1967, p.19). He aims to do this by using the following logic eloquently stated by Couve :

By virtue of being black and having lived under centuries of colonial oppression and decades of apartheid rule, each black subject has a 'testimony' within himself of the experience of any other black subject (1984, pp 14-15).

In South Africa, apartheid has led to two modes of being-in-the-world: a black one and a white one. These two modes are different because their history of being-in-the-world (in-der-welt-sein) is different. The black mode of relating in the world (dasein) can be analysed according to four categories of experience.

- a) The body : The black body, contrary to the white body, has been projected as inferior and unwholesome. This has led to the black man adopting a negative sociological schema of his body. Thus, he begins to experience his body as though it were outside himself (Manganyi, 1973).

- b) The individual in society : Colonial conquest has destroyed the black man's society, which was characterised by communalism. The destruction of this communalism was achieved by stifling and suppressing black leaders. The traditional black society has been replaced by " an individualism more malignant than that found within white elitist capitalistic societies " (Manganyi, 1973, p.31).

/This individualistic/...

This individualistic and materialistic ethic common to white society is alien to black experience.

- c) Being-in-the-world with objects/things : White culture, because of its emphasis on individualism, has lost its spiritual, noetic dimension and thus invests material objects with values they do not possess. For example, a poet ^{may be} ~~is~~ considered a lesser being than the tycoon who drives a Mercedes Benz. Cultural hegemony has resulted in blacks losing their aesthetic-utilitarian relationship with objects. As a result they ^{may} ~~emulate~~ whites by fetishizing objects and investing them with values they do not possess. Blacks begin to compare themselves according to the objects they possess; for example, a person driving a BMW ^{may be} ~~is~~ given more status than someone driving a Toyota.

- d) Being-in-the-world-in-time : Time is existentially characterised as follows :

Time is real only in terms of its primaevial relationship with space. In this combination time and space constitute an individual's lived space (existence). Ideally, an individual should be free to constitute his lived space on the basis of the open appeal of time. An individual has potential. Time appeals to this potential to be realised freely. Such potential may be realized in freedom-in-security (a dialectic) (Manganyi, 1973, p.32).

/Since the...

Since the black man has been oppressed he has not been able to experience time as outlined above. As a result his life has become meaningless as he has not been able to achieve and pursue self-actualization.

In "Being-Black-in-the-world" Manganyi searches for the discovery of black ontology. Manganyi, like Fanon (McCulloch, 1983) feels that Negritude or the African personality is not a collection of fixed personality traits as seen by de Ridder (1961) and Wober (1975) but rather a psycho-cultural concept, a total of cultural values that is common to the black world and which facilitates the appropriate medium of dialogue between man and the world. The common characteristics that blacks share are "black solidarity, communalism, sharing and communication." This is opposed to the attributes of the white mode of being which is characterised by "individualism, atomization, profiteering and exploitation" (Couve, 1986, p.103).

In addition Manganyi feels that the spiritual dimension of being black that has been eroded by colonialization can be restored and has an important role to play in healing the moral decay of the west .

This development in itself is sufficient to support our view that western civilization is post-menopausal, decadent and sterile. Something may yet come from the black world to inject a new vitality into this beautiful menopausal old lady (Manganyi, 1973, p.41).

Manganyi, in his book "Mashangus Reverie" (1977) explains how the black develops his false identity, and in so doing becomes alienated from his group and self. He also outlines how this false identity may be rejected.

Fanon's concept of the White Mask Neurosis (1967a) refers to a social psychopathology that is specific to colonial white identity. ^{As a result of this pathology, the white man may} ~~and so~~ becomes alienated from both his race and himself. It also becomes impossible for the black man to enter normally and participate adequately in a colonial culture because this entry entails the internalization of a negative set of cultural stereotypes concerning his colour, family and history (Fanon, 1967a). So, living in colonial culture embodies a process of self-negation and dooms the black oppressed individual to live in^a psychological structure of ambivalence towards his own culture as well as the colonial one. According to Manganyi (1977) the black subject can undo his captivity and false mask through symbolic murder. He explains the psychological mechanisms which enslave the black subject and lead him to adopt a mask as follows :

... I was thinking of repudiation. You know what I mean? Repudiation. I was looking at my life since the days at the Mission School. It has been one big battle repudiating, negating something or other ---- myself, my culture even my people. You see, we're forced to speak only English on certain days at school ... to create in us a readiness to repudiate everything which was native to us
(Manganyi, 1977, p.20)

/Can you...

The identity that the black acquires is false because the white culture does not deliver what it promises. Consequently, the black individual in accepting white culture becomes trapped in a culture that assigns him inferior status.

Manganyi (1977) outlines ways in which this false mask can be relinquished. He uses various psychoanalytic theories to explain "the collusion of the slave with the master and to extol the valency of the violent reverie in undoing this collusion" (Couve, 1984, p.22). Manganyi uses Klein's clinical concept of ambivalence and the role which it plays in the emotional development of children to explain the slave's unconscious conflict with his master. The relation with the master is predicated by ambivalent feelings both hostile and loving. As a result the hostile feelings and destructive impulses are turned toward the self to maintain the structure of ambivalence (Couve, 1986).

Manganyi extends this notion of ambivalence to the socio-historical context of subordination. He outlines three alternatives that are available for the subordinate group to free themselves from their oppressed condition :

- a) He can continue, as he is, to collude and maintain this false consciousness and repress his violent impulses. This

/manifests itself...

manifests itself in the "proverbial smile of the colonized, the expressionless face in the wake of intense provocation " (1977, p.64).

- b) The violence against self can be redirected towards superordinates and their symbolic manifestations. This may involve " social action such as politically motivated assassinations or a terrorist blood bath " (ibid, p.64).
- c) This strategy is pursued by artists and writers to unmask the false identity. Manganyi describes the artist as follows :

He differs from his brethren to the extent that in his case the silent and secret anguish forms itself into images and not as in the case of the slave as instant action during a propitious moment (ibid, p.65).

This cathartic action utilized by the artist/writer not only unmasks the false identity of himself but also facilitates the process in the community at large.

For the artist, therefore, the creative act itself assumes the same importance which the violent and rebellious act assumes for the common rebel. The image force^{itself} from formlessness into clarity and through this creative act the artist transforms subjective experience into the realm of the universal - the natural community (Manganyi, 1977, p.66)

/Thus the...

Thus the violence manifested in both thought (creative) and action is seen as positively good, psychologically liberating and essential to an oppressed group aiming to free itself from domination and self-hatred (Kuper, 1974). Violence becomes a "cleansing force" as it frees the "native from his despair and inaction" (Fanon, 1963, p.73).

Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand the social truths and gives the key to them (ibid, p.52).

And Satre, in interpreting and endorsing Fanon's ideology of violence, declares:

... this irrepressible violence is neither sound nor fury, nor the resurrection of courage instincts, nor even the effects of resentment, it is man recreating himself (cited in Fanon 1963, p.21).

So, the aim of violence, both in literature and social action is to penetrate "the inner world of the black collective psyche to materialize a new identity to harness all the resources of its cultural and historical unconscious" (Manganyi, 1977, p.54).

The preceding section has attempted to show that despite the variety of forms which Manganyi's writings assume there are

/underlying assumptions...

underlying assumptions that unify his work. He has used psychological theory for specific political intention. Viewed in this way his work can be characterised as an example of cultural nationalism. His work can be implicitly situated within a new South African perspective that would replace the present divisive 'volksnasionisme'. In this new nationalism African culture would play an important role and would help produce a new social order and national identity. This ideology seen in terms of social identity can be seen as attempts made by an "inferior" group to improve their negative social identity. Thus, his aim is to foster ingroup pride, solidarity and increase black self-esteem.

Perhaps it is the influence of Manganyi and the BCM that have raised black self-esteem and strengthened ingroup bonds of solidarity and loyalty. The consequences of their influence are manifested in studies conducted by Edwards (1984); Schlemmer (1975); Heaven & Nieuwoudt (1981); Nieuwoudt & Plug (1983); Moodley-Rajab & Ramkisson (1979); and Riordan (1981). These studies reveal that blacks **do not** have low self-esteem or negative self-concepts, contrary to the idea that a subordinate group is expected to have a negative self-image or low self-esteem (Louw-Potgieter, 1982; Adam, 1979, Du Preez, 1979). Furthermore, these quantitative studies indicate that the blacks

/scores of...

scores of self-esteem were equivalent and sometimes higher than that of the dominant white group. This demonstrates the achievements of black leaders in raising the previous negative social identities to a positively valued one. Hence, as Manganyi remarked :

After the renaissance of the 1979's ... a difference has come about ... (black) people have a greater self-respect ... they are more self-reliant and have an inner sort of energy (1981, p.43).

Thus, because blacks strongly identify with their group and are constantly trying to assert their group distinctiveness, it is expected that interaction with outgroup members will be conducted and perceived in terms of group membership.

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

The existential-phenomenological method was used to obtain and analyse the data of this research project. This method was chosen because it focuses on the ways in which the " human being can be systematically understood in terms of human rather than biological or mechanical structures " (Kruger, 1986 p.10).

While emphasising and accepting the subject's explications of his own experience, the method still strives towards a rigorous and systematic exposition of this experience. In focussing on the meaning of human experience existential-phenomenology yields data not amenable to being dealt with according to the natural scientific method.

This chapter briefly outlines the nature of this method; its difference to the natural scientific method; and its importance for psychological research.

3.1. Existential-phenomenological psychology

An amalgamation of existentialism and phenomenology,

/existential...

existential-phenomenology aims to understand peoples' experiences in the world. More concisely it :

Seeks to explicate the essence, structure, or form of both human experience and human behaviour as revealed through essentially descriptive techniques, including disciplined reflection (Valle & King, 1978, p.7).

Therefore it appears to have a different basis to the natural scientific tradition that focuses on the quantification, prediction and manipulation of behaviour (McNeil, 1974; cited in Valle & King, 1978, p.5). A cursory examination into these two methods reveals their divergent assumptions.

One of the major differences between the existential-phenomenological method and the natural scientific method is that the former does not view people as objects, but rather emphasises the inter-relationship of the individual and his world. The individual and his world are said to "constitute one another" (Valle & King, 1978, p.7).

The natural scientific method, on the other hand, treats people and their environments as separate and distinct unrelated entities.

/Another...

Another critical difference involves their different stance towards the nature of consciousness. Existential-phenomenology rejects the traditional conceptions of objectified consciousness. The concern, rather, is with "the uninterpreted world of everyday experience" (ibid, p.9). More concisely it refers to the naive and immediate experience of the individual prior to any interpretations - scientific or otherwise. This world, as lived by the person, is termed the life-world and is regarded as the foundation of existential-phenomenological thought. The life-world not only forms the basis of scientific thinking but it also prereflective in essence. The existential-phenomenologist tries to be prereflective by bracketing his preconceptions and presuppositions and focussing solely on the explication of the data.

This enables the researcher to adopt a phenomenal or transcendental attitude that enables consciousness to be regarded as a "making present" or revealing instead of a creative force or an objectified "thing" (Stones, 1986, p.117).

A further distinction between the existential-phenomenological attitude and that of the natural scientific tradition, is the treatment of causality. Existential-phenomenology rejects the linear notion of causality. This concept of causality, as

/espoused...

espoused by the traditional scientific method, claims that the change is initiated and directed by external events. So, the individual is studied as the result of cause - effect relationships. Existential-phenomenologists reject this view because it does not facilitate the explication of the life-world of the individual. It becomes apparent therefore, that the existential-phenomenologist displays interest in naive experience which is considered real and that which is revealed by the subject.

The existential-phenomenological method therefore, aims, to understand and reveal the structure of direct experience through usage of descriptive techniques. The underlying assumption is that it is only " through description [that] the pre-reflective life-world is brought to the level of reflective awareness where it manifests itself as psychological meaning " (Valle & King, 1978, p.17).

So, the existential-phenomenological approach tends to make two important contributions to psychological research. Firstly, by insisting that the demands of the subject matter shape the research situation rather than vice versa, it emphasizes the primacy of the lived-world over theoretical explanations and interpretations. Secondly, by investigating human action as it

/is lived...

is lived and experienced it treats everything mentioned by the subjects as data and consequently enables the researchers to comprehensively understand the phenomenon " as it manifests itself, with the least possible imposition of psychological theory or method, personal and cultural prejudice or need, and language habit " (Van Kaam, cited in Kruger, 1979, p.119).

3.2. Collection of Data

To achieve significant results advocated by the existential-phenomenological method one should follow certain procedural steps. One of the first steps is that of contacting a particular psychological phenomenon as people experience it (Kruger, 1986). This is accomplished by obtaining from the relevant subjects their descriptions of their experience of the phenomena.

3.2.1. Subjects

Subjects who were considered suitable for this research were chosen according to the following criteria :

- a) The subjects had to be black and attending Rhodes University.

/2. They had...

- b) They had to have had some experience with the phenomenon being investigated.
- c) They had to be verbally fluent and be able to communicate their feelings and thoughts about their perceptions of the related phenomenon.
- d) They had to display a willingness to be open to the researcher (Kruger, 1979).

The seven subjects involved in this study adhered to the abovementioned criteria. The subjects consisted of 3 males and 4 females and ranged from first year students to post graduate students, their ages ranging from 18 years to 27 years.

Each subject, after being enlightened about the objective and method of the research, was given the following instructions :

Please describe as concretely and accurately as possible a situation in which you became aware of your being a black student at a predominantly white university. Indicate in your description :-

1. The context of the event.

/2. Thoughts...

2. Thoughts, emotions and other things you felt during the experience.
3. How the experience ended.

The subjects were asked to give a written description of their experiences in the form of protocols. The protocols were completed at the leisure of the subject, who handed them in to the researcher when they were completed. No direct questions were asked as they might have biased the subject's responses.

3.2.2. Pilot study

A pilot study was done on one subject to assess the reliability of the devised question. Fruitful results led to the administration of the protocol question to the other subjects.

3.3. Explication of data

The data was explicated phenomenologically in the manner established and described by Stones, 1986; Colaizzi, 1978; de Koning, 1979; and Giorgi, 1971, 1975. The procedural steps were as follows :

/3.3.1. After the...

3.3.1. After the protocols had been collected, they were read in order to acquire a feeling for them or what Giorgi describes as obtaining " a sense of the whole " (1975, p.87).

The reading enabled the researcher to retain a sense of the wholeness of the data despite its dissection in subsequent phases. Since this reading involves the researcher in an engaged ~~interpersonal~~ situation, an attempt was made by the researcher to bracket personal pre-conceptions and judgements, in order to remain faithful to the data (Stones, 1986).

3.3.2. The next step involved the breaking down of the protocols into naturally occurring units, each conveying a particular meaning which emerged spontaneously from the reading. Each unit, termed a Natural Meaning Unit (N.M.U.), is defined by Cloonan as a " a statement made by [the subject] which is self-definable and self-delimiting in the expression of a single, recognizable aspect of [the subject's] experience " (1971, p.117; cited in Stones, 1986 p.119). Wherever possible, the subject's own words were adhered to so that the data could "speak for itself". However, because the interpersonal nature of our world enables us to understand one another, it is permissible to use words other than those used by the subject to convey the latent meanings. It is important to note that

/although...

although the protocol is broken down into single meaning units, the latter are all inter-related in their lived sense. These meaning units were all expressed in the third person to remind the researcher, as well as the reader, to bracket her own experiences and biases and view the description from the subject's perspective.

3.3.3. The meaning units, which embody the everyday naive language of the subjects were reflected upon and the intentions were transformed into psychological language more revelatory of the phenomena under investigation. The aim was to illuminate the latent meanings hidden in the original protocols.

3.3.4. The insights obtained by contemplating all the expressed intentions derived from the NMU's, were synthesized. The formulated meanings were then grouped into clusters of common themes. Themes that did not form a cluster were maintained because the researcher felt that what may appear to be "logically inexplicable may be existentially real and valid" (Colaizzi, 1978, p.161).

3.3.5. A situated structure of each subject's experience was separately extracted. All the common themes and expressed intentions derived in the preceding stage were integrated to

/obtain the...

obtain the structure of the individual subject's perception of the phenomenon within a specific context (Stones, 1986).

3.3.6. A general structure, based on the situated structure of each subject was then extracted. The general structure involved the collective experiences of all the subjects. The experiences were integrated to form a consistent description of the phenomenon without being constrained by any specific context. The major difference between the general structure and the situated structure is that the former involves the collective experiences of all the subjects, while the latter is limited to the individual subject's experience.

3.4. Researcher's perspective

The researcher aimed to read the description provided by the subjects without prejudice, and tried to thematize each protocol from the subject's perspective. There emerged from the protocols certain kinds of meanings, and these were expressed in the nascent language of phenomenological psychology (e.g. meanings, structure, etc) with the nuances implied by the specific context. These factors however, did not "vitate the findings but rather acted as the limits of the context in which they were valid" (Giorgi, 1975, p.95).

/The researcher...

The researcher tried to fulfil the criteria for phenomenologically based research outlined by Stones (1986).

These criteria are as follows :

- a) The research interview situation should entail a description of experience or meaning-structure, that is the phenomenon in its lived-world context.
- b) Explication of the protocols should be concerned with the meaning of data from the participant's perspective.
- c) Essential themes should be extracted in their varying manifestations.
- d) The dialectic between approach, method and content should be maintained (p.121).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1. Subject one : Female, undergraduate

4.1.1. Subject one : Protocol

There are many occasions where I became aware of my being black. Almost the same feelings were experienced but the one I will be describing was the most frustrating of them all. /(1) It was the most frustrating because there was a lot of pretence on the side of the whites who made me feel depressed /(2) and after realizing that they are pretending to treat me as they are treating other white students I became very angry about how I have deceived myself /(3).

It was on Wednesday on [sic] my first year when we had the first geography I practical session. The lecturer in charge gave me a short lecture on what we will be required to do. He was explaining a certain concept but decided not to continue giving further explanations and remarked that we must have done that work at school./ (4) I was feeling very much [sic] offended, I

/wanted to...

wanted to tell him that I have never done that at school, but felt that I might be ridiculed /(5). This was very frustrating because I needed that explanation. I could not understand why the lecturer could be making [sic] such a generalization. /(6)

I began to feel very inferior and insecure /(7) I thought I made a wrong choice of coming to this university /(8) and became obsessed with the feeling that I am going to encounter the same problem in future. /(9)

We were then allowed to work in groups and help each other where necessary. All the white students grouped themselves according to their colour, and I was left out. Fortunately, I had two black students (Africans) to work with. /(10) When I had to start with my work, I worked for about 3 minutes not knowing exactly what is required. I then asked the two black girls seated next to me and they told me that they are also not certain about what had been said. /(11) I became nervous and was also afraid to ask for the correct instruction from other members of the class because they seemed not interested to work with us. /(12)

In my nervous and frustrated condition, I forced myself to raise the hand as an indicator that I need some help. /(13) The two

/demonstrators...

demonstrators and the lecturer were busy explaining to the white students. I was kept to wait for ten minutes. /(14) While still awaiting help from them, I turned to a certain white guy for help. This guy did not give me a full explanation like he did when explaining to the white girl seated next to him. I could [sic] notice that the explanation given to the white girl was more detailed because this guy did most of the talking. /(15) I was very embarrassed why [sic] I went to this unfriendly person. /(16) It was very frustrating and time seemed to be moving very slow [sic] as I was anxiously awaiting either the demonstrator or the lecturer to come and help me. /(17)

During this state of depression I was ultimately rescued by one of the demonstrators. She looked very sympathetic. /(18) Her approach and her simple presentation of matter, was satisfying. I felt a bit relieved thereafter. I looked at the watch 10 minutes after this and realized that we are only left with ten minutes to finish the work. All the white students had finished and left. I became very nervous and there seemed to have [sic] more work left. /(19) I had the feeling that I won't be able to finish the work in time. /(20) This made matters worse. I gave up hope and decided to hand in my incomplete work. /(21)

I was left feeling very miserable, incomplete and very inferior. /(22) I thought I made a wrong decision in coming to this

/university...

university /(23) I also felt I am a misfit and intellectually inferior /(24). I began to doubt my potentiality /(25). I told my friends about the experience and they advised me to go to Academic Skills Programme for help (26).

Whilst still in that mood, I questioned my potentiality and then resolved the problem by admitting that I would not have been admitted if I was not fit /(27). I went to Academic Skills Programme [ASP] as advised, I was told to consider other factors such as educational background as one cause that makes me different from whites /(28). In other words, by believing in this I began to view myself positively and this gave me a lot of encouragement /(29). However, the feeling of shame when being racially discriminated as it does happen sometimes [sic], is always experienced but now I view it in its own perspective /(30). Perhaps this is because I have discovered that there are some things that I can achieve that the white student cannot achieve /(31).

/4.1.2. Natural...

4.1.2. Natural Meaning
Units

1. There are many occasions where I became aware of my being black. Almost the same feelings were experienced but the one I will be describing was the most frustrating of them all.

2. It was the most frustrating because there was a lot of pretence on the side of the whites who made me feel depressed...

4.1.2. Transformed meaning into
psychological language

1. S. has had several encounters wherein she became aware of being black. The incident related is considered to be the most frustrating and disappointing.

2. S. perceived the incident to be the most frustrating because it resulted in her becoming aware and dejected by the deceitfulness of white people. S. felt that white people's behaviour towards her was feigned.

3. ... and after realizing that they are pretending to treat me as they are treating [sic] other white students, I became very angry about how I have deceived myself.
3. S. perceived that white people's treatment of her in a manner similar to other whites was paternalistic and false. This aroused S's. anger at herself for letting herself be deceived.
4. It was on Wednesday on my first year [sic] when we had the first geography I. session. The lecturer in charge gave a short lecturer on what we will be required to do. He was explaining a certain concept but decided not to continue giving further explanations and remarked that we must have done the work at school.
4. S. encountered the false behaviour during a first year practical in her first year at Rhodes. The lecturer provided instructions and outlined a concept only briefly, assuming that it had previously been taught in school and thus showing himself insensitive to the plight of those with different school backgrounds.

5. I was feeling very much offended [sic], I wanted to tell him that I have never done that at school but felt that I might be ridiculed.
5. S. resented ^{the} lecturer's generalization. Fear of derision prevented her from informing the lecturers that she had not been taught the concept at school.
- 6;. This was very frustrating because I needed that explanation. I could not understand why the lecturer could be making such a generalization.
6. S. experienced great frustration as she deemed the concept important and necessary to her work. She found the lecturers statement incomprehensible and desired knowing the underlying reason for his generalization.
7. I began to feel very inferior and insecure.
7. S's. anxiety led to her experiencing feelings of inferiority and insecurity.
8. I thought I made a wrong choice of coming to this university ...
8. S. doubted her decision to attend Rhodes - a predominantly white institution.

9. ... and became obsessed with the feeling that I am going to have the same problem in future.
9. S. anticipated encountering similar problematic situations.
10. We were then allowed to work in groups and help each other where necessary. All the white students grouped themselves according to their colour, and I was left out. Fortunately, I had two black students (Africans) to work with.
10. S. and her fellow students were permitted to work in groups and enlist aid from one another, when necessary. S. felt racially discriminated against in the way the white students grouped themselves. She felt that she and the other black students were deliberately excluded from the groups and left to work together.
11. When I had to start with my work, I ^{at}wanted for about 3 minutes not knowing exactly what is required [sic]. I then
11. S. wasted time in the beginning as she was confused about what should be done. S. unsuccessfully sought help from the other

asked the two black girls seated next to me and they told me that they are also not certain about what had been said.

two black students who were also uncertain about the task requirements.

12. I became nervous and was also afraid to ask for the correct instruction from other members of the class because they seemed not interested to work [sic] with us.

12. S. was afraid, although anxious to enlist aid from her fellow classmates, as she perceived them to be disinclined to working with the blacks.

13. In my nervous and frustrated condition, I forced myself to raise the hand as an indicator that I need some help.

13. S. although anxious, frightened and frustrated, sought aid from the instructors by raising her hand.

14. The two demonstrators and the lecturer were busy explaining to the

14. S. wasted time, and resented having to wait for assistance from either the

white students. I was kept to wait for minutes [sic].

demonstrators or lecturers who S. perceived as helping only the white students.

15. While still awaiting help from them, I turned to ^{a certain} white guy for help. This guy did not give me a full explanation like he did when explaining to the white girl seated next to him. I could notice [sic] that the explanation given to the white girl was more detailed because this guy did most of the talking.

15. S. in the meantime, sought aid from a white male classmate. S. felt discriminated against as she discerned that the white male had taken more trouble to explain the work to a white girl than ^{to} her. S. based her assumption on the perception that the white male did more talking.

16. I was very embarrassed why I went to this unfriendly person [sic].

16. S. felt embarrassed and regretted approaching the unwilling and unfriendly white male student.

17. It was very frustrating and time seemed to be moving very slow [sic] as I was anxiously awaiting either the demonstrator or the lecturer to come and help me.
17. S. anxiously awaiting assistance and was very aware of time moving slowly but inexorably by.
18. During this state of depression I was ultimately rescued by one of the demonstrators. She looked very sympathetic.
18. S. was saved from further dejection by one of the demonstrators. S. perceived the demonstrator to be compassionate.
19. Her approach and her simple presentation of matter was satisfying. I felt a bit relieved thereafter [sic].
19. S. found the demonstrator to be clear and helpful; and felt better after her help.
20. I looked at the watch 10 minutes after this and realized that we are only left with ten minutes to
20. S. realized that she had little time left to complete her work. S. became anxious once again when she realized

finish the work. All the white students had finished and left. I became very nervous and there seemed to have more [sic] work left.

that the white students had completed their work and left, while she still had more ^{work} to complete.

21. I had the feeling ~~that I~~ that I won't be able to finish the work in time.

21. S. doubted adequately completing her work in the time left.

22. I was shivering [sic] with fear and frustration I could not hold the pen properly, I was just writing without understanding what I was doing.

22. S., through fear and frustration began to function mechanically and inadequately without conscious awareness of her actions.

23. While I was in this condition, the demonstrator remarked that we should have long finished.

23. S's. condition was further aggravated by the lecturer's remark that all work should have been completed.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 24. This made matters worse. I gave up hope and decided to hand in my incomplete work. | 24. S. despaired by successfully finishing and handed in the work incomplete. |
| 25. I was left feeling very miserable, incomplete and very inferior. | 25. S. experienced strong feelings of misery, inferiority and inadequacy. |
| 26. I thought I made the wrong decision in coming to this university. | 26. S. doubted her decision to come to Rhodes, a predominantly white university. |
| 27. I also felt I am a misfit and intellectually inferior. | 27. S. began to perceive herself as ill-adapted to, and intellectually incapable of attending university. |
| 28. I began to doubt my potentiality. | 28. S. questioned her capabilities. |

29. I told my friends about the experience and they advised me to go to Academic Skills Programme (ASP) for help.
29. S. was advised by her friends to seek aid from A S P.
30. Whilst still in that mood, I questioned my potentiality and then by admitting that I would not have been admitted if I was not fit.
30. S. resolved doubts about her capabilities by realizing that she would not have been accepted by the university if she was ^{of doing the required} incapable. ^{work}
31. I went to A S P as advised, I was told to consider other factors such as educational background as one cause that makes me different from whites.
31. S. was made aware by A S P that several factors, for example different educational backgrounds, contribute to differences between blacks and whites.

32. In other words, by believing in this I began to view myself positively and this gave me a lot of encouragement.
32. S's acceptance of her difference resulted in increased self-confidence.
33. However, the feeling of shame when being socially discriminated [sic] as it does happen sometimes, is always experienced but now I view it in its own perspective.
33. S. although still humiliated by racially discriminatory behaviour, tries to come to terms with it by getting it into perspective.
34. Perhaps this is because I have discovered that there are some things that I can achieve that the white student cannot achieve.
34. S.'s positive self-image is enhanced by the realization that she (as a black) can achieve things the white student cannot attain.
-

4.1.3.

Psychological formulation of themes emerging from the
natural meaning units (N.M.U's) of Subject one.

1. S. has had several encounters wherein she became aware of her being black. The incident related is considered to be the most frustrating and disappointing.
2. S. perceived the incident to be the most frustrating because it resulted ⁱⁿ her becoming aware and dejected by the deceitfulness of white people. S. felt that white people's behaviour towards her was feigned.
3. S. perceived that white people's treatment of her in a manner similar to other whites was paternalistic and false. This aroused S's anger at herself for letting herself be deceived.
4. S. encountered this false behaviour during a first year practical in her first year at Rhodes. The lectures provided instructions and outlined a concept only briefly, assuming that it had previously been taught in school and thus, showing himself insensitive to the plight of those with different school backgrounds.

/5. S. resented...

5. S. resented the lecturer's generalization. Fear or derision prevented her from informing the lecturer that she had not been taught the concept at school.

6. S. experienced great frustration as she deemed the concept important and necessary to her work. She found the lecturer's statement incomprehensible and desired knowing the underlying reason for his generalization.

7;26 S's anxiety led to her experiencing strong feelings of misery, inferiority and insecurity.

8;26 S. doubted her decision to attend Rhodes, a predominantly white institution.

9. S. anticipated encountering similar problematic situations.

10. S. and her fellow students were permitted to work in groups and enlist aid from one another, when necessary. S. felt racially discriminated against in the way the white students grouped themselves. She felt that she and the other black students were deliberately excluded from the groups and left to work together.

/11. S. wasted...

11. S. wasted time in ^{the} beginning, as she was confused about what should be done. S. unsuccessfully sought help from the other two black students, who were also uncertain about the task requirements.
12. S. was afraid, although anxious, to enlist aid from her fellow classmates as she perceived them to be disinclined to working with the blacks.
13. S. although anxious, frightened and frustrated, sought aid from the instructors by raising her hand.
14. S. wasted time, and resented having to wait for assistance from either the demonstrators or lecturer, who S. perceived as helping only the white students.
15. S. in the meantime, sought aid from a white male classmate. S. felt racially discriminated against as ^{she} ~~the~~ discerned that the white male had taken more trouble to explain the work to a white girl than to her. S. based her assumption on the perception that the white male did more talking.
16. S. felt embarrassed and regret^{ed}~~ting~~ approaching the unwilling and unfriendly white male student.

/17. S. anxiously...

17. S. anxiously awaited assistance and was very aware of time moving slowly but inexorably by.
18. S. was saved from further dejection by one of the demonstrators. S. perceived the demonstrator to be compassionate.
19. S. found the demonstrator to be clear and helpful; and felt better after her help.
20. S. realized that she had little time left to complete her work. S. became anxious once again when she realized that the white students had completed ^{their} ~~her~~ work and left, while she still had more ^{work} to complete.
21. S. ^{doubted that she would adequately} ~~doubted adequately~~ completing ^{her} work in the time left.
22. S. through fear and frustration, began to function mechanically and inadequately without conscious awareness of her actions.
23. S's condition was further aggravated by the lecturer's remark that all work should have been completed.

/24. S. despaired...

24. S. despaired successfully finishing and handed in the work incomplete.
27. S. began to perceive herself as ill-adapted to, and intellectually incapable of attending university.
- 28,30 S. question her capabilities and resolved doubts about it by realizing that she would not have been accepted by the university if she was incapable ^{of doing the required work}.
29. S. was advised by her friends to seek aid from A.S.P.
31. S. was made aware by A.S.P. that several factors, for example, different educational backgrounds, contribute to differences between blacks and whites.
32. S's acceptance of her difference resulted in increased self-confidence.
33. S. although still humiliated by racially discriminatory behaviour, tries to come to terms with it by getting it into perspective.
34. S's positive self-image is enhanced by the fact that that she (as a black) can achieve things the white student cannot attain.

/34. S's positive...

4.1.4. Situated structure for subject one

S. became aware of being black in situations she perceived to be racist and discriminatory. The innocuous incidents that are seen to be imbued with racial prejudice and discrimination are as follows : the lecturer's perceived insensitivity to the plight of those with different school backgrounds, i.e. his assumption that she would know what white students knew; her exclusion from the groups formed by white students is seen as a deliberate attempt to isolate and reinforce her difference from them; her perception that the demonstrators devoted more time helping white students, making her wait needlessly; and finally, the aid sought from a white male student was seen to be inadequate and insufficient in comparison to the perceived preferential aid given ^{to} a white female.
^

These incidents evoked a variety of strong feelings of frustration, helplessness, anger, resentment, regret, embarrassment, insecurity and inferiority within S. Thus causing S. to construe the actions and behaviour of whites as a hypocritical attempt to treat her as an equal. Furthermore, these actions coupled with the knowledge that the white students had successfully completed the work while her's remained incomplete, heightened her feelings of intellectual inferiority

/and inadequacy...

and inadequacy. As a result, S. doubted herself as well as her decision to come to Rhodes, a predominantly white university.

S. resolved her feelings of inferiority and insecurity through help from ^{a sympathetic demonstration and also} the Academic Skills programme, which reassured her that her perceived difference from whites was not necessarily a sign of inferiority. This awareness resulted in her accepting herself as well as increased self-confidence in her abilities and goals.

N.B. : The body of the text contains the first subject "in toto", and the situated structures of the six other case studies. The analyses of the remaining six is contained in the Appendix Section of this document. (The numbering of sections however remains as if cited wholistically)

/4.2.4. Situated structure...

4.2.4. Situated structure for subject two

S. became aware of being black during an incident which occurred in his residence. The incident was seen to illustrate the racist and discriminatory behaviour of whites. This resulted in S. experiencing strong feelings of astonishment, helplessness, antagonism, frustration and anger.

The events that aroused these emotions are as follows : the subwarden's bumping against S. and his subsequent remarks attributing blame to S. seen as deliberate and racist; ^{the} subwarden's accusation that S. had improper manners interpreted as further evidence of racial discrimination; the subwarden's use of his official position to reprimand S. after causing the incident was perceived to be antagonistic and provocative; the subwarden walking away from the scene seen as an attempt to humiliate S. rather than a means to avoid further conflict and antagonism; the warden's acceptance and toleration of the subwarden's story, even though several previous complains^t had been lodged against him, was perceived by S. as a sign of racial prejudice; and finally the interviewing of a white witness first even though he was a partial witness was seen to be another indication of racial discrimination. S. felt that these incidents arose because he was black and therefore considered an ^{to be} inferior person...

inferior person. A realization of this so inflamed S. that he almost resorted to physical violence but gave vent to his anger through verbal abuse. S. concluded that complaints against whites by blacks would not be accepted because whites protected and sided with one another against blacks. Thus S. desires that these discriminatory actions be punished to prevent them re-occurring.

4.3.4. Situated structure for subject three

S. felt resentment, and experienced great humiliation and distress in an incident which made her aware that she was black. The incident occurred when S. and another white student desired second helpings of fruit, the white student was allowed another portion while S. was reprimanded. S. felt that her desire, although the same as the white student, was not granted because she was black. S. perceived this to be a clear indication of discrimination and ^{it} also demonstrated the preferential treatment given to whites. S. tried unsuccessfully to forget the incident. S. acknowledges that making people aware of and ignoring racist behaviour are useful in overcoming the incidence^t. S. does not utilize the former strategy because she feels that this might generate further antagonistic confrontations. S. therefore believes silence to be the best option.

/Subject four ...

4.4.4. Situated structure for subject four

S. became aware of being a black student during an incident in which he perceived himself to be the butt of racist remarks passed by intoxicated white male students. S. views the inebriated condition as one in which true and latent feelings are revealed rather than one in which dulled senses makes one unaware of ones actions. Thus, he feels that whites, when drunk, reveal their true hidden racist attitudes towards blacks.

Furthermore, the incident made S. aware that whites still had preconceived racist stereotypes about blacks and their roles in society i.e. blacks were still regarded as inferior. This evoked feelings of hurt, humiliation, helplessness as well as resentment and extreme anger within S. Although S's anger was so great that he desired violence (i.e. physically assault the offenders) to make whites aware of their racist attitudes, and prove that blacks were not inferior, he dislikes this method and realizes that it is not the best method to overcome racism. S. feels that better strategies to deal with racist behaviour are : ignoring it, and channelling one's energies into constructive tasks such as work. S. believes racist and

/discriminatory...

discriminatory behaviour to be the result of the South African apartheid system. Although S. desires change, he accepts racism as the inevitable condition of blacks as it is prevalent, though less overtly, throughout the world.

An understanding of this led S. to believe that the best way to eliminate racism and discrimination is to make whites aware, in a non-violent way, that their behaviour is offensive and humiliating to blacks. S. opts to actively pursue this method.

4.5.4. Situated structure for subject five

S. became aware of the negative implications of being a black student during an encounter with a white student over the use of a toasting machine. S. perceived the incident to be the result of the student's racist attitudes - he did not desire sharing facilities with a black whom he considered inferior.

The incident made S. realize that he had different views from whites about blacks attending a white university : while he considered it to be a right, whites felt it to be a privilege accorded to him. Furthermore S. realized that his acceptance at university did not imply that he was an equal or would be treated as such. S. experienced great anger at the implication that he was inferior and therefore had inferior status. His anger was so extreme that he attacked his source of frustration (slapped the white student). However, his anger did not dissipate so he tried to achieve catharsis by condemning the student to suffer in hell. S. felt that violence was a good method to get through to whites and make them aware of their racist attitudes as well as demonstrate that blacks were not their inferiors. Later in trying to understand the underlying reason for racist behaviour S. realized that it was a result of social background and conditioning that whites are subjected to.

/An understanding...

4.6.4. Situated structure for Subject Six

S. was involved in a disagreeable incident which she perceived to be the result of her being a black student. The incident occurred when she was approached by the vice-chancellor at a party and he, without introducing himself, asked her whether she was a worker or the spouse of an worker. S. was hurt, humiliated, offended and degraded by this. She perceived the vice-chancellor in not introducing himself to be rude and patronizing. S. perceived the vice-chancellors tactlessly phrased question to be racially insensitive and discriminatory. She concluded that ^{the} question was specifically posed to her because she was black and it revealed that the vice-chancellor had a specific racial stereotype about blacks, he considered their position to be no higher than workers.

S. felt ^{that} it was this bias that prevented her from being characterised as a postgraduate student or a lecturer. The incident made S. aware that racist prejudices and attitudes are highly prevalent among white "educated" intellectuals who should be more sensitive, informed and liberal in their outlook towards blacks. S. realized that education does not necessarily help whites relinquish their racist ideology that blacks are inferior. This leads her to expect worse behaviour from the average white population. S. considers discriminatory behaviour of academics to be unforgivable.

4.7.4. Situated structure for subject seven

S. became aware of the negative consequences of being black during an incident which occurred in her residence. The incident which was perceived to demonstrate the hypocritical and racist behaviour of whites was one in which she and other blacks were not introduced to a white friend's visiting parent. S. was upset, humiliated and resented not being introduced. She perceived this to be an indication that her friend was ashamed of showing her parent that she had black friends rather than, for example, an approach adopted by Liz to protect her black friends from the racist and offensive attitudes of her father.

The incident made S. feel that she was ^{being} treated and seen as an inferior. Although S. acknowledges that the incident could have been cleared up if she revealed her feelings, she did not pursue this action because she felt she would be further humiliated. S. concluded from the incident that although whites attempted to show that they have no preference between white and black friends; i.e. they were equals, their actions reveal that they implicitly had stronger preference for whites [their own colour]. S. decided a useful approach to prevent her getting hurt and humiliated was to avoid being friends with whites. Thus, S. resolved not to befriend white people as she could no longer trust them or their motives.

4.8. General Structure

The black student becomes aware of being different and his inferior status during conflicts in situations he perceives to be discriminatory and somehow detrimental to his emotional well-being. Part of the reason why blacks become so acutely conscious of prejudice and discrimination is because they seem to have some prior expectation (perhaps a result of other past experiences) that the white people they are interacting with will act in a way insensitive to their particular circumstances.

When a white person acts in a way that reflects these expectations, blacks perceive it in a negative light and feel that the behaviour demonstrates prejudice and discrimination. So whether encounters with whites are intentional^{ly} discriminatory or not, they are construed to be. The following example demonstrates this : a black student awaiting help from the practical demonstrators perceives this as an attempt to make her wait needlessly while preferential treatment is given to the white students (S.1, NMU 12). In this case, although no discrimination may have been intended, it is perceived to be present by the black student.

/The incidents...

The incidents are seen as a subtle expression of racial hostility and a means to highlight negatively the black student's difference from his white counterpart. The black student perceives that he receives differential treatment from the white student and attributes this to belonging to a racially subordinate group. The incidents are interpreted by the black student as ^{racist and as} an intention to make blacks aware of and reinforce their difference from an inferiority to whites. Furthermore they feel that although they are accepted by a predominantly white university they are not really wanted or treated as equals.

This results in black students treating most encounters as a polarization of whites against blacks. Although the black student considers that these encounters are aimed at reinforcing his inferior status and needlessly repressing him, the black student does not consider himself as inferior. Thus, the black student is aware that, "factors such as educational background ... makes ... (them) different from whites" (S.1, NMU s1), but does not necessarily see this as an indication of inferiority. The black student sees himself as no different from whites in that they share similar desires (S3, NMU3); (S6, NMU 4); and feelings (S4, NMU 15). In fact the black student sees the white student as "the same ... only I am black, but we both have feelings ..." (S.7, NMU 17).

/Even though...

Even though the social experiences may be considered trivial or minor or as some people think petty they are not conceived as such because they produce within the black student great emotional anguish, anxiety and "affect one's emotions" (S6, NMU 2). Furthermore, these 'petty' incidents are seen as ways to repress and antagonize blacks needlessly. As one student states : "we blacks are just oppressed by silly things" (S.3, NMU 9).

Furthermore although the incidents may have had different underlying reasons and may be interpreted differently they are construed as racial discrimination. Some examples are as follows : student perceives that she received insufficient help from a white male student in comparison to the amount of talking he did to a white female (S1, NMU 15); the black student sees this "more talking" as an indication of preference for whites while it could have been social talk. Another example is a student perceives that her white friend's failure to introduce her to a visiting parent (S.7, NMU7) as discrimination, while the white student may have had other reasons for not introducing her friend to her father, one of which might have been that he was racist and he would have been rude and offensive to the black student. These perceived discriminatory actions evoke a range of strong emotional responses within the black student.

/Generally the...

Generally the immediate reaction is one of distress, hurt and offence as the experience is perceived to be an insult. The black student becomes mortified, ashamed and humiliated by the encounter which he conceives as a way to lower his self-respect and dignity.

Another strong feeling he experiences is frustration. The black student is frustrated in finding that he is unable to be accepted as an equal person and change the prejudiced views and attitudes of whites. This frustration sometimes inhibited students from performing adequately as a person or student, for example, in being unable " to finish the work in time " (S1, NMU 18).

The most common feeling aroused is that of anger. The anger makes apparent the great degree of frustration and humiliation experienced by a black student. The anger is manifested in several ways and is either directed towards the self or the transgressor. The anger is self-directed as a punishment for assuming and believing that blacks are accepted as equals by whites and realizing that this is not so (S1, NMU3; S6 NMU). Generally, the anger is directed towards the offender who is seen to be implying that blacks are inferior. The anger may reach such strong proportions that it manifests ^{itself} in

/physical acts...

physical acts of violence and abuse (S2, NMU 6 & 8; S.4, NMU 9; S5, NMU 12 & 14).

The black student tries to come to terms with the encounter by employing some sort of defence or adjustment strategy. It may take the form of avoidance where the black student tries to ignore future humiliations by withdrawing, erecting emotional barriers (S3, NMU11; S7, NMU 13, 19,10) or directing energies to other matters (S4, NMU 17). Implicit in this strategy is the belief that ignoring the incident or withdrawal, prevents further hurt, humiliation and trouble (S3, NMU 15). Another strategy that is utilized is attacking the source of frustration using direct (S2, S5) or indirect (S4) aggression. This aggression may take many forms ranging from physical assault (S2, NMU 6; S5, NMU 12) to verbal abuse (S2, NMU 8; S5 NMU 14) and it may even include complaints and any other actions that are pursued with the intention of seeking retribution and justice (S6, NMU18). These actual or imaginary acts of retribution are part of the cathartic process of relieving anger.

A useful strategy often voiced but rarely espoused is an attempt to constructively change the situation by making the transgressor aware in a non-violent way of the harm being

/caused...

caused (S3, NMU 14; S5, NMU 19, S7, NMU 17). Few adopt this method believing that it leaves them vulnerable to more hurt and humiliation. (S3, NMU 15; S7, NMU18).

Consequently we see that the social life of the black student seems to be filled with constant reminders of his inferior status. The black student tries to understand the reason and cause for these racists attitudes (S4, NMU 13 ; S5 NMU 19) and posits it in the white students' social background (S1, NMU28; S5 NMU18). The black student tries to overcome these petty trials and tribulations by ignoring them or attempting to change them. The black student anticipates and is hopeful that change will occur, but accepts racial prejudice and discrimination as part of a black student's existence; "This is the way your life goes if you are black anywhere" (S4, NMU20). In short, one can say the maxim "suffer in silence " aptly describes the black student's life at a predominantly white university.

In conclusion one can say there is nothing so finely perceived and so finely felt as injustice in the black students' world. To the black student life seems to be a series of injustices each more overwhelming than the previous. The first and most ready response is anger and the response seems to continue long after the reason for it has gone.

/Discussion...

CHAPTER FIVE

5. DISCUSSION

In summary, analysis of the data reveals that admitting black students into a predominantly white university evokes a great deal of hostility between black and white students. Black students are offended and angered by the actions of whites which they perceive to be racist and discriminatory. They construe the 'racist' behaviour as an attempt to reinforce their inferiority to and difference from the whites. Furthermore, they perceive whites to be forming a coalition against them.

One tentative reason that can be suggested to explain the latent hostility and conflict between black and white students goes back to the kinds of lives the students have led and the kind of environments from which they come. Black and white children have different cultural backgrounds and orientations, have lived in 'black only' or 'white only' communities and may have attended predominantly white or black schools. This adds to the interactional difficulties as both are unused to interacting in such close constant proximity.

/Social identity...

Social identity theory is a dynamic perspective which has the potential for explaining the hostility and antagonism between black and white students. Social identity theory (discussed in Chapter 1) is built around a sequence of processes which can be expressed as follows :

Social categorization of the world involves knowledge of our membership in certain social categories as well as the placing of others into social groups. This categorization, according to the results of the minimum group paradigm experiments (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), is sufficient to create tension and conflict between groups. Thus, the categorization effect may provide a useful explanation for the hostility between black and white students. Both black and white students are aware (socially and politically) that they belong to different groups. Thus, the mere awareness of the presence of an outgroup is sufficient to trigger intergroup hostility and conflict.

The theory further states that knowledge of our category memberships together with the values, positive or negative, attached to them is defined as our social identity and has meaning only in social comparison with other relevant groups. Social identity forms an important part of the self-concept and it is assumed that we try to achieve a positive social identity

/in order...

in order to make our own social group favourably distinct from other groups and thereby enhance our positive self esteem. Black students in attending a predominantly white university realize that they belong to different groups (socially and politically) and try to compare themselves favourably with the relevant outgroup (whites) in order to achieve positive social identities. Whites, on the other hand, also desire to achieve positive group distinctiveness and social identities. Thus, both groups may indulge in or perceive discrimination and hostility to attain positive group distinctiveness i.e. show the groups are different. Furthermore, the antagonism and conflict between groups heightens "identification with, and positive attachment to, the ingroup" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.33).

Social identity theory conceives of social behaviour as a continuum forming two extremes, an interpersonal one and an intergroup one. In short, interpersonal interaction is conducted solely on individual characteristics and traits, while intergroup interactions are based solely on group membership. Also related to these two extremes is the social mobility - social change continuum. Social mobility is based on the assumption that society is flexible and permeable and if an individual is dissatisfied with his group membership he is able to move into another group. Whereas social change, ^{on the other hand,} implies that

/the relations...

the relations between social groups in society is strongly stratified and it is difficult to move from one group to another. (For further details refer to Chapter 1). Thus, the closer individuals are to the intergroup and social change extreme, they are more likely to treat encounters with outgroup members as antagonistic. Furthermore, they are more likely to treat outgroup members as undifferentiated items rather than in terms of their individual characteristics. From the discussion in Chapter Two, as well as the results obtained from studies conducted by Bloom (1960), Danziger (1975) and Riordan (1981), amongst others, ^{it is} ^{ed} _n revealed that blacks strongly identify with their group while differentiating themselves from the outgroup. Furthermore, through the influence of the BCM and Manganyi (1973) they are strongly motivated to pursue social change strategies. This results in them interacting with outgroup members mainly in terms of group membership. Therefore they perceive disagreeable incidents as a consequence of their group membership, rather than personal characteristics or other circumstances.

Also, this strong adherence to the intergroup mode of interaction results in the treatment of outgroup members as homogenous items. This is manifested in the expectation of discrimination and racism from outgroup members. Furthermore a

/single distasteful...

single distasteful encounter with one outgroup member leads to generalizations about other outgroup members. This is specifically apparent in Subject 7's protocol. She is not prepared to befriend and trust other white students because of her disagreeable experience with one outgroup member. The similar phenomenon manifests itself in nearly every subject's protocol.

The major proponent of the social identity theory is that individuals constantly strive for a positive social identity. A positive social identity is achieved through comparison with other groups. If comparison with the relevant outgroup is favourable, the ingroup has high status and provides a positive social identity to its members. However, if the comparison yields unfavourable results, the ingroup has low status and the individual group members are confronted with negative social identities. Faced with a negative social identity ingroup members will pursue some course of action to change their state of affairs. The same strategies may be used by the superior outgroup to maintain their positive group distinctiveness and social identities (See 2.3.2.).

Blacks, according to our discussion in Chapter Two, constitute an 'inferior' group. According to Tajfel (1978) an inferior

/group emerges...

group emerges through social comparison. When a group attains low status through social comparison it is said to constitute an inferior group. Blacks, we said, constitute an inferior group and their position is entrenched in legislation. Faced with low status and inadequate social identities the group will pursue some mode of action to achieve higher status. The course of action pursued does not succeed, or is not accepted by the dominant group and consequently, intense intergroup hostility and antagonism will emerge (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Furthermore although the group as a unit may advocate a particular strategy, within group heterogeneity may result in individual subordinate group members adopting other strategies. For this reason, all options outlined by Tajfel (1978) will be discussed from the group perspective as well as the individual subject perspective whenever possible. These explanations may provide reasons for the apparent hostility between black and white students.

One of the options that may be pursued is individual mobility. This strategy refers to ^{the notion} that, whereby individuals wish to pass out of the group which is causing them so much comparative discomfort into one that is more positively valued, the dominant group (See 1.1.;2.3.2.2.)). Black students may construe their acceptance into a predominantly white university as acceptance into the white dominant group. Attending university may make

/them aware...

them aware that the group barriers between the groups are virtually impermeable, race characteristics cannot be changed. Thus this results in intergroup hostility and conflict.

Black students may perceive the actions of outgroup members as attempts to prevent him^{from} entering the 'superior' group. The protocols of subjects 6 and 7 can be interpreted as in terms of individual mobility. Both feel that they are accepted into the dominant group, subject 6 as a postgraduate student and subject seven as a friend. However, encounters with a member of dominant group makes them aware that the group boundaries are impermeable and, they perceive the behaviour as an attempt to undermine their equality.

Another viable course of action that may be adopted is acceptance of the groups^{'s} inferior position. This results in group members derogating^{their} own group and displaying positive attitudes to the depriving outgroup (for further details see 2.3.2.1.). There is no evidence of this mode of action by black students. This state of affairs may be the result of the work of Manganyi (1973) and others in changing ingroup derogation into ingroup preference. Subject 4's statement "but this is the way your^{'s} life goes if you are black anywhere" implies (albeit tenuous^{ly}) his acceptance of his groups^{'s} inferior status

/although he...

although he does not manifest any feelings of derogation to ingroup or preference for outgroup.

The social change or social action course of action appears to provide the most satisfactory explanation for the hostilities between black and white students. This strategy involves group members remaining and identifying with the ingroup while simultaneously trying to change the status of the group. This mode of action (discussed) incorporates several sub-strategies. One of the sub-strategies is that of assimilating characteristics of the dominant outgroup. Black students in attending a predominantly white university are assimilating the goals and traditions of western culture. However, the dominant group may refuse to accept these assimilated individuals as this in turn diminishes their own group distinctiveness. This then results in tension and conflict, both apparent and perceived, between the two groups.

Manganyi (1977) sees this assimilation of white culture as providing the black ^{with} a false identity because it requires substituting a black culture for a white one. Furthermore this substitution is unequal because it does not yield what it promises. The black student in accepting the white culture becomes trapped in culture that assigns him inferior status.

/The realization...

The realization that in accepting white culture he is still given inferior status may provoke conflict that is so great that the black may indulge in violent acts and thoughts. This explanation may account for the violent thoughts and actions manifested by subjects' 2, 4 and 5. This cathartic violence is seen as ^a rejection of white culture and positive acceptance of black culture. It also frees ^{the} individual from self-hatred and domination.

Even though an individual may realize that he is not totally accepted and assimilated into the dominant group, the individual may accept this false identity. This is manifested in the "expressionless face in the wake of intense provocation" (Manganyi, 1977 p.64). Subject 3 in keeping quiet and preventing trouble aptly demonstrates Manganyi's claim.

The second sub-strategy that may be utilized by black students is that of social competition. Social competition refers to the strategy adopted by individuals who wish to reverse ^{the} status of ingroup and outgroup on valued dimensions. This strategy is espoused when group members strongly identify with their group and when subordinate group members become aware that their inferiority is illegitimate (Tajfel, 1978).

/Black students...

Black students coming to a predominantly white university may be attempting to compete directly with outgroup members to prove their equality. However, hostility and violence may emerge when ingroup members realize that direct competition is unable to change group status.

Black students in attending a white university may be adopting the strategies advocated by the BCM and Manganyi (1973, 1977) to elevate the social status and identity of the group. These strategies involve re-evaluating and inventing new positive attributes of the group. Black students acknowledge their difference from the white group but desire this to be accepted as equal by the dominant white group. When this difference is not accepted (demonstrated in Subject 1's protocol) the behaviour of the outgroup is perceived as hostile and antagonistic.

Summarily, one can state that the conflict, both apparent and perceived, between white and black students emerges because the environment is not supportive of the acquisition of a positive black identity (Stikes, 1984). Constant confrontations with 'insensitive' whites, instructors whom they felt ignored them and materials that do not relate to the black experience adds to the smouldering hostilities waiting to erupt.

/These latent...

These latent violent hostilities can perhaps be overcome by developing a sensitizing programme. This programme should encompass making students aware and accepting ^{of} the cultural differences between black and whites, promoting of interaction on basis of individual rather than group characteristics, and making white students aware of how their behaviour is construed by black students. The underlying aims of the programme would be to facilitate interaction between previously estranged population groups as well as diffuse latent hostilities and conflicts between black and white students.

The discussion in attempting to utilize the tenets of social identity theory to explain the conflict and tension between black and white students has focussed mainly on the representations of the black students. Zavalloni (1973) acknowledges that subordinate groups often attempt to alter social representations and to present an alternative picture of intergroup relations in their attempts to promote social change.

In intergroup situations there is often more than one structure of beliefs available for explaining the nature of intergroup relations. In particular it should be borne that within a single intergroup context the social representations held by one group need not necessarily be the same as the way in which the

/situation is...

situation is perceived by another group. Looking at the intergroup situation solely from the perspective of the black student the awareness of what is "really" happening is likely to be one-sided.

Furthermore, the research focuses solely on the experiences of black students attending Rhodes University. An examination of the situation at other predominantly white universities may enable a better conceptualization and understanding of the black students experience at predominantly white institutions.

In the light of these considerations it is suggested that the present discussion should not be regarded as a complete theoretical and empirical statement on the black experience. If anything it has raised more problems and questions. These have to be tackled on both a theoretical and empirical level as they embody the more general problem of intergroup relations as well as group membership in a context of widespread social change.

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APPENDIX I

4.2. Subject two : Male postgraduate

4.2.1. Subject two : Protocol

I was walking up the stairs in my residence with a friend when my subwarden (a white student) came down the opposite direction. The stairs were so small such that the subwarden couldn't pass through between us. We were therefore compelled to wait so as to allow him to go through /(1). He was at my side and as he passed through, he deliberately bounced against me but then asked me " whats the story ? " /(2) I froze and was completely crushed by that moment /(3). He then went on to accuse me of having bad manners /(4). At that I felt anger rising within me so strong that I thought I was going to be out of control /(5).

The feeling of hitting him hard - something that he would never forget in his entire life was so strong within me /(6). But somehow - I really don't know how - I realized that if I hit him I would be expelled /(7). Having those consequences in mind, I forced the angry feelings to subside but then I shouted at him to fuck off /(8) [sic]. To this, he responded that I

/should go...

should go to my room because I was making noise /(9). I continued shouting and he warned me that what he said was an official warning. I could not believe what he said /(10) and was left powerless as he continued to walk down the stairs to his room /(11).

I thought that what he did was very unfair, dehumiliating [sic] and provocative /(12). I feared my next meeting with him because I would be forced to hit him but then I couldn't face the consequences of that /(13). I however felt that I couldn't leave him like this, something should be done about his behaviour /(14). I couldn't stand him anymore /(15) [by the way this was not the first time that he acted to me in a way considered to be undesirable /(16) - also my black friend did complain about his behaviour to the warden /(17)].

I went to see the warden to complain about his behaviour. By that time, the subwarden had already told the warden about the incident. Of course, he made up his own version of the story in which I was the trouble-maker /(18). When I told the warden of the incident especially that the subwarden abused his powers by sending me to my room after deliberately causing the incident, I was told by the warden that he did the right thing because he was performing his duties /(19).

/Two people...

Two people witnessed the incident. My friend (not staying in my residence) who was walking beside me and a white student who saw part of the incident as he passed by /(20). When the issue of witnesses was brought up, the warden chose to take the account of the white student first " because he was staying in this residence ". He told me that our accounts (the subwarden's and mine) were half-truth to him until proven otherwise /(22).

I felt the matter was unfairly handled and told the warden that he chose to buy the subwarden's story as half-truth even after I and other students previously complained about the subwarden's behaviour /(23). He also chose to consider the white witness first, even though he was half-present in [sic] the scene /(24). On top he believed that by sending me to my room, the subwarden was doing his duty /(25). I told him that this was a clear indication that he was taking sides. In fact the side of the white student /(26).

Although he assured me that he was not taking sides he somehow could not believe that the subwarden was wrong /(27). Whatever I told him, whatever other black students told him about the white subwarden's behaviour could only be half-truths /(28). I felt frustrated, I was treated as a black and inferior person/(29).

/The warden...

The warden after all my efforts told me that he'll talk to the subwarden about the issue /(30). I took comfort [sic] to that statement although I am presently considering taking further steps /(31).

/4.2.2. Natural meaning...

4.2.2. Natural meaning
Units

Transformed meaning
into psychological
language

1. I was walking up the stairs in my residence with a friend when my subwarden (a white student) came down the opposite direction. The stairs were so small such that the subwarden couldn't pass through between us. We were therefore compelled to wait so as to allow him to go through.

2. He was at my side and he passed through, he deliberately bounced against me but then asked me "whats the story?".

1. S. and a friend were walking up the narrow stairs of his residence and felt compelled to stand aside to enable the white subwarden to proceed down.

2. S. felt that the subwarden intentionally bumped into him while passing by and also tried to attribute the blame for the incident to S.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 3. I froze and was completely crushed by that comment. | 3. S. was shocked and overwhelmed by the subwarden's words. |
| 4. He then went on to accuse me of having bad manners. | 4. S. was furthermore accused of improper social etiquette. |
| 5. At that I felt anger rising within me so strong that I thought I was going to be out of control. | 5. S. became so overcome with anger that he felt he was going to go berserk. |
| 6. The feeling of hitting him hard - something that he would never forget in his entire life was so strong within me. | 6. S. desired to violently assault the subwarden in order to teach him a lesson for wrongly accusing him. |
| 7. But somehow - I really don't know how - I realized that if I hit him I would be expelled. | 7. S. achieved some self control by realizing that he faced serious consequences, namely expulsion, if he assaulted the subwarden. |

8. Having those consequences in mind, I forced the angry feelings to subside but then I shouted at him to fuck off.
[sic]

9. To this, he responded that I should go to my room because I was making a noise.

10. I continued shouting and he warned me that what he said was an official warning. I could not believe what he said...

8. S. attempted to control his anger but failed and resorted to verbal abuse, i.e. telling the subwarden to fuck off, in order to give vent to his anger.

9. S. felt further antagonised by the subwardens subsequent actions, namely telling him that he should go to his room as he was making a noise.

10. S. did not heed the subwarden's instructions and continued shouting. S. perceived that the subwarden used his official authority to reprimand him after

deliberately causing the incident. S. was stunned by this behaviour.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 11. ... and was left powerless as he continued to walk down the stairs to his room. | 11. S. felt impotent and helpless as the subwarden ignored the conflict situation by walking away. |
| 12. I thought that what he did was very unfair, dehumiliating [sic] and provocative. | 12. S. perceived the subwarden's actions to be a deliberate attempt to incite as well as mortify him. |
| 13. I feared my next meeting with him because I would be forced to hit him but then I couldn't face the consequences of that. | 13. S. dreaded his next encounter with the subwarden as he feared that he would not be able to restrain himself from assaulting the subwarden. S. also feared the consequences of his intended actions. |

14. I however felt that I couldn't leave him like this, something should be done about his behaviour.
14. S. felt that the subwarden's behaviour should be punished and not be ignored.
15. I couldn't stand him anymore.
15. S. experienced strong feelings of dislike towards the subwarden.
16. [By the way this was not the first time that he had acted to me in a way considered to be undesirable.
16. S. realizes that he has had previous unpleasant encounters with the subwarden.
17. Also my black friend did complain about his behaviour to the warden].
17. S. notes that his black friend had been antagonised by the subwarden and had taken action against him by complaining to the warden.

18. I went to see the warden to complain about his behaviour. By that time, the subwarden had already told the warden about the incident. Of course, he made up his own version of the story in which I was the trouble maker.

19. When I told the warden of the incident especially that the subwarden abused his powers ~~his powers~~ by sending me to my room after deliberately causing the incident, I was told (by the warden) that he did the right thing because he was performing his duties.

18. S. reported the incident to the warden and became aware that the subwarden had already related a distorted account to the warden in which S. was depicted as the trouble-causer.

19. S. felt that the warden was protecting the subwarden's actions even though he had deliberately caused the conflict and then used his official position to reprimand S.

20. Two people witnessed the incident. My friend (not staying in my residence) who was walking beside me and a white student who saw part of the incident as he passed by.

21. When the issue of witnesses was brought up. The warden chose to take the account of the white student first "because he was staying in this residence".

20. S's. encounter with the subwarden had been witnessed by his visiting friend and partially witnessed by a white passerby.

21. S. perceived the warden's behaviour to be racially prejudiced as he chose to listen to the white witness first by using the excuse that the white student was living in the same residence as S.

22. He told me that our accounts (the subwardens and mine) were half truth to him until proven otherwise.

22. S. was told by the warden that neither his nor the subwarden's account of the incident could be totally believed until they had been adequately proved.

23. I felt that the matter was unfairly handled and told the warden that he chose to buy the subwarden's story as half-truth even after I and other students had previously complained about the subwarden's behaviour.

23. S. was dissatisfied with the warden's handling of the situation. S. felt that the warden had been unjust to him. S. felt that the subwarden's account should not have been accepted as there had been several previous complaints about the subwarden's unsatisfactory behaviour.

24. He also chose to consider the white witness first even though he was half-present in the [sic] scene.
24. S. considered the warden to be racially biased by listening to the white student's account first despite the fact that he did not witness the entire incident.
25. On top he believed that by sending me to my room, the subwarden was doing his duty.
25. S. perceived the warden's sanction of the subwardens behaviour as further indication of racial discrimination.
26. I told him that this was a clear indication that he was taking sides. In fact the side of the white student.
26. S. told the warden that his behaviour was indicative of his racial preference to whites.

27. Although he assured me that he was not taking sides he somehow could not believe that the subwarden was wrong.
27. S. was not reassured by the wardens claim that he was being objective and he felt that the warden preferred to believe that the subwarden was telling the truth.
28. Whatever I told him, whatever other black students told him about the white subwarden's behaviour could only be half-truths.
28. S. felt that the warden was racially prejudiced and therefore would not totally believe complaints lodged by blacks against the white subwarden.
29. I felt frustrated, I was treated as a black and therefore inferior person.
29. S. experienced strong feelings of frustration as he felt that he was treated as an inferior person because of his skin colour.

30. The warden after all my efforts told me that he'll talk to the subwarden about the issue.

30. S. felt that his effort had been in vain because the warden was only going to discuss the issue with the subwarden instead of reprimanding him.

31. I took comfort to [sic] that statement, although I am presently considering taking further steps.

31. S. was slightly mollified by the warden's action but is contemplating further action against the subwarden.

4.2.3. Psychological formulation of themes emerging from the N.M.U's of subject two

1. S. and a friend were walking up the narrow stairs of his residence and felt compelled to stand aside to enable the white subwarden to proceed down.
2. S. felt that the subwarden intentionally bumped into him while passing by and also tried to attribute the blame for the incident to S.
3. S. was shocked and overwhelmed by the subwarden's words.
4. S. was furthermore accused of improper social etiquette.
5. S. became so overcome with anger that he felt he was going to go berserk.
6. S. desired to violently assault the subwarden in order to teach him a lesson for wrongly accusing him.
7. S. achieved some self-control by realizing that he faced serious consequences, namely expulsion, if he assaulted the subwarden.

/8. S. attempted...

8. S. attempted to control his anger but failed and resorted to verbal abuse, i.e. telling the subwarden to fuck off, in order to give vent to his anger.
9. S. felt further antagonised by the subwarden's subsequent actions, namely telling him that he should go to his room as he was making a noise.
10. S. did not heed the subwarden's instructions and continued shouting. S. perceived that the subwarden used his official authority to reprimand him after deliberately causing the incident. S. was stunned by this behaviour.
11. S. felt impotent and helpless as the subwarden ignored the conflict situation by walking away.
12. S. perceived the subwarden's actions to be a deliberate attempt to incite as well as mortify him.
13. S. dreaded his next encounter with the subwarden as he feared that he would not be able to restrain himself from assaulting the subwarden. S. also feared the consequences of his intended actions.

/14. S. felt...

14. S. felt that the subwarden's behaviour should be punished and not be ignored.
15. S. experienced strong feelings of dislike towards the subwarden.
16. S. realizes that he has had previous unpleasant encounters with the subwarden.
17. S. notes that his black friend had been antagonised by the subwarden and had taken action against him by complaining to the subwarden.
18. S. reported the incident to the warden and became aware that the subwarden had already related a distorted account to the warden in which S. was depicted as the trouble-causer.
19. S. felt that the warden was protecting the subwarden's actions even though he had deliberately caused the conflict and then used his official position to reprimand S.
20. S's encounter with the subwarden had been witnessed by his visiting friend and partially witnessed by a white passerby.

/21,24 S. perceived...

- 21,24 S. perceived the warden to be racially prejudiced in listening to white student's account first, despite the fact that he did not witness the entire incident. S. felt that the warden used the excuse that the white student was living in the same residence as S. to listen to him.
22. S. was told by the warden that neither his nor the subwarden's account of the incident could be totally believed until they had been adequately proved.
23. S. was dissatisfied with the warden's handling of the situation. S. felt that the warden had been unjust to him. S. felt that the subwarden's account should not have been accepted as there had been several previous complaints about the subwarden's unsatisfactory behaviour.
25. S. perceived the warden's sanction of the subwarden's behaviour as further indication of racial discrimination.
26. S. told the warden that his behaviour was indicative of his preference to whites.

/27. S. was/....

27. S. was not reassured by the warden's claim that he was being objective and he felt that the warden preferred to believe that the subwarden was telling the truth.
28. S. felt that the warden was racially prejudiced and therefore would not totally believe complaints lodged by blacks against the white subwarden.
29. S. experienced strong feelings of frustration as he felt that he was treated as an inferior person because of his skin colour.
30. S. felt that his efforts had been in vain because the warden was only going to discuss the issue with the subwarden instead of reprimanding him.
31. S. was slightly mollified by the warden's action but is still contemplating further action against the subwarden.

APPENDIX II

4.3. Subject three : Female undergraduate

4.3.1. Subject three : Protocol

It was one time [sic] in the dining hall that I was [sic] aware that I was black /(1). In fact I was looking for, I think it was a pear /(2). So one lady, she was white, she went there [sic] she was looking for her second pear as well /(3). The caterer gave her a pear and juice /(4). So I only wanted a pear but she told me that I am not supposed to take a second fruit until before [sic] the dining hall was about to be closed /(5). I felt offended and hurt /(6) and went back to the table and said to myself - " ag, just get it from your mind " /(8), but it was so hard for me to forget it /(8) because I felt we blacks are just oppressed by silly things /(9). And even though I haven't been through such big [sic] experiences it worried me /(10). I try to ignore it to overcome it [sic] /(11), but everytime that I go into the dining hall it comes into my mind /(12). I look at the caterer and say nothing /(13). Maybe I will feel better if I said something - like how I feel /(14), but it is better to say nothing and have no trouble /(15).

/4.3.2. Natural...

4.3.2. Natural meaning
Units

1. It was one time [sic]
in the dining hall
that I was [sic] aware
that I was black.

2. In fact I was looking
for, I think it was a
pear.

3. So one lady, she was
white, she went there
[sic] she was looking
for her second pear as
well.

4. The caterer gave her
a pear and juice

4.3.2. Transformed meaning into
Psychological language

1. S. was made aware of being
a different skin colour -
being black - during an
incident which occurred in
the dining hall.

2. S. desired a pear.

3. S. noted that another
student who was white, also
came for a second portion
of fruit.

4. S. observed that the
caterer gave the white
student the fruit as well
as a juice.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. So I only wanted a pear but she told me that I am supposed to take a second fruit until before [sic] the dining hall was about to be closed. | 5. S. also desired a pear, but was told that she was only allowed to take second helpings when the dining hall was about to shut. |
| 6. I felt offended and hurt... | 6. She resented and was distressed by the caters discriminatory actions. |
| 7. ... and went back to the table and said to "ag just get it from your mind." | 7. S. went to her table and tried to dismiss the incident from her mind. |
| 8. But it was so hard for me to forget it... | 8. S. experienced great difficulty in overlooking and overcoming the experience. |
| 9. ... because I felt we blacks are just oppressed by silly things. | 9. S. felt that petty things are used to discriminate against blacks. |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 10. And even though I haven't been through such big [sic] experiences it worried me. | 10. S. was distressed and vexed by the incident, although she realized that it was minor. |
| 11. I tried to ignore it to overcome it [sic]. | 11. S. tried to get over the incident by trying to dismiss it from her mind. |
| 12. But everytime that I go into the dining hall it comes into my mind. | 12. S. is constantly reminded of her painful experience when she enters the dining hall. |
| 13. I look at the caterer and say nothing. | 13. S. does not reveal her distressed feelings and thoughts to the caterer. |
| 14. Maybe I will feel better if I said something - like how I feel. | 14. S. acknowledges that revealing her true feelings and feelings and attitudes to the caterer might enable her to overcome the pain and humiliation of the incident. |

15. But it is better to
^{say}
^ nothing and have no
trouble.

15. S. does not desire
revealing her feelings as
she fears further
confrontation.

4.3.3. Psychological formulation of themes emerging from the N.M.U.'s of Subject Three

1. S. was made aware of being a different colour - being black - during an incident which occurred in the dining hall.
2. S. desired a pear.
3. S. noted that another student, who was white, also came for a second portion of fruit.
4. S. observed that the caterer gave the white student the fruit as well as a juice.
5. S. also desired a pear, but was told that she was only allowed to take second helpings when the dining hall was about to shut.
6. S. resented and was distressed by the caterers discriminatory actions.
- 7,11 S. went to her table and tried to dismiss the incident from her mind believing it to be a good way to get over it.
8. S. experienced great difficulty in overlooking and overcoming the experience.

9. S. felt that petty things are used to discriminate against blacks.
10. S. was distressed and vexed by the incident, although she realized that it was minor.
12. S. is constantly reminded of her painful experienced when she enters the dining hall.
13. S. does not reveal her distressed feelings and thoughts to the caterer.
14. S. acknowledges that revealing her true feelings and attitudes to the caterer might enable her to overcome the pain and humiliation of the incident.
15. S. does not desire revealing her feelings as she fears further confrontations.

APPENDIX III

4.4. Subject four : Male; undergraduate

4.4.1. Subject four : Protocol

When white guys are drinking, when they get drunk, they have these bad attitudes toward black people /(1). They tend to pick on your colour /(2). I remember during Rag Day, some of us were going to Graham House for a party. We were holding a sound system /(3). These guys came and passed some funny remarks at us /(4). I can't remember very well - something like " look at the kaffirs holding the box - they seem to know their place " or something bad like that /(5). They were very drunk. Usually when they're drunk they become very hostile /(6).

I became offended. I got hurt too /(7). I wished that there was something I could do /(8), like take a gun and shoot all these guys or something like that /(9). But I am not a guy who likes violence so I kept quiet /(10).

/Then, later...

Then, later when I went to my room, I tried to put it from my mind /(11). I am a very quiet person, so when I get hurt I keep quiet /(12). I sat and tried to understand why they said that. I thought I don't know why things like this happen /(13). I wished I didn't exist /(14). I wished that I was not living in South Africa but somewhere else like America where things are [sic] little better. Where a person is, at least, not judged by the colour of his skin /(15).

So I put my music [sic] and slept and said when I get up, I will forget it /(16). When I got up, I ignored it and worked /(17). I accept this as the South African situation /(18). I hope that one day things will change /(19). But this is the way your life goes [sic] if you are black anywhere /(20).

4.4.2. Natural Meaning
Units

1. When white guys are drinking when they get drunk, they have these bad attitudes toward black people
2. They tend to pick on your colour.
3. I remember during Rag Day, some of us were going to Graham House for a party. We were holding a sound system.
4. These guys came and passed some funny remarks at us.

4.4.2. Transformed meaning into
psychological language

1. S. perceives that white males reveal their [true] hostile and racist feelings towards blacks when they are intoxicated.
2. S. notes that intoxicated white males tend to make blacks aware of their difference from whites.
3. S. recollects a specific incident which occurred on Rag Day, while some friends were carrying a sound system over to a party in Graham House.
4. S. and his friends were the butt of racist remarks from some white males.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>5. I can't remember very well - something like " look at the kaffirs holding the box - they seem to know their place " or something bad like that.</p> | <p>5. S. perceived the remarks to be racist and derogatory because the holding of the sound system - ^q on act of physical labour, - was seen as a reference to traditional "inferior" black roles.</p> |
| <p>6. They were very drunk. Usually when they're drunk they become very hostile.</p> | <p>6. S. perceives that the white students were very drunk and realizes that they reveal hostile feelings during this state.</p> |
| <p>7. I became offended. I got hurt too.</p> | <p>7. S. was offended and hurt by the white students' remarks.</p> |
| <p>8. I wished that there was something I could do...</p> | <p>8. S. felt helpless and desired pursuing some course of action against these white students.</p> |
| <p>9. ... like take a gun and shoot all these guys or something like that.</p> | <p>9. S. was so enraged that he desired taking some violent course of action, like annihilating the white male students.</p> |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 10. But I am not a guy who likes violence so I kept quiet. | 10. S. remained silent and did not pursue retaliatory action against the transgressors because he dislikes violence. |
| 11. Then, later when I went to my room, I tried to put it from my mind. | 11. S. tried to ignore the incident when he was alone. |
| 12. I am a very quiet person, so when I get hurt I keep quiet. | 12. S. perceives himself to be a reserved person who dislikes revealing his distress. |
| 13. I sat and tried to understand why they said that. I thought I don't know why things like this happen. | 13. S. tried unsuccessfully to understand the underlying reason for the white student's racist and hostile behaviour. |
| 14. I wished I didn't exist. | 14. S. expressed a strong desire to escape reality. |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>15. I wished that I was not living in South Africa but somewhere like America where things are little better. Where a person is, at least, not judged by the colour of his skin.</p> | <p>15. S. desired to live in another country such as America where racism is less blatant than South Africa and where there is less overt discrimination based solely on skin colour.</p> |
| <p>16. So I put my music [sic] and slept and said when I get up I will forget it.</p> | <p>16. S. took refuge in routine [putting on music and sleeping in order to forget the incident.]</p> |
| <p>17. When I got up, I ignored it and worked.</p> | <p>17. S. prevented the incident from upsetting him by channelling his energies into his studies.</p> |
| <p>18. I accept this as the South African situation.</p> | <p>18. S. accepts overt discrimination and racism as part of the South African apartheid system.</p> |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 19. I hope that one day things will change. | 19. S. desires that things will change for the better in the future. |
| 20. But this is the way your life goes [sic] if you are black anywhere. | 20. S. perceives racism and discrimination against blacks to be prevalent everywhere in the world. |

4.4.3. Psychological formulation of themes emerging from the N.M.U.'s of Subject four

- 1,6 S. perceives that white male students reveal their [true] hostile and racist feelings towards blacks when they are intoxicated.

2. S. notes that intoxicated white males tend to make blacks aware of their difference from whites.

/S. recollects...

3. S. recollects a specific incident which occurred on Rag Day, while some friends were carrying a sound system over to a party in Graham House.
4. S. and his friends were the butt of racist remarks from some white males.
5. S. perceived the remarks to be racist and derogatory because the holding of the sound system - an act of physical labour - was seen as a reference to traditional "inferior" black roles.
7. S. was offended and hurt by the white students' remarks.
8. S. felt helpless and desired pursuing some course of action against these white students.
9. S. was so enraged that he desired taking some violent course of action, like annihilating the white male students.
10. S. remained silent and did not pursue retaliatory action against the transgressors because he dislikes violence.

/11. S. tried...

11. S. tried to ignore the incident when he was alone.
12. S. perceives himself to be a reserved person who dislikes revealing his distress.
13. S. tried unsuccessfully to understand the underlying reason for the white student's racist and hostile behaviour.
14. S. expressed a strong desire to escape reality.
15. S. desired to live in another country such as America where racism is less blatant than South Africa and where there is less overt discrimination based solely on skin colour.
16. S. took refuge in routine [putting on music and sleeping] in order to forget the incident.
17. S. prevented the incident from further upsetting him by channelling his energies into his studies.
18. S. accepts overt discrimination and racism as part of the South African apartheid system.
19. S. desires that things will change for the better in the future.

20. S. perceives racism and discrimination, against blacks, to be prevalent everywhere in the world.

APPENDIX IV

4.5. Subject five : Male; undergraduate

4.5.1. Subject five : Protocol

There was this Mr. X and this happened at the toaster in the dining hall. I was going to toast and he was there /(1). I wanted to toast 3 slices that toasting machine is big [sic] to take 15 slices. When I put in my 3 slices, he told me that I should wait and let him finish and then I can continue /(2). I said but there is a lot of space, I could continue /(3). We always queue here and do it together /(4) and I told him that I was going to continue toasting /(5) - and he told me that this isn't my toasting machine, he is entitled to use it. He is privileged and all that /(6) and he told me its because I have had this opportunity to come here and I am becoming white /(7). I told him that is is my country and I have been deprived of these things /(8) and he is the last person to deprive me of what I've paid for /(9). I've paid for that toasting machine and I am entitled to its service /(10).

/I was so...

I was so angry, I thought he is doing it to me because I'm black /((11)). I was so angry, I clapped [sic] him /((12)) and when he tried to fight some friends came in to stop him /((13)). I was so angry that I cursed him. I told him to go to hell and came back bare-footed, I don't care /((14)). And I felt if it weren't for this R50 to pay or the disciplinary thing I would go and fight because I think it is the only way they'll understand /((15)).

Later when he was alone, I approached him and told him that I was very old to him [sic] [much older than*] and I was going to beat him if he showed more bad behaviour /((16)). And he apologies /((17)).

But later my anger changed because I understood maybe it is the kind of background they're coming from [sic] /((18)). And I feel it is my duty and responsibility to tell them that we don't like what they're doing /((19)).

*[Researchers words]

5.2. Natural meaning...

5.5.2. Natural Meaning
Units

5.5.2. Transformed meaning into
psychological language

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. There was this Mr. X and this happened at the toaster in the dining hall. I was going to toast and he was there. | 1. S. encountered Mr. X at the toaster in the dining hall when he went to toast his bread. |
| 2. I wanted to toast 3 slices. That toasting machine is big [sic] to take 15 slices. When I put in my 3 slices, he told me that I should wait and let him finish and then I can continue. | 2. S. was told to wait by Mr. X when toasting his bread even though there was enough space for both to toast together |
| 3. I said but there is a lot of space, I could continue. | 3. S. told Mr. X that there was ample space for both of them to simultaneously toast their bread. |

4. We always queue here and do it together.
4. S. noted that it was customary for them to share the toasting machine and toast simultaneously.
5. And I told him that I was going to continue toasting.
5. S. was adamant about using the machine even if Mr. X disliked it.
6. And he told me that this isn't my toasting machine he is entitled to use it He is privileged and all that ...
6. S. perceived that Mr. X did not desire toasting and sharing the toasting machine therefore sought refuge in the rationalization that ^{he} is denying him his rights by using the toaster.
7. ... and he told me its because I have had this opportunity to come here and I am becoming white.
7. S. was further reminded by Mr. X that he was forgetting he was black and therefore had an inferior position because he was allowed to attend a predominantly white university.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 8. I told him that this is my country and I have been deprived of these things... | 8. S. told Mr. X that although South Africa is his country he has been deprived of many privileges. |
| 9. ... and he is the last person to deprive me of what I've paid for. | 9. S. told Mr. X that he had no authority to deprive him of privileges that he is entitled to because he has paid for them. |
| 10. I've paid for that toasting machine and I'm entitled to its service. | 10. S. felt that payment of fees enabled him to use the toasting machine. |
| 11. I was so angry. I thought he is doing it to me because I'm black. | 11. S. became enraged when he realized that Mr. X displayed hostile behaviour towards him because he was a black student. |
| 12. I was so angry I clapped [sic] him. | 12. S. was so enraged that he lost control over his physical actions and gave |

vent to his anger by
slapping Mr. X.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 13. And when he tried to fight some friends came in to stop him. | 13. Mr. X was restrained from retaliating by his friends. |
| 14. I was so angry that I cursed him. I told him to go to hell and come back bare-footed, I didn't care. | 14. S's anger did not dissipate and he tried to relieve it by resorting to verbal abuse and condemning Mr. X to hell. |
| 15. And I felt if it wasn't for this R50 to pay or the disciplinary thing I would go and fight because I think it is the only way they'll understand. | 15. S. felt that physical violence was the only method to get through to white people. S. refrained from that mode of action against Mr. X when he realized that it had serious consequences, a fine or disciplinary action. |

16. Later when he was alone I approached him and told him that I was very old to him [sic] (*much old than) and I was going to beat him if he showed more bad behaviour.
17. And he apologised.
18. But later my anger changed because I understand it is the kind of background they're coming from [sic].
19. And I feel it is my duty and responsibility to tell them that we don't like what they're doing.
16. S. approached Mr. X when he was alone and warned him that he was his (X's) senior and threatened to hit him if he persisted in behaving in a discriminatory way.
17. Mr. X acknowledged he was wrong by apologising.
18. S. did not remain angry when he realized that whites behave in a discriminatory way towards blacks because of the social conditioning they are subjected to.
19. S. feels that it is his moral duty and obligation to make whites aware that blacks won't tolerate their discriminatory actions.

4.5.3. Psychological formulation of themes emerging from the N.M.U.'s of Subject five

1. S. encountered Mr. X at the toaster in the dining hall when he went to toast his bread.
2. S. was told to wait by Mr. X when toasting his bread even though there was enough space for both ^{of them} to toast together.
^
3. S. told Mr. X that there was ample space for both of them to simultaneously toast their bread.
4. S. noted that it was customary for them to share the toasting machine and toast simultaneously.
5. S. was adamant about using the machine even if Mr. X disliked it.
6. S. perceived that Mr. X did not desire toasting and sharing the toasting machine with S. therefore sought refuge in the rationalization that S. is denying him his rights by using the toaster.

/7. S. was...

7. S. was further reminded by X that he was forgetting he was black and therefore had an inferior position because he was allowed to attend a predominantly white university.
8. S. told ~~X~~^X that although South Africa is his country, he has been deprived of many privileges.
9. S. told Mr. X that he had no authority to deprive him of privileges that he is entitled to because he has paid for them.
10. S. felt that payment of fees enabled him to use the toasting machine.
11. S. became enraged when he realized that Mr. X displayed hostile behaviour towards him because he was a black student.
12. S. was so enraged that he lost control over his physical actions and gave vent to his anger by slapping Mr. X.
13. Mr. X was restrained from retaliating by his friends.

/14. S's anger...

14. S's anger did not dissipate and he tried to relieve it by resorting to verbal abuse and undermining Mr. X to hell.
15. S. felt that physical violence was the only method to get through to white people. S. refrained from that mode of action against Mr. X when he realized that it had serious consequences; a fine or disciplinary action.
16. S. approached Mr. X when he was alone and warned him that he was his (X's) senior and threatened to hit him if he persisted in behaving in a discriminatory way.
17. Mr. X acknowledged he was wrong by apologising.
18. S. did not remain angry when he realized that whites behave in a discriminatory way towards blacks because of the social conditioning they are subjected to.
19. S. feels that it is his moral duty and obligation to make whites aware that blacks won't tolerate their discriminatory actions.

APPENDIX V

4.6. Subject six : Female; postgraduate

4.6.1. Subject six : Protocol

I once had a nasty experience as a black student at Rhodes University /(1). I had a number of experiences which some people think are petty, yet when they are racial one doesn't feel like they are petty, they affect one's emotions /(2).

I was invited to a cocktail party or finger supper by the vice-chancellor as a postgraduate student in our department. The vice chancellor invited lecturers and postgraduate students to that party /(3). I went there all dressed up to be presentable like everybody else wanted to be presentable /(4). It was a nice party - our department was celebrating its 50th anniversary /(5). We had time to talk to lecturers, with other students, to know each other better, and were introduced to a few members of the administration. We were introduced to those we didn't know - guests of honour and the like /(6).

But I had a really nasty experience when the Vice-Chancellor came to me and did not introduce himself to me - obviously hoping [sic] that I know him. Which I did. He did not know me /(7) - but I suppose something struck him in my presence there. I happened to be the only black postgraduate student in that particular department /(8) and there were a few black women in the party too, who are the so called workers in our department /(9) and the vice-chancellor came to me and asked me whether I was a wife of one of the workers or a worker /(10). At first I was stunned, /(11) I didn't know what to say and I just said to him - "Oh! I am a student"/(12). But I felt insulted by that question /(13). He should have simply said " what are you doing in this particular department? " and I would have explained my story /(14). But the fact that I was black and he had invited lecturers who are definitely not black or never black at Rhodes, and he invited postgraduate students who are hardly ever black or never black at Rhodes University. To him I must have looked like a wife of one of the waiters /(15). I felt insulted /(16). I did not say anything to him. I didn't even report it formally in the Department /(17), but I discussed it with some of the lecturers in our department and there was nothing they could do about it /(18).

I told them its so funny that somebody like the Vice-Chancellor, who is one of the most educated men on the campus, and not just the campus but the whole of S.A., could be so naive as to ask such a blatantly racial question /(19). I felt that if an educated man, an intellectual like that one could say that, then the rest of the people could say worse things /(20).

I never forgave him for that and I still feel bad about it. I have never really gone over [sic] that experience /(21). I was very offended, actually not just offended but insulted that simply because of my colour that I could not have been a lecturer, I couldn't have been a student because he invited postgraduate students only, and I suppose blacks at Rhodes are mainly undergraduates /(22). So for him to see a black person there I should have been a worker or the wife of one of the workers /(23).

/6.6.2. Natural...

6.6.2. Natural Meaning
Units

1. I once had a nasty experience as a black student at Rhodes University.
2. I had a number of experiences which some people think are petty, yet when they are racial one doesn't feel like they are petty, they affect one's emotions.
3. I was invited to a cocktail party or finger supper by the Vice-chancellor as a postgraduate student in

6.6.2. Transformed meaning into
psychological language

1. S. was involved in a disagreeable incident at Rhodes University which she perceived to be the result of her being black.
2. S. has been involved in many racial incidents which although they could be termed minor, caused great emotional anguish.
3. S., a postgraduate student, was invited to a party given for post graduates and lecturers by the vice-chancellor of Rhodes

our department. The vice-chancellor invited lecturers and post-graduate students to that party. University.

4. I went there all dressed up to be presentable like everybody else wanted to be presentable. 4. S. dressed smartly for the same reasons as everybody else that attended.
5. It was a nice party - our department was celebrating its 50th anniversary. 5. S. enjoyed the party which was held to commemorate her department's 50th anniversary.
6. We had time to talk to lecturers, with other students, to know each better and were introduced to a few members of the administration. We were introduced to those we didn't know - guests of honour and the like. 6. S. socialized with other guests and was introduced to some members from the administration and other unknown guests.

7. But I had a really nasty experience when the vice-chancellor came to me and did not introduce himself to me - obviously hoping [sic] that I know him, which I did. He did not know me.
7. S's disagreeable incident occurred the vice-chancellor approached her. S. perceived the vice-chancellor to be rude in not introducing himself. She felt that he did this because he assumed that she recognized him. S. recognized him but was unknown to him.
8. But I suppose something struck him in my presence there. I happened to be the only black postgraduate student in that particular department...
8. S. felt that he singled her out when he realized she was black. He did not know she was a post-graduate student at the department.
9. ... and there were a few black women in the party too, who are the so called workers in the
9. S. noted that the other blacks attending the party were women workers employed by the depart-

department...

ment for manual labour,
cleaning, making tea and
so forth.

10. ... and the vice-
chancellor came to me and
asked me whether I was
a wife of one of the
workers or a worker.

10. S. was asked by the vice-
chancellor whether she was
employed by the department ^{as a worker}
or the spouse of someone
^{as a worker}
employed by the department.

11. At first I was
stunned...

11. S. was amazed by the
question as she did not
perceive herself to be
different or differently
dressed from the other
guests.

12. ... I didn't know what to
say and I just said to
him "oh! I am a student"

12. S. did not know how to
respond but eventually
stated that she was a
student.

13. But I felt insulted
by that question.

13. S. took offence to the
question.

14. He should have simply said "What are you doing in this department?", and I would have explained my story.
14. S. felt that the question was inappropriately asked. S. would have preferred being asked what her functions were in the department instead of being categorized as a worker.
15. But the fact that I was black and he had invited lecturers who are definitely not black or never black at Rhodes and he invited post-graduates who are hardly ever black or never black at Rhodes University. To him I must have looked like a wife of one of the workers.
15. S. felt that she was excluded from belonging to the categories ^{of} lecturer or postgraduate student because she was black and blacks rarely filled those categories at Rhodes. Furthermore she felt that because she was black she was characterised as being either a worker or a wife of a worker.
16. I felt insulted.
16. S. experienced feelings of degradation and humiliation.

17. I did not say anything to him I didn't report it formally in the department...
17. S. did not reveal her feelings to the vice-chancellor. She did not even lodge a formal complaint to the department.
18. ... but I discussed it with some of the lecturers in our department and there was nothing they could do about it.
18. S. discussed the incident with some lecturers in the department and realized that nothing could be done about it.
19. I told them its so funny that somebody like the vice-chancellor, who is one of the most educated men on the campus, and not just the campus but in the whole of South Africa could be so naive as to ask such a blatant racial question.
19. S. considered it peculiar that the vice-chancellor whom she considered to be very educated, could be so insensitive and resort to obvious racial prejudice in asking her such a question.

20. I felt that if an educated man, an intellectual like that one could say that, then the rest of the people could say worse things.
20. S. felt that if a learned person like the vice-chancellor could display racist attitudes then worse things could be expected from the average white person.
21. I never forgave him for that and I still feel bad about it. I have never really gone over [sic] that experience.
21. S. has not come to terms with the incident and remains upset and offended by the vice-chancellor's behaviour which she considers unforgivable.
22. I was very offended, actually not just offended but insulted that simply because of my colour that I could not have been a lecturer, I couldn't have been a student because he invited postgraduate students only, and I suppose blacks at Rhodes
22. S. was humiliated and insulted at being excluded from belonging to the categories lecturer or post-graduate student, she felt she was excluded because she was black. S. acknowledges that she may have been excluded because the majority of

are mainly undergraduates. ~~of~~ blacks are undergraduate at Rhodes.

23. So for him to see a black person there I should have been a worker or wife of one of the workers.
23. S. felt that she was characterised as worker or wife of a worker because of her colour. S. perceived this to be an indication of a racist stereotype about blacks.

4.6.3. Psychological formulation of themes emerging from the N.M.U.'s of Subject Six

1. S. was involved in a disagreeable incident at Rhodes University which she perceived to be the result of her being black.
2. S. has been involved in many racial incidents which although could be termed minor, caused great emotional anguish.

/3. S. a...

3. S. a postgraduate student, was invited to a party given for postgraduates and lecturers by the vice-chancellor of Rhodes university.
4. S. dressed smartly for the same reasons as everybody else that attended.
5. S. enjoyed the party which was held to commemorate her departments^s 50th anniversary.
6. S. socialized with other guests and was introduced to some members from ^{the} administration and other unknown guests.
^
7. S's disagreeable incident occurred when the vice-chancellor approached her. S. perceived the vice-chancellor to be rude in not introducing himself. She felt that he did this because he assumed that she recognized him. S. recognized him but was unknown to him.
8. S. felt he singled her out when he realized she was black. He did not know that she was a postgraduate student at the department.

/9. S. noted...

9. S. noted that the other blacks attending the party were women workers employed by the department for manual labour, cleaning, making tea and so forth.

10. S. was asked by the vice-chancellor whether she was employed by the department ^{as a worker} or the spouse of someone employed by the department ^{as a worker}.

11. S. was amazed by the question as she did not perceive herself to be different or differently dressed from the other guests.

12. S. did not know how to respond but eventually stated that she was a student.

- 13, 16.
S. took offence and was humiliated and degraded by the question.

14. S. felt that the question was inappropriately asked. She would have preferred being asked what her functions were in the department, instead of being characterised as a worker.

15,22

S. felt insulted at being excluded from belonging to the categories of postgraduate^{student} or lecturer because she was black - and characterised as a worker because of her colour. She acknowledges that she may have been excluded from these categories because blacks rarely filled these positions as ^{the} majority of them are undergraduates at Rhodes.

17. S. did not reveal her feelings to the vice-chancellor. She did not even lodge a formal complaint to the department.
18. S. discussed the incident with some lecturers in the department and realized that nothing could be done about it.
19. S. considered it peculiar that the vice-chancellor, whom she considered to be very educated, could be so insensitive and resort to obvious racial prejudice in asking her such a question.
20. S. felt that if a learned person like the vice-chancellor could display racist attitudes then worse things could be expected from the average white person.

21. S. has not come to terms with the incident and remains upset and offended by the vice-chancellor's behaviour which she considers unforgivable.

 23. S. felt that she was characterised as a worker or wife of a worker because of the ^colour. S. perceived this to be an indication of a racist stereotype about blacks.
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APPENDIX VI

4.7. Subject seven : Female; undergraduate

4.7.1. Subject seven : Protocol

I became aware of being black during my first year at Rhodes, in residence /(1). It was a silly incident but it upset me because it made me feel inferior and made me feel inadequate /(2).

All the girls in residence were very friendly, and especially the white girls went out of their way to treat us blacks as equals /(3). This one white girl, lets call her Liz, hugged and kissed us to show us that she was not racist /(4).

However, she revealed her true colours when her father came down to visit. None of the black girls were introduced to her father, only the white girls were /(5). In this instance, she, her father and some of the white girls were sitting in the common room and chatting /(6). I walked in and greeted everyone and went and sat at the other side of the common room and began reading the paper /(7). A few minutes later one of the white

/girls entered...

girls entered, this Liz, excitedly called out, "come over and meet my Dad; " and then went on to introduce her to her father and they continued laughing and chatting /(8).

I got very upset and thought why couldn't I be introduced /(9).

I felt that all her friendliness was lies, she only pretended to be friends, and now when her father is here she shows another face /(10). As I thought about this I got angry and felt that she was not any better than me /(11), and if she can't introduce me to her father, then she is ashamed of showing her father that she mixes with inferior black people /(12). So I made up my mind to stay away from her /(13). I told my friends about it, and they laughed at me for taking it so seriously /(14). They said that I was stupid to be offended and hurt as most white people put up this front that we are their friends /(15). They said that they pretend to be friends to show us how liberal they are /(16). I did not feel better, all I wanted to do was tell this girl that she is the same as me, only I am black, but we both have feelings and that I am not an animal to be ashamed of because I am black /(17). However, I did not tell her because I felt she would know I was hurt and would take advantage of that /(18). I decided to stay away from her /(19) and not be friendly with whites because you can't trust them /(20).

7.7.2. Natural Meaning
Units

1. I became aware of being black during my first year at Rhodes in residence.
2. It was a silly incident but it upset me because it made me feel inferior and made me feel inadequate.
3. All the girls in residence were very friendly, and especially the white girls went out of their way to treat us blacks as equals.
4. This one white girl, let's call her Liz, hugged and kissed us to show us that she was not racist.

7.7.2. Transformed meaning into
psychological language

1. S. was made aware that she black during her first year at Rhodes University while living in residence.
2. S. was upset by the incident even though she realizes it was petty, because it aroused in her feelings of inferiority and inadequacy.
3. S. perceived that her fellow residents were very amicable. S. found that the white girls were overly friendly and took a great deal of effort to treat blacks as their equals.
4. S. noted that a particular white girl [Liz] was excessively friendly in order to prove that she was not prejudiced against blacks.

5. However, she revealed ^{her true colours} when her father came down to visit. None of the black girls were introduced to her father, only the white girls were.
5. S. perceived Liz's friendliness to be superficial when all the white girls were introduced to her father during his visit, while the black girls were ignored.
6. In this instance, she her father and some of the white girls were sitting in the common room and chatting.
6. S. became specifically aware of the hypocritical behaviour in an incident which occurred in the common room.
7. I walked in, greeted everyone and went and sat at the other side of the common room and began reading the paper.
7. S. entered the room and after greeting everyone, sat down and busied herself reading the newspaper.
8. A few minutes later one of the white girls entered, this Liz, excitedly called out,
8. S. noted that when another student, who was white, entered she was specifically called over and introduced.

"come over and meet my Dad!" and then went on to introduce her to her father and they continued laughing and chatting.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 9. I got very upset and thought why couldn't I be introduced. | 9. S. became upset and resented not being introduced because she was black. |
| 10. I felt that all her friendliness was lies, she only pretended to be friends, and now her father is here she shows another face. | 10. S. perceived Liz's friendly behaviour to be a pretence as she did not acknowledge her friendliness with blacks when her father was around. |
| 11. As I thought about this I got angry and felt she was not any better than me. | 11. S. became angry when she realized this and resented feeling and being treated as an inferior. |

12. And if she can't introduce me to her father, then she is ashamed of showing her father that she mixes with inferior, black people.
12. S. felt that Liz's failure to introduce S. to her father was an indication that she was ashamed of revealing to her father that she associated with black people whom he considered inferior.
13. So I made up my mind to stay away from her.
13. S. decided not to be friendly with Liz.
14. I told my friends about it and they laughed at me for taking it so seriously.
14. S. related the incident to her friends who ridiculed her for getting so seriously upset by the incident.
15. They said that I was stupid to be offended and hurt as most white people put up this front that we are their friends.
15. S. was told by her friends that she should not be upset and offended by the incident as most white people pretend to be friendly towards blacks.

16. They said that they ^[whites] pretend to be friends to show us how liberal they are.
16. S. was told by her friends that whites pretend to be friendly towards blacks because they desired to appear unprejudiced.
17. I did not feel better, all I wanted to do was tell this girl that she is the same as me, only I am black, but we both have feelings and that I am not an animal to be ashamed of because I am black.
17. S. was not reassured by her friends' comments and desired revealing her offence to Liz as well as making her aware that she was not inferior because she was black.
18. However, I did not tell her because I felt she would know I was hurt and would take advantage of that.
18. S. did not reveal her feelings as she felt Liz would gloat and further abuse her hurt feelings.
19. I decided to stay away from her...
19. S. decided not to be friendly with Liz.

20. ... and not be friendly with whites because you can't trust them.
20. S. decided not to befriend other white people as she no longer had any confidence and trust in them.

4.7.3. Psychological formulation of themes emerging from the N.M.U.'s of Subject seven

1. S. was made aware that she was black during her first year at Rhodes University while living in residence.
2. S. was upset by the incident, even though she realizes it was petty, because it aroused in her feelings of inferiority and inadequacy.
3. S. perceived that her fellow residents were very amicable. S. found that the white girls were friendly and took a great deal of effort to treat blacks as their equals.
4. S. noted that a particular white girl [Liz] was excessively friendly in order to prove that she was not prejudiced against blacks.

/5,10 S. perceived...

5,10

- S. perceived Liz's friendly behaviour to be a pretence as she did not acknowledge her friendliness to blacks by introducing them to her father. She only introduced the white students to him.
6. S. became specifically aware of the hypocritical behaviour in an incident which occurred in the common room.
 7. S. entered the room and after greeting everyone, sat down and busied herself reading the newspaper.
 8. S. noted that when another student, who was white, entered, she was specifically called over and introduced.
 9. S. became upset and resented not being introduced because she was black.
 11. S. became angry when she realized this and resented feeling and being treated as an inferior.
 12. S. felt that Liz's failure to introduce S. to her father was an indication that she was ashamed of revealing to her

/father that...

father that she associated with black people whom he considered inferior.

13, 19

S. decided not to be friendly with Liz.

14. S. related the incident to her friends who ridiculed her for getting so seriously upset by the incident.

15. S. was told by her friends that she should not be upset and offended by the incident as most white people pretended to be friendly towards blacks.

16. S. was told by her friends that whites pretended to be friendly towards blacks because they desired to appear unprejudiced.

17. S. was not reassured by her friends' comments and desired revealing her offence to Liz as well as making her aware that she was not inferior because she was black.

18. S. did not reveal her feelings as she felt that Liz would gloat and further abuse her hurt feelings.

/20. S. decided...

20. S. decided not to befriend other white people as she no longer had any confidence and trust in them.
