Psychologists and race: Exploring the identities of South African trainee clinical psychologists with reference to working in multiracial contexts

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DECLARATION

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

Signature ………………   Date: …29/02/2008……………….

ABSTRACT

The question of how to address diversity in the professional training of clinical psychologists is of concern in South Africa and elsewhere. This concern is particularly salient in contemporary South Africa, where much of the sociopolitical discourse centres on issues of race, transformation, relevance and redress. This research is in line with current debates, and set out to explore the self articulated racial identities as well as the impact of those identities on the work of trainees in the second year of their clinical psychology masters degree, at three universities in the Western Cape province of South Africa. Trainees' perceptions of the role of the universities in facilitating the working through of challenges identified in trainees' racial identities and in facilitating multiracial competencies, were also explored in this study.

Individual interviews were conducted with nineteen trainee psychologists. A minimally structured questionnaire was used in this qualitative inquiry. The theoretical framework underpinning the methodology used in this thesis endeavour, with a critical lens as background, is primarily supported by the "interpretive" or "hermeneutic" approach to psychological theory. Critical theory offered further support to understanding some of the complex issues in working with racialised discourses.

Whilst all trainees identified themselves in racial terms, race continues to be a complex and, for many, a painful construct. For many, the family has been the primary source of racial socialisation, largely premised on essentialist, stereotypical discourse. With regard to the impact of their racial identity on their work, many indicate that their race significantly impacted on this. They reported a particular concern with working in cross-racial dyads. Racial difference was sometimes reported to enhance the clinical process, but was far more often experienced as a difficulty. The trainees were unanimous that the universities at which they had studied had fallen far short of what they would have wished in terms of facilitating multiracial competencies.

The findings suggest that whilst legislation has changed the political profile of South Africa, the process of transformation within the psychological sites studied, is cause for concern. The dissatisfaction with the training provided, for many trainees centres around issues of relevance to the South African context. Despite efforts by some universities to diversify the racial profile of trainees, in the attempt to address the needs of people of colour, trainees believe efforts to be insufficient. While this study did not collect data, that could corroborate or question the opinions

of trainees, results clearly suggest that trainee psychologists do not believe universities are currently doing enough. The implications of the trainees' views are discussed and implications considered for trainees, trainers, the users of psychological services, and for the role of psychology as a discipline in civil society.

OPSOMMING

Die vraagstuk oor hoe om diversiteit in die professionele opleiding van kliniese sielkundiges aan te spreek, is besonders pertinent in hedendaagse Suid Afrika waar die sosio-politiese diskoerse menigmaal sentreer op kwessies van ras, transformasie, relevansie en regstellling. Hierdie navorsing gaan akkoord met huidige debate en het die self-geartikuleerde rasse identiteite, sowel as die invloed van hierdie identiteite op die werk van studente in hul tweede jaar van kliniese sielkunde opleiding op magister-graad vlak aan drie universiteite in die Weskaaplandse provinsie in Suid Afrika, ondersoek. Die studie het ook ondersoek ingestel na studente se menings oor die bewese rol van universiteite in die fasilitering van die deurwerking van uitdagings wat identifiseer was in studente se rasse identiteite en in die daarstelling van meerrassige bevoegdhede.

Individuele onderhoude was met 19 student sielkundiges gevoer. Hierdie kwalitatiewe ondersoek het 'n vraelys gebruik wat minimal gestruktureerd was in die data insamelingsproses. Die teoretiese raamwerk wat die onderbou van die studie gevorm het, was primêr ondersteun deur 'n 'Interpretiewe/ Hermeneutiese' benadering tot sielkundige teorie met 'n kritiese lens ter agtergrond. Kritiese teorie het verder hulp verleen met die begrip van die komplekse kwessies teenwoordig wanneer gewerk word met rasse diskoerse.

Tewyl al die studente kon self-identifiseer in rasse terme, bly ras 'n komplekse en vir baie 'n pynvolle konstruk. Vir meniges was die gesin die primêre bron van rasse sosialisering wat hoofsaaklik op 'n essensialistiese, stereotipiese diskoers berus het. Met betrekking tot die invloed wat rasse identiteit op hul werk het, het baie aangedui dat hul ras 'n beduidende impak gehad het. 'n Besondere bekommernis was gerapporteer wanneer daar in kruis-rassige pare gewerk word. Rasse verskille was soms gerapporteer om die kliniese proses te bevorder, maar was meer male ervaar as 'n probleem. Studente was eenparig van mening dat die universiteite waaraan hulle studeer ver tekort geskiet het aan hulle verwagting dat meerrassige bevoegdhede daar gestel sou word.

Die bevindinge stel voor dat die proses van transformasie in die sielkudige konteks wat bestudeer was kommerwekkend is ten spyte van 'n veranderde politiese profiel aan die hand van veranderde wetgewing. Die ontevredenheid met die opleiding wat aangebied was, het vir baie studente gewentel om kwessies van relevansie tot die Suid Afrikaanse konteks. Pogings is deur

sommige universiteite aangewend om die rasse profiel van studente te diversifiseer om sodoende die behoeftes van anderskleuriges aan te spreek, maar studente glo dat hierdie pogings ontoereikend is. Hierdie studie het nie data ingesamel oor die menings van opleiders nie, maar die bevindinge dui aan dat student sielkundiges oortuig is dat die betrokke universiteite nie genoegsame pogings aanwend nie. Die implikasie van studente menings wat gewerf was in hierdie verband is bespreek en die implikasies vir studente, opleiders, verbruikers van sielkundige dienste, en vir die rol van Sielkunde as 'n vakgebied in die samelewing is oorweeg.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Cry, the beloved country, for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear.

-Alan Paton

Locating myself, locating this study

Many have argued that research within the social sciences cannot escape the personal dimensions, the personal biases and concerns of the researcher (Bhavnani & Haraway, 1994; Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). Qualitative research design in particular places the researcher in quite a central role. More specifically, research focusing on sensitive issues like race emphasises the centrality of the researcher within the research context and challenges traditional views of the neutrality and silence of the researcher's voice in the presentation of her findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Holt, 2003; Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Mattis, & Quizon, 2005; Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). This is in line with the view that no research is value free (Burman, 2001; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Sandelowski & Barraso, 2003). I align myself with a movement which argues that debates on professional ethical issues must be grounded in the relational dialogue between researchers and the researched. The researcher's own subjectivity is viewed as having an inevitable influence on the research genesis, process and outcome (Bhavnani & Haraway, 1994; Bryan & Aymer, 1996; Suzuki et al., 2005; Swartz, Gibson, & Gelman, 2002; Williams, 1991). Awareness of the inevitability of this influence allows researchers to guard against undue biases that may direct processes in favour of researchers' needs, but also make explicit a level of complexity and challenge which may be hidden in other research forms.

In keeping with the contemporary focus on the centrality of the researcher I wish to describe how I came to engage with this particular research topic. The reader needs to know that I am a South African, born in the Western Cape, a woman of colour, historically classified as Cape Malay, a first generation graduate in my family, and a clinical psychologist by profession. The confluence of my racial identity and the myriad of race- related challenges faced during my training as a clinical psychologist served as the initial impetus for the writing of this dissertation.

My interest in issues related to race had arguably been cultivated as soon as I became aware of difference during my formative years. It is generally asserted that being born of colour determines being born into politics (Biko, 2004) and particularly so in South Africa. Furthermore

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being born to mixed race parents (my father and mother were classified as Cape Malay and white respectively) contributed to bringing politics into the family home. These racial differences often led to complicated communications that commonly vacillated between pro and anti whiteness. Racial awareness was important, even at a mundane level. For example, the very practical question of getting to and from primary school without incident necessitated knowing one's race in order to get on the "right" bus or knowing when to move to the top section of a double-decker bus. During my earlier years the racial discrimination was experienced as frustrating but was largely accepted as the way of life in a racially stratified South Africa.

During my high school years which overlapped with the now well known 1976 uprisings and political turmoil in South Africa, my racial awareness and participation in aspects of resistance was substantially more deliberate. I actively participated in organised political protests during this period. The political tide of people of colour was shifting towards a single, all encompassing black identity as espoused by the prominent political activist Steve Biko who later died in police custody. The unified black racial identity was envisioned as a political shift away from the divisive policies that divided all people of colour. The binary categories of white and the new collective black simplified the liberation struggle and entrenched the black-white divide. Adoption of the black identity implied denunciation of other identities such as being Cape Malay. Ironically, the advent of democracy in South Africa facilitated the revisiting of racial identities and their associations with relative privilege.

Policies of political redress require South Africans to identify themselves in terms of historical racial labels so that the state may implement policies to distribute resources equitably. This remains a contentious issue for many. Additionally, many South Africans of colour who during the liberation struggle had adopted the collective black identity have reverted to historical labels. Pride in their racial identity is commonly expressed by many who view the shift as embracing that which defines and differentiates them without discriminating against others (Erasmus, 2000; 2001).

My own racial identity has also become more contextually driven, "a dynamic aspect of social relationships, and inscribed with unequal power relationships" (Bhavnani & Phoenix, 1994, p. 9). It is, as most feminist writers, for example assert, fluid, contradictory and ever changing

(Bhavnani & Haraway, 1994; Bhavnani & Phoenix, 1994). Depending on the context I can be Cape Malay, black or coloured but never white.

My racial consciousness and its implications were deeply felt, as I was confronted with racial discrimination in the workplace prior to my training as a clinical psychologist. Institutionalised racism was designed to favour white colleagues, leaving others relatively powerless to challenge the system. After a period of 10 years I resigned from my work in the banking sector and embarked on full time study in the mid 1990s. I enrolled at a university in the Western Cape whose history includes having been established for people of colour and having been at the forefront of the South African liberation struggle. Despite the institution's embeddedness in racial politics, the psychology department during my years of study appeared ironically silent on racial matters. The theoretical content selected for training was primarily of European or North American origin, and it was this imported material which informed the way we worked as clinicians. The relatively small class of seven trainees included three classified as white and three black/African trainees. I was the only coloured/Cape Malay person. Whilst interactions within our group at times appeared to reflect racial complexities, the issue of race was not acknowledged or deconstructed. As a racially mixed group we all colluded with being "colour blind".

The three white classmates brought experiences into the group that attested to upper middle social class involvement which included, at that time, extensive overseas travel, living in plush white neighbourhoods, and appearing eloquent and confident. All had prior personal and/or familial exposure to psychotherapy. The three African classmates had very different experiences as compared to the white peers which included rural backgrounds, living on campus in university hostels, had been through the inferior education system devised for African people known as Bantu education and did not have English as their first language. As the only coloured person in the group I contributed experiences that spoke to being "less than white but better than black" (Erasmus, 2001). I lived off campus in a relatively racially mixed (mainly coloured) middle class neighbourhood, had done most of my schooling in schools designated to coloured, children except for two years that I attended a school for the exclusive use of Indians in Kwa Zulu Natal.

I was relatively quiet in class discussions. I had no prior exposure to psychotherapy. Despite our vastly different experiences we did not address race in class or elsewhere despite the fact that the university promoted itself as a training environment where the politics of race would be

discussed. I certainly did not volunteer experiences that marked my coloured identity nor did I raise/verbalise my awareness of racial differences.

In class, the dominant western model of insight oriented psychotherapy informed our professional identity, encouraging us to consider many clients - primarily people of colour - as less sophisticated and less psychologised than would be ideal for the brand of treatment on offer. Additionally, we were often confronted by clients of colour whose impoverished social class rendered us helpless whilst we struggled to determine ways in which we could apply our traditional theories.

At the time of my training, South Africa had just celebrated two years of democracy. Historically, the organising principle of South African society had determined that most positions of power had been occupied by whites. When as a trainee psychologist I was first presented with a white client, this reversed without preparation the longstanding generally accepted principle of South African racial hierarchy. The strangeness of the reversal, a white person seeking the professional assistance from a person of colour, was eclipsed by emotional challenges and thought patterns I identified as internalised racism. In the presence of the few white clients I treated, I recall feeling paralysed by perceptions of my own incompetence and exhausted by my desire to prove my worth as a clinician. It is probably true that all trainee psychologists feel incompetent to varying degrees and anxious to prove their worth; like other trainees of colour, though, I bore the added burden of a racial identity which inscribed incompetence into me quite apart from any of my personal strengths and failures (Christians, Mokutu, & Rankoe, 2002). None of this was discussed in my training.

Similarly, whilst I was conscious of having opted for a profession that within South Africa was perceived to be designed for white people and whose theoretical language was largely unfamiliar, it was important to excel at courses presented by white lecturers. Whilst unable to acknowledge it at the time, I recall having felt triumphant when my results frequently eclipsed those of my white peers. Despite my academic competencies I was relatively silent during class discussions and observed the ease with which my white counterparts engaged with the theoretical material and lecturers. My internalised racism, that is that I had unconsciously accepted the differences in the way different racial groups were valued or seen to be competent, that defined my lack of worth relative to white persons consciously and unconsciously shaped my experiences during training

and contributed in shaping my professional identity (Whitney, 2004). My inhibitions were noticed but not probed by staff. My supervisor described me as a "bud waiting to flower" but did not probe further. Moreover, I observed the silences that befell my black peers and understood the limitations placed on our colonised minds and the weight of carrying the burden of responsibility for one's race.

Feeling responsible for and accountable for one's race as a person of colour, referred to as the "burden of representation" carried by "monoritized subjects" (Mercer, cited in Burman, 1994, p. 157), is well documented (Biko, 2004), a responsibility I was often confronted by my white peers levelling criticism at lecturers of colour whilst praising the white lecturers. This was no more felt than when my white peers were determined and vociferous in their outrage at the perceived incompetence of a senior lecturer of colour, demanding his expulsion. I, not unlike the rest of the class, also questioned the lecturer's competence and appointment but struggled in my expression of outrage primarily because he is black and as a black person representative of all of us, his incompetence, I felt, reflected my incompetence.

Additional to being representative of one's race, as a person of colour one also carries the burden of racial embodiment of the institution of higher learning. I attended a historically black university; having protected myself from what I thought would be disappointment by not applying to the two historically white universities within the Western Cape. Part of the, once again, unspoken communication amongst us as trainees was that the clinical psychology programmes at historically black universities must be inferior to those at historically white universities. The white students registered for the training programme were perceived as reluctant candidates who were turned down for selection at their preferred historically white institutions. Our contact with such institutions, though minimal, was fraught. Our course required us to share case discussion meetings periodically with trainees at the nearest historically white university, and there appeared heightened anxiety at the prospect, resulting in general over-preparedness for the project.

Discussions in our class, amongst us as class members following such presentations almost always focused, in an over-compensatory fashion, on our view that the presentations by trainees at the historically white university were of a "lower standard" than the presentations we gave. In retrospect, I can see that our comparisons, which focused on what we viewed as the superior

quality of theoretical input and quality of lecturers at our university, were attempts at removing our collective and unconscious yokes of racism. The substantive question, that of which university provided better training in general, and in which areas specifically, remained, because of our positioning, impossible to disentangle from our own broader psychological experiences of the politics of race.

It has been 10 years since the end of my training and I have had a multitude of life experiences that has shifted and continue to alter my insights and shape different aspects of who I am. However, what remains constant is that when I look around I continue to see race. I also continue to struggle with the many silences around race. I furthermore continue to vacillate between pride and shame in relation to my racial identity, all the while being aware of the continuing burden of responsibility I feel towards people of colour. I am often surprised by the intensity of rage I feel on occasions when I reflect on how my race in the South African context has placed and continues to place restrictions on my life experiences, despite my personal efforts to alter that which I have control over. I also continue to vacillate in my responses to white people, from not holding whites personally responsible for apartheid atrocities and complicity in present day racial and class differences, to feeling resentment for their mere presence at times, causing me to question my abilities, worth and beauty. These feelings that some may argue represent an unresolved relationship with regard to race had been of concern when I considered doing this research. Having spoken on the issue of race in various forums post-qualification, I found that my consciousness with regards to my relationship with the topic facilitated a confidence that I could sufficiently contain my feelings and potential biases and not unduly influence the research process.

It was only after I qualified as a psychologist that I mustered the courage to take my experiences into public spaces, the first time being at national psychological conference. Having had no success in trying to draw peers of colour into a sustained reflective discussion of issues of race and psychology, I made my first, and, profoundly anxiety provoking, public presentation sharing my reflections as a clinical psychologist of colour, with a feeling of being very much alone. My presentation was well received and opened up invitations to speak in other forums.

My motivation behind my first presentation was not unlike my objectives for writing this dissertation. As a woman of colour with a degree of privilege given my educational pursuits, I

carry a responsibility to other persons of colour to make a difference: specifically, I wish to contribute to shaping professional training policies and structures for clinical psychologists that would help students in addressing and speaking of race as a matter of course. I wish to add to the corpus of men and women of colour who continue to take the risks involved in raising public awareness of discrimination. With much reluctance, I also acknowledge that this thesis represents an important vehicle in my personal struggle to be taken seriously as a person of colour.

From my contact with trainees before I embarked on this study, it seemed that the onus remained on individuals at universities to determine the extent to which, if any, a consideration of racial matters will inform their teaching.

This impression is supported by the national professional training framework for psychologists in South Africa. There is currently no mandate from the professional body governing psychology in South Africa (the Professional Board for Psychology, an organ of the Health Professionals Council) requiring clinical psychologists to be trained in multi-racial competence (Wood, personal communication, July 20, 2007).

My investment and personal experiences with regard to race have undoubtedly influenced the research exploration, the choice of sample, the direction of questioning and the interpretation of findings. The immediate presence that I bring to bear on this research is my investment in the outcome. As stated above, my childhood experiences, as with many South Africans of colour during the apartheid era, had been informed by experiences of race. Given that South Africa attained democracy status as recent as 1994, many, like myself, had lived most of our young adult years in apartheid South Africa. One of the many adverse consequences being exposed to a macro system of governance that systematically assigned worth based on skin colour, is the internalisation or embeddedness of the assigned value system. As a person of colour, it means that, at times I struggle to rid myself of the low worth assigned to my designated racial group. Similarly I observe the struggle to engage with, and relinquish feelings of superiority accorded many, even well-meaning, liberal white South Africans.

The arrival of the long awaited democracy in 1994, whilst being directly responsible for a multitude of changes to the political and social landscape, appears largely impotent in its ability to rework and repair internalised feelings of relative worth. The persistence of internalised racism defies the intellect. Despite my intellectual awareness and personal exposure to racially different

parents, of the arbitrary, contradictory and tenuous link between colour and worth, I continue to inhabit race and thus racism. I inhabit the race my dad was assigned, as that had been the law, similar to the "one drop rule" of the US. The call on black people to "free your mind from mental slavery" (Biko, 2004) whilst desired, is simultaneously elusive.

At present we find ourselves in a free country. Legislation has irreversibly changed a system based on segregation to one stressing integration. However, despite the political changes, the intra-personal and the inter-personal relations remain deeply scarred. For many, our experiences appear, though not exclusively, inextricably linked to experiences of racism. It is surprising that we do not speak more often or openly about the internalised experiences. Perhaps we avoid talking about that which is painful in the hope that it would eventually go away. However, we cannot assume that the internalised experiences will ameliorate, only because legislation has changed. As psychology teaches, we cannot heal that which we cannot name. Thus, as psychologists, if we cannot see these scars then how can we do the work?

This brings me to the personal, and as feminist writers would argue, the indistinguishable political, motivation for this research endeavour. The underlying aim of this thesis is to explore the extent to which trainee psychologists feel they are facilitated by their training institutions, to work through the challenges inherent in their/our racial identities.

To this end, this thesis explores trainees' self-articulated racial identities, their personal accounts with regard to race, both during childhood and adulthood. I also explore their perceptions of the impact of race on their clinical work. I conclude this thesis with the attention on some training experiences, including supervision that inform their professional identities and shape competencies. I locate this thesis within the broad frame of critical theory and aim to demonstrate the applicability of a branch of philosophy, in particular Dilthey's (1976) hermeneutics. Working reflexively is recommended and has been adhered to in this qualitative inquiry.

Auto-ethnography and reflexivity as part of the research exercise

This thesis is not only or primarily an auto-ethnographic account. It does, however, deal with issues of enormous personal salience for me, and it is for this reason that I place concerns with auto-ethnography and reflexivity in the beginning of the thesis, for it is through the lens of engaged subjectivity (Humphreys, 2005; Suzuki et al., 2005; Williams, 1991) that I have undertaken this work, and through which the work will ideally be judged.

Post-modern approaches to social science research argue that the recognition of the salience of the subjective position of the researcher enhances rather than detracts from academic rigour and credibility. Understanding where and how the researcher is located in the research endeavour provides the reader with a context within which to evaluate the research product (Holt, 2003; Humphreys, 2005; Suzuki et al., 2005; Williams, 1991). The concern regarding researcher bias may be more easily evaluated when the subject position of the researcher is known and explicit, rather than hidden under a mask of objectivity. Subject positions of researchers as well as auto-ethnographic accounts are deemed valuable resources that add to understanding the multiple landscapes that form part of the research outcome (Holt, 2003).

It must also be recognised, though, that there is a body of literature which is critical of auto-ethnographic accounts. In this view, the auto-ethnographic process is too indulgent of the researcher, leaving little or no account for assessment of rigour and applicability (Coffey, 1999). Auto-ethnographic accounts are seen as operating on the margins of what is deemed scientific (Holt, 2003). However, researchers operating within post-modern traditions assert that some of the criticism levelled at qualitative designs, which include auto-ethnographic accounts, is the result of the research design being judged against traditional designs. They add that the criteria used to judge more conventional investigations should not be uncritically applied to auto-ethnographic accounts (Christians, 2000; Clarke, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Holt, 2003; Humphreys, 2005; Marecek, Fine, & Kidder, 2001).

The criticism that auto-ethnographic accounts are inevitably hampered by the subjectivity of the researcher and are self-indulgent problematises the very nature, not only of auto-ethnographic studies as a sub-genre of qualitative research but also of the reflexive turn in postmodern social science as a whole. In response, researchers favouring auto-ethnographic accounts as part of the social scientist's set of tools and skills argue against the reductive dualistic (i.e. self-other distinctions) interpretations in the research. These researchers argue that "auto-ethnography is not necessarily limited to the self because people do not accumulate their experiences in a vacuum" (Holt, 2003, p.16).

The question of how to weigh and value subjective experience in the process of knowledge production is not new. Similar charges were raised throughout the nineteenth century in an unrelated field undergoing similar shifts. Robin Waterfield's (1998) book *Prophet: The life and*

times of Kahlil Gibran describes the criticism levelled at writers labelled Romantics, who expressed their personal experiences through their work. Kahlil Gibran was strongly influenced by the Romantics, some of whose work have been hailed "as good as Shakespeare". One such writer, Maeterlinck, described the evolutionary shift toward Romanticism within the literary field as "the new movement in art and poetry heralded the dawning of a more spiritual age", and furthermore, that

> No writer or thinker, however great, works in isolation: his soul is the flower of the multitude. That is, no revolution can happen until the human race as a whole, or some significant portion of it, has subliminally, in the Oversoul (or collective unconscious), prepared the ground. (cited in Waterfield, 1998, p. 43)

Personal narratives confront traditional forms of representation. "Auto-ethnographic manuscripts may include dramatic recall, unusual phrasing, and strong metaphors to invite the reader to 'relive' events with the author" (Holt, 2003, p. 12). Using personal narratives as methods of obtaining authoritative knowledge about people's lived experiences represents a radical paradigm shift from the more familiar forms of data gathering popularised by quantitative methodology. For those schooled primarily in conventional methods of research design Holt (2003) advances five criteria for evaluating personal narrative.

The criteria by Holt (2003, p. 12) are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Criteria for Evaluating Qualitative Research.

Substantive contribution	Does the piece contribute to our understanding of social life?
Aesthetic merit	Does this piece succeed aesthetically? Is the text artistically shaped, satisfyingly complex, and not boring?
Reflexivity	How did the author come to write this text? How has the author's subjectivity been both a producer and a product of this text?
Impactfullness	Does this affect me emotionally and/or intellectually? Does it generate new questions or move me to action?
Express a reality	Does this text embody a fleshed out sense of lived experience?

Additionally, the researcher is regarded as a valuable resource to elucidate the complex nature of the research undertaken. Making the researcher identity explicit also acknowledges and embraces the political nature of research (Best, 2003; Wong, 1994; Yeh & Inham, 2007). Traditionally, obscuring the subjectivity of researchers (and research funders) in research products has contributed to a situation in which researchers "own" the research. The selection, presentation and dissemination of research information have been under the control of researchers. Participants and the public have generally not had access to information regarding the researchers that many now believe is critical to understanding and eliminating researcher bias. Suzuki et al. (2005) argue that this information should include not only the social identity of the researcher but also analyses or her understanding of the ways in which her identity inform the research process, i.e., the conceptualisation, methods and interpretation.

The above account firmly positions me as researcher with a strong interest in the area of inquiry. I undertook and understood the responsibility to critically reflect on my subjectivity throughout this research process. The following presents an overview of the chapters which form the body of the thesis.

Chapter 2 starts with an historical overview of race formation in South Africa, continues with a consideration of the legal system that underpinned the apartheid ideology, and is followed by reflections on the contemporary status of race and race relations. Included in Chapter 2 are theoretical reflections on the multiple ways in which our identities have been shaped by body politics and sustained by various socialisation processes. The chapter concludes with reflections on new constructions of identities in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 3 focuses on the impact of race on psychology as a profession. Areas covered include the institutional structures as embodiment of socio/political contexts and the impact of race on professional training. The section on training includes reflections on the 'person' of the trainee and how this impacts on supervision, followed by the impact of race and racism in the therapeutic relationships. The chapter concludes with the contextual inscriptions of mental health services.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology followed and details the research framework, the aims, sample, analysis, validity, reflexivity as well as general ethical considerations pertinent to qualitative studies.

Chapter 5 reports on the findings detailing the self articulation and meanings of trainees' racial identities, experiences that shape their racial identities and the impact of their racial identities on therapeutic relationships. The chapter concludes with perceptions of the role that the academic institutions played in addressing challenges reported on and includes the roles of supervisors.

In **Chapter 6** the findings are discussed.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis and includes the limitations of the study and recommendations made.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

SOUTH AFRICA, RACE AND IDENTITY

First, the risks and challenges in examining race

Fisher (2007), a South African journalist and commentator, having recently published his book entitled *Race*, reported having been cautioned by prominent leaders reflecting on the risks involved in such a venture. Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Emeritus and Nobel Peace Prize winner, in the foreword to Fisher's book on race writes,

> When Ryland Fisher approached me a few years ago and told me that he was writing this book, I thought he was a little bit crazy. This was not a job to be approached lightly and, irrespective of how you approached it, it was bound to upset some people. (p. xi)

Similarly, Kadalie, another prominent South African described by Fisher as a human rights activist, asked Fisher at the time of interviewing, "Ryland, are you prepared for this journey that you have undertaken?" (Fisher, 2007, p. 245).

Many people in many countries avoid speaking about race (Bhui, 2002a; Cardemil & Battle, 2003; Christian et al., 2002; Clark, 2001; Cooper, 1997; Sanchez-Hucles & Jones, 2005), perhaps because of the significant emotional responses the topic may elicit. Fears in speaking out or about the topic of race include the apprehension of "saying too much or baring, for public display, our own prejudices" (Bhui, 2002a, p. 21). Bhui also argues that raising the awareness of racist practices "required greater energy and effort than simply pointing out their absence (race's absence in academic discourse)" (p. 9).

Speaking about race is seemingly fraught with challenges everywhere. In South Africa, race is particularly contentious as the construct immediately evokes the image of apartheid. The concept of "race" is pregnant with complex negative emotions. Many South Africans carry deep-seated emotions attached to either having been discriminated against or being perceived as having been complicit in discrimination (Alexander, 2001; Biko, 2004; Clark, 2001; Duncan, Stevens, & Bowman, 2004). The levels of emotional sensitivity to experiences related to race are high, and interpretations of prejudices are easily made and more importantly felt. Arguably, the central

perceived risk inherent in raising the issue of race in South Africa is that it is likely to offend someone. Similarly, not raising the issue of race may be offensive to some people of all races. The discourses one uses and theoretical underpinning one engages with in the very sensitive area of race may satisfy some and not others. Challenges regarding authority to speak from a 'raced' perspective are usually also of concern, as there appear unwritten 'rules' as to who is entitled to speak on behalf of whom. Fears of being a "race traitor" (Blee, cited in Bernstein, 2005) abound. The complexity of race may be interpreted as having an immobilising effect, as it is often difficult to know how to move forward without colliding with intense emotional back-lashes. It is apparent, judging from personal conversations and general social discourse, that many people feel very strongly about various aspects related to race.

Voice was given to the above sentiments by a black male colleague when I presented, for the first time, a paper, as previously mentioned, dealing with race at a national conference. During a break at the conference the colleague shared his complete alignment with my thoughts and experiences and that he had thought, often, of presenting, but feared the responses of the audience. He said, "rather you than me frying in your own fat!".

A further challenge for many taking on the task of addressing race despite the many risks inherent in the endeavour, is that of how to speak of race and racial difference. I found it extremely difficult to find the language that allowed me to speak of racial difference without running the risk of being misunderstood. I could be seen as contributing to reifying races, as reducing innumerable human characteristics to a few essential race-based features, or equally disconcerting, as being responsible for re-inscribing race.

The challenges inherent in addressing race are underscored by many of the contributors to a recent South African publication edited by Stevens, Franchi and Swart (2006) titled *A race against time*, and aptly subtitled *Psychology and challenges to deracialisation in South Africa*. Deracialisation is considered a sociopsychological imperative in a society that continues to be deeply divided. However, efforts aimed at political redress cannot circumvent the engagement with racial categories (Stevens, et al., 2006) leading Bowman, Seedat, Duncan and Burrows (2006, p. 99) to ask, "How does the researcher attempt to deracialise without referring to the category of race?"

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In similar vein, Shefer and Ratele (2006) argue that deconstructing gender, like deconstructing race, is challenging, since the categories share a parallel and intersecting history of oppression, which deployed and restricted both terms to essential, unitary categories. Emphasising their point, the authors state: "this tension is inherent in any struggle against oppression, which simultaneously relies on underlining difference in order to struggle for change while challenging the very construction of such difference" (Shefer & Ratele, 2006, p. 239).

As mentioned earlier, I struggled with ways to communicate with readers without running the risk of eliciting negative judgements of both my racial consciousness and intent. In particular I struggled with, not only the consideration of the appropriateness of racial labels, but also with which labels would be appropriate. Personally, I was accustomed to using the apartheid inscribed racial labels of 'black/African', 'white', 'coloured' and 'Indian', which according to Posel (2001, p. 51) had indeed "become a habit of thought and experience, a facet of popular 'common sense' still widely in evidence". These are also the labels I use for the purposes of this thesis. At times I use the much preferred 'persons of colour' interchangeably with, black, coloured or Indian, when the context does not require specificity of racial inscriptions.

I am aware that my position differs from those of many who, when using the racial labels, would either preface them with 'so called' as in 'so called coloured', or put the labels in inverted commas ("coloured"), whilst others would draw a line through the race label, to indicate their discomfort and distancing from the use thereof. There are also many in the subcategories 'coloured' and 'Indian' who reject their designated label in favour of a more encompassing 'black'. The positions taken to present racial labels in ways that are meaningful to their authors reflect personal choices and of course, are the writer's prerogative. However, perhaps due to differing views and differential claims to authenticity (Erasmus, 2001), many who might in other political circumstances refer to themselves as 'coloured' or 'Indian' may be reticent to use these terms of self-identification, fearing scornful retribution. Concerns such as these are reinforced when a South African academic, renowned for his significant contributions in the field, writes,

> I am a black person, who, by the contorted logic and discourse of apartheid racism, was classified 'coloured'. I acknowledge that, for a range of reasons, many South Africans, to varying degrees, have integrated the label 'coloured' and various other apartheid inspired

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labels as part of their identities…I find it difficult not to feel antipathetic towards them. (Duncan, 2002, p. 134)

There is no general consensus as to which format one should use when making reference to historically inscribed races. This challenges those researchers invested in transformation, who may feel constrained by critics who offer few concrete guidelines as to the vision forward as to how to investigate race (Dixon & Tredoux, 2006). However, what is emerging from literature is that the use of race labels is ultimately inevitable, particularly when one wishes to achieve political redress on the basis of race (Stevens et al., 2006). With reference to the challenges that many social scientists face in their efforts towards deracialisation, Bowman et al. (2006) suggest that, "we may need to concede to the need to use the category (race) for progressive and possibly even liberatory purposes. Stated differently, our racialising means may just paradoxically justify deracialising ends" (p.100).

To conclude I need to note that in addition to being in agreement with the concessions reached by Bowman et al. (2006), I also find resonance with the African proverb, of unknown source, which reads, "It's not what you call me, but what I answer to", cited by acclaimed actress Whoopi Goldberg in response to her choosing "American" as opposed to "African-American" as her political identity (Goldberg, 1998). Next we continue the challenging journey by exploring the historical background to that which continues to perplex us all.

In the beginning: a brief history of race formation in South Africa

MacDonald (2006) drawing on the work by historian George Frederickson (1995) provides an account of relations in the mid-seventeenth century in the southwest corner of Africa as free from racial organisation in the form we have come to know in contemporary South Africa. Phenotypical differences between the indigenous San, KhoiKhoi ("browns") and Xhosa ("blacks") were noted, but were not conceived of in racial terms. Foreigners to the continent during the early periods looked radically different from indigenes and were noticed as white. The historian's account suggests that historically, identities were multiple, their meaning ambiguous and fluid. Whites viewed themselves as white amongst other labels such as "civilised", "Calvinist", "burghers", "settlers", "Christian", and "from Europe". Whites perceived of themselves as more affluent than the indigenes who were perceived as "black", "savage", "natives", "heathen" from Africa" (p. 40). Colour in itself an aspect of identities was not given

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meaning or status. Race, according to MacDonald (2006), was a European conception crystallised with specific meaning ascribing worth, in the nineteenth century.

The precise origin of race as a central social category is contested, with the general consensus being that race as a category of division originated in northern Europe sprouted by the science of anthropology. Drawing on the work of Frederickson (1995), MacDonald (2006) reports on the "culturalist" categories and "politicist" narrative (p. 34) as descriptions of how society was organised. Accordingly, races were perceived as "whole and intact" and grounded in ethno-cultures and races formed communities that were shaped by forging political power. In Frederickson's description, races were perceived as a given; however, their meanings were open to being shaped by the historical context.

Frederickson made the point that races "do not develop over time, as modes of consciousness, they are forms of being" (MacDonald, 2006, p. 34). Whites, according to Frederickson, had perceived of themselves as white i.e. they had race. However, their relations with indigenes and the advent of slavery were reportedly established on the basis of the perceived "legal and cultural vulnerability" of the "Africans and other non-Europeans" (MacDonald, p. 34) and not based on racial prejudice. Whites, in the pursuit of land and labour that belonged to hosts, had systematically employed an arsenal which included assertions of supremacy. According to Frederickson, belonging to a perceived white "race" did not assume superiority with the implication of the inferiority of the other until the nineteenth century, with the colonisation by Britain. Initially, supremacy was premised on religion. Slavery was initially justified by the view that the indigenes were heathens and therefore required domination by Christians.

Colour of course played a role. "Race mattered in the determination of status but was not all-important" (MacDonald, 2006, p. 35). Society appeared segregated along racial lines; however, race was reportedly not the deciding factor. The whites occupied the top structure of the social hierarchy but the middle structure appeared fluid, occupied by whites and some free people of colour sharing this stratum. This is not to say that whites did not take advantage of colour, but according to Frederickson "membership in the civil community" (MacDonald, p. 36) is where their power originated. As a collective, whites hungered for power, ownership and shunned physical labour. They fought those who could service their needs and sustain their supremacy. Race thus evolved as the context shifted.

During the period of control of the Cape of South Africa by the Dutch East India Company it is noted that those with political voices were noted as white or "burghers" also used synonymously as white Christians, although not all "burghers" were white. Keegan, (cited in MacDonald, 2006), reflected that, "it is fair to assume that among the subordinate class skin colour or racial identity was not as significant as their shared subordination" (p. 36).

Thompson (cited in MacDonald, 2006) concurs that "there was no sense of racial identity amongst Africans". Africans did not unite under one racial label and collectively revolted against the white settlers. According to history, sectors of indigenes collaborated with whites and acted against other indigenous groups. MacDonald states that: "African polities were based on clan, lineage, and tribe, on kinship, which is why chiefs did not make common racial cause against whites" (p. 43).

As noted above, black/African people, however, did not always conceive of themselves in racial terms. It was with the colonisation by Britain that the meaning of race emerged in ways that was later to be crystallised as the organising principle of civil and political society in apartheid South Africa. With the political upheaval in 1828 and protest against British rule, whites in the colony moved inland to establish republics outside of British rule. Whites having denounced British proclamation of equal economic right for the KhoiKhoi asserted their separateness and supremacy then on the basis of racial superiority. White became a racialised collective to maintain supremacy and colonists later "legitimated it (supremacy) to their worthiness as whites" (MacDonald, 2006, p. 37). Colonisation is viewed as having given rise to racial consciousness and racial animosity not previously articulated.

The discovery of gold and Britain's quest to gain control of the newly discovered wealth resulted in the South African Boer war in 1898-1899. Under British rule, the Union of South Africa was established in 1910 and the unification and governance by whites were part of the post war order. The systematic enfranchisement of white men and subsequently white women in 1930 preceded the disenfranchisement of African males in 1936 and Coloured males in 1956 (the latter occurring after the National Party assumed power after 1948). Voting rights were reserved exclusively for whites by the mid 1950s. The segregation and white supremacy practices that had been operative were legally adopted and enshrined indelibly in South African political history. Self governance and voting rights conferred citizenship on all whites, irrespective of class and

ethno-cultural differences. The white state organised everything it could, including all the then non-citizens, along racial lines. The different racial categories were assigned worth differentially, with black assigned the lowest order with minimal benefits. It was therefore not uncommon for people to make application to be reassigned to 'higher' racial categories to escape the restrictions and limitations placed on their assigned status.

The now infamous 'pencil test' is one of the arbitrary assessments done to determine acceptability for reassignment (Posel, 2001). Pencil tests formed part of the assessment tools used by 'evaluators' to determine hair sleekness, reportedly a further criterion for suitability for reassignment to the white group-if a pencil placed in the hair remained there instead of falling out, the person was deemed probably not white. 'Passing for', prefixed to the race one wishes to be reassigned to improved one's chances of 'a better life'. The reassignment made significant material differences to the lives of people. 'Becoming' coloured for a person initially ascribed Bantu (i.e. black/African) status automatically improved their living standards with improved housing, jobs and education, which was significantly better at the coloured schools. For those 'passing for' white the material differences with reassignment were exponential.

It [apartheid] blessed them [whites] with the experience of belonging, validating the feeling that the country was theirs. Their cultures prevailed; their identities were embodied in public symbols, holidays, and monuments. Their languages were spoken publicly, published in print, taught in schools and favoured. European manners and customs were adopted and flourished; African ways were snubbed, despised, and invoked as proof of white superiority (MacDonald, 2006, p. 47).

The psychological differences conferred through the reassignment are also inferred as significant. The personal costs to reassignment included the loss of contact with families unable or unwilling to apply for transfer. For many the loss of familial relation was permanent.

The psychological costs attached to familial losses through reassignment are not as commonly discussed as may be expected, but personal communications suggest deep fissures had been created. Whilst application for reassignment needed to be made to government, the officials were limited in their authority to grant approval of reassignment. The government officials had to follow custom and white public opinion. Adherence to the elaborate system of racial stratification was maintained through sustained governmental muscle. Racism was inscribed in the legal

system and subsequently in the psyche of the people. The next section will report on the ways in which race classifications were legally inscribed in statutory books.

The South African legal system during the apartheid years

Barnard, Cronje and Olivier (1986) in *The South African law of persons and family law* described the disorder that existed before 1950 within South African legislature with regard to racial classification. The chaos was in part ascribed to the various acts adopted in parliament ostensibly aimed at regulating the different races within South African borders. However, the acts did little to streamline processes, according to Barnard et al. (1986), as the ambiguity and contradictions between acts created much confusion. During 1950 the Population Registration Act 30 was adopted. The aim of the new act was to provide a uniform system of racial classification as well as spearheading the establishment of a population register and the issuing of identity documents to citizens. Despite the attempt at providing norms for racial classification, Barnard et al. stated that the new act did little to consolidate the numerous definitions of White, Black and Coloured person as stated in all the acts that preceded it.

The racial classifications as stated by the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950 provide the following definitions of race (Barnard et al., 1986, p. 106):

1. White

Section 1 of Act 30 of 1050 defines a White as someone who

a) In appearance obviously is a White person and who is not generally accepted as a coloured person; or

b) Is generally accepted as a White person and is not in appearance obviously not a White person,

But does not include any person who for the purposes of his classification under this Act, freely and voluntarily admits that he is by descent a Black or a coloured person unless it is proved that the admission is not based on fact.

The first test laid down to be classified as a White person is therefore appearance: section1 (1)(b) clearly states that someone who is in appearance obviously not a White person, cannot be classified as White even though he is generally accepted as a White person.

2. Blacks

In section 1(1) of Act 30 of 1950 a Black is defined as a person who is a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa, or who is generally accepted as such.

3. Coloureds

Section 1(1) of Act 30 of 1950 defines a Coloured as a person

Who is neither White nor a Black.

It is clear that the act does not lay down any positive criteria for the classification of a person as a Coloured; everyone who is not a White or a Black, is a Coloured…A new proclamation, 123 of 1967 provides for the classification of Coloured persons in one of the seven groups, namely:

The Cape Coloured Group " which shall consist of persons who in fact are, or who…are generally accepted as member of the race or class known as Cape Coloureds" unless they are in fact members of the other groups.

The Malay Group "which shall consist of persons who in fact are, or who are generally accepted as members of the race or class known as Cape Malays."

The Griqua Group which is defined in a similar way as (a) and (b) above.

The Chinese Group "which shall consist of persons who in fact are, or who…are generally accepted as members of race or tribe who's national home is in China…"

The Indian Group "which shall consist of persons who in fact are, or who…are generally accepted as members of a race or tribe whose national home is in India or Pakistan.

The Other Asiatic group which consists of persons who in fact are, or who are generally accepted as, members of a race or class known as Zanzibari Arabs (also known as Zanzibari or Kiwas) and persons who in fact are, or who are generally accepted as members of a race or tribe whose national home is in any country or area in Asia other than China, India or Pakistan.

The Other Coloured group consists of persons who are not included in any of the above-mentioned six groups, and who cannot be classified as White persons or Blacks.

Further to the system of classification cited above, the government tabled various legal prescriptions by way of Acts that dictated almost all aspects of life differentially for all in South

Africa. The Group Areas Act of 1950 segregated residential occupancy and ownership along racial lines. The Immorality Act of 1949 banned sexual liaisons across black and white racial lines. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 deemed marriages between whites and non-whites void and thus not afforded legal status. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 segregated public facilities use and access along racial lines. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 segregated schooling as well as the educational curricula along racial lines. The Native Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1952 regulated access by Black people to urban spaces legally requiring of Black people to permanently be in possession of proof of identification now infamously known as the "dompass" [translated: stupid pass]. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 provided legal grounds for job reservations along racial lines. Further legal prescription by way of various Acts and statutes controlled for example capacity to trade for blacks and coloureds, capacity to engage in sales and credit transactions, access to skilled work (Barnard et al., 1986; Posel, 2001).

The apartheid government utilised highly structured Acts to endorse the supremacy and conferring citizenship to white South Africans whilst simultaneously denying nationality to non-whites. Connie Mulder, the apartheid government minister of plural relations and development in 1978, conveyed the government's resolute position on the issues of belonging to the land.

There must be no illusion about this, because if our policy is taken to its full logical conclusion as far as that Black people are concerned, there will not be one Black man with South African citizenship. I say this sincerely, because that is the idea behind it. Why should I try to hide it? That is our policy in terms of the mandate we have been given…[E]very Black man in South Africa will eventually be accommodated politically in some independent new state in this honourable way and there will no longer be a moral obligation on [the South African] Parliament to accommodate these people politically (Mulder, cited in MacDonald, 2006, p. 5)

The apartheid regime, through implementation of the various Acts, was able to micro-govern thereby ensuring adherence to their discriminatory policies. Transgressions were punishable and resulted either in skirmishes with the law or more severe forms of punishment. Detention without trial was also the prerogative of the state. The mighty muscle of the state proved largely successful in generating cooperation. The effectiveness of the state has been attributed to the government strategy interpreted as the "divide and rule" policy. The strategy employed by the

government entailed stratifying South African society beyond the binary categories of black and white. The black collective was further stratified and separated with benefits and limitations differentially applied. This essentially meant that whites occupied the highest order in the social rung with maximum social, economic, political and psychological benefits accrued. The government determined a colossal gap between whites and the rest of the people in the social hierarchy. The coloureds with their multiple ethnic variants occupied the position below whites but were precariously positioned above that of blacks. This perilous positioning meant that coloureds were in a much more favourable position relative to blacks with regards to government policies and policing. The material differences between coloureds and blacks were significant. This meant relative to coloureds, blacks were treated as having little to no value, had to live even further away from the city centres, lived in smaller houses in much poorer conditions, were largely unemployable and had to endure an education system of significantly inferior quality. The privileges enjoyed by coloureds relative to blacks are what Erasmus (2001) argues make coloured people complicit with racism. The differential status of the black collective ensured deep divisions within the oppressed collective.

Thus racial tensions were evident between black and white as well as within the black collective. Indians originally subsumed under the coloured label had morphed to a stand-alone category and they too formed part of the differentiation and enmity. Posel (2001), reviewing racial categorisations, stated that, "the idea that South African society comprises four distinct races - 'whites', 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Africans' - has become a habit of thought and experience, a facet of popular 'common sense' still widely in evidence" (p. 51).

Race as noted above was engineered to be deeply embedded in South African society. It is worth quoting Posel (2001) at some length as she gives a very clear understanding of the reasoning behind such deliberate engineering:

1. Race and racial difference as self-evident facts of experience:

> The basic epistemological premise of the apartheid system of racial classification was the idea that the existence of 'race' and racial difference was a self-evident, common-sensical and therefore utterly uncontroversial 'fact' of life in South Africa. At no stage in the parliamentary debate about the Population Registration Act or in the (rather muted) broader political contestations surrounding it, was the existence of races questioned, other than in

their narrowly scientific rendition. From the start the apartheid exercise built on a widespread social consensus that South Africa comprised a series of 'races' and that these differed in fundamental ways - even if there were ideological and political contestations around the appropriate conclusions to be drawn from this social 'fact'. (p. 63)

2. The ontology of race: a mix of biology, class and culture:

The *modus operandi* of the classification system depended upon a 'bioculturalist' version of race, drawing upon readings of socio-cultural and bodily differences. Bodies became signifiers of status, power and worth in a hierarchy that privileged whiteness (as both a biological and social condition) at its apex. This second feature of apartheid's racial reasoning was closely related to the first. There was no science of race; race was as it was lived, ordinarily and uncontroversial in everyday life, and this experience had both social and biological modalities. (p. 64)

3. Race as ubiquitous:

If race was not narrowly a matter of specific biological differences but a more wide-ranging conceptualization combining social and bodily factors, then it was but a small step to regarding race as an attribute of all experience. We have seen that the second principle of racial reasoning (above) was applied by classifiers in ways that permitted any and every facet of a person's life to become a potential signifier of his or her race. …Anything and everything could be read as a sign of race, if anything and everything could be read as a sign of race, then race was *in* everything - a ubiquitous dimension of everyday life, the inevitable adverb and adjective of all experience. (p. 64)

4. Race as essential rather than accidental or contingent:

Another of the tacit and unquestioned assumptions that undergirded apartheid racial reasoning was the idea of race as an essential combination of elements, rather than one which was contingent, mutable and individually mobile. Categorizing one person 'Coloured' entailed the presumption that this person had certain defining characteristics in common with all others similarly designated as 'Coloureds'. (p. 64)

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5. Race as the primary determinant of all experience:

> If race was a description of a shared essence that made people what they were, then its ubiquity was not simply a descriptive feature of experience, but also its primary cause. Within this mode of reasoning about race, race was 'in' everything essentially rather than accidentally. (p. 65)

6. Race as the site of white fear:

> The impulse towards a racially ordered society, with rigid barriers demarcating the racialised boundaries of experience and interaction, was rooted in widespread anxieties about racial mixing. The vigour with which racial barricades were built was an indication of the intensity of white discomfort at the prospect of racial proximity. Rigid, inflexible racial definitions, which promised to eradicate the prospect of racial mixing, allegedly kept white women safe from the threat of black male sexuality, and protected the racial purity of innocent white children (recurring themes in apartheid propaganda). …Conferring the verdict of whiteness on a person, once and for all, was also a protection against the shameful indignity of being alleged or discovered to have had racially mixed descent. (p. 66)

The apartheid government's elaborate design of racial classification with its corresponding economic policy established a social class system with blacks predictably occupying working class status. Class divisions became synonymous with racial divisions in South Africa (Johnstone, 1976). Protests against and resistances to the apartheid order took many forms, both individual and collective, with many casualties and fatalities. Amongst the multiple strategies employed by the resistance movement, one of the key successes had been to unite the divided black collective. Biko's "Black Consciousness" was invoked to establish a united black collective with a common enemy, the apartheid state. The struggle for liberation was supported by the underpinnings of "strength in numbers" as the single black identity was adopted by many previously identified as coloured and Indian and the freedom chant of "we shall overcome" was realised. In 1994 the apartheid government ended. "Never again" were the reassuring words articulated by the man, Nelson Mandela, who was to become South Africa's first democratically elected president in his first public appearance since his release from prison 27 years since his

incarceration. The historical turn of political events in South Africa brought new challenges as ideologies of race had to be reconfigured, which is the focus of the next section.

Democratic South Africa and race

The new democratic dispensation in South Africa was formed in 1994 after decades of apartheid rule. Many are still astounded by the relatively smooth transition into the new dispensation. Stockpiling amongst many whites during the transition was in preparation of a predicted civil war. The expectation of a massive revolt by the numerical majority after decades of inhuman treatment was a logical conclusion for many. There was no civil war. Instead the historically marginalised generated South Africa's much acclaimed new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. The first paragraph of Chapter 1 of The Constitution declares the founding provisions and reads,

Republic of South Africa

1. The Republic of South Africa is one sovereign democratic state founded on the following values:

   (a) Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.

   (b) Non-racialism and non-sexism.

   (c) Supremacy of the constitution and the rule of law.

   (d) Universal adult suffrage, a notional common voter's roll, regular elections and multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness. (Government, S.A., 1996, p. 3)

The preamble to the Bill of Rights includes the acknowledging of injustices suffered and commitments to "heal the divisions of the past" and "improve the quality of the life of all citizens and free the potential of each person" (p. 1). These were industrious ideals in a country where the numerical majority desperately need(ed) their quality of their lives improved and where the racial divisions had reached dangerous proportions.

Political and legal transformations aimed at eliminating all forms of discriminatory practices and laws were instituted with haste. Noticeable amongst the many changes have been the increased

racial mixing, integrated schooling, and shifts in the racial profiling of residential areas and significant social mobility (Posel, 2001). However, conditions inherited from the older order remain relatively unchanged. Conditions of social class remained relatively stable post apartheid with the vast majority of black people still living in abject poverty and economic resources accumulated during apartheid still remain in the hands of whites. The enduring economic disparity continues to sustain segregated communities. The more affluent white residential areas stand in no immediate threat to be dominated by poor, black people. Similarly given the educational and vocational deficits suffered by blacks compared to the accelerated training and exposure of whites primarily ensures that the intellectual capital for the foreseeable future resides with whites.

Another aspect that appears immutable is that of racial labeling. Racial labels (white, coloured, Indian and black) that gained currency during apartheid are still heard in social discourse (Posel, 2001). For many, racial profiling remains standard when discussing biographical data.

In political and academic discourses, racial labels have been sources of great controversies and contradictions. In politics for example, as stated above, one of the overarching aims of government is of non-racialism and another of improving the quality of life of all people. Therein lies the rub, as Posel (2001) points out. Improving people's lives or redressing inequalities requires the revisiting of apartheid racial profiling to scrutinise suitability for benefits. The Employment Equity Act is a case in point. Essentially all forms of redress are predicated on establishing racial status. Further obfuscation arises when, as Posel points out, one is to consider the process involved in determining the race of the potential recipient of political redress and on whose authority race is to be confirmed. The different historical racial categories have to be revisited in order to determine the degrees of compensation, challenging associations with non-racialism. Another critical aspect to determining suitability for selection of redress as raised by Posel is that of social class. Whilst class as noted is historically race based in South Africa, there has been a significant rise in social class amongst some labeled the 'new black elite', raising pertinent questions of how that affects suitability for selection of redress.

Questions with regard to suitability for redress are however not only for the South African government to consider. Social discourse is pregnant with articulations of race based entitlements. The head of state and many of the senior ministers in national government in South

African who are considered black by historical racial definitions are astutely monitored for racial bias. The perception of bias that has attracted popular media attention is that of some coloured people arguing that they are once again being overlooked. The contention by those coloured people critical of government strategy is that with the old regime they were not white enough and in the current system they are not black enough for consideration of favour. Some white people on the other hand, critical of government stipulation of decreased white racial representation in many areas including employment, argue that the government's strategy smacks of reverse racism. On the other hand there is a large contingency of black people expressing striking dissatisfaction with what is spoken of as non-delivery by government perceived to have made significant promises of redress. The apparent essentialist logic in social discourse with regards to race suggests that the shift from apartheid to non-racialism requires deliberate interventions aimed at dealing with the challenges in between. In the aftermath of apartheid it would appear as if race still matters, which will be the focus of the next section of this thesis inquiry.

Persistent racial divisions in Democratic South Africa

From the time the former president of South Africa had initiated the process of the country's first democracy, a feat which later earned him the Nobel Peace prize, South Africa has continued on the arguably miraculous journey of transformation. The new dispensation which took effect in 1994 ushered in radical reforms. New legislation such as the Promotion of Equity Act, the Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act and the Employment Equity Act were introduced to eliminate discrimination in the work-place (Roefs, 2006). The South African Human Rights Commission and the Land Commission amongst other bodies were instituted to protect and promote the rights of citizens. Additionally the landmark Truth and Reconciliation Commission formed part of the myriad of interventions aimed at political redress (Roefs). Moreover, the protection and rights of all South African citizens are enshrined in a Constitution globally recognised as superlative.

Yet despite the political and legal transformations, South Africa's social constitution remains deeply divided (Potgieter & Moleko, 2002), still holding onto "old-fashioned South African racial attitudes" (Durrheim, 2003, p. 248). The deep divisions within South African society remain a challenge for the head of state and the nation. President Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's second democratically elected head of state, currently serving his second term of office, is known

for his outspoken ire against racism. In his 2006 State of the Nation Address President Mbeki continued the focus on the racial divide in this country when he stated, "we need to speed up efforts towards the day when they [the SA people] will be liberated from the suffocating tentacles of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid" (Mbeki, cited in Vetten, 2007, p. 17).

And in his political column he wrote,

> I…will not keep quiet when others whose minds have been corrupted by the disease of racism, accuse us, the black people of South Africa, Africa and the world, as being, by virtue of our Africanness and skin colour-lazy, liars, foul-smelling, diseased, corrupt, violent, amoral, sexually depraved, animalistic, savage-and rapist. (Mbeki on line column cited in Roefs, 2006, p 79)

President Mbeki's public expression of outrage at racist practices and references to South Africa being a "two nation state" (Roefs, 2006, p. 79) often attracts criticism from the official opposition political party for what they say is the President's penchant for 'playing the race card'.

The President's view however is supported by recent research commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in 2002 that assessed public attitudes. The research labelled South African Social Attitudes (SASA) represents an extensive research project covering 1000 enumerator areas, covering up to 10000 households (Orkin & Jowell, 2006).

The SASA's disquieting findings indicate that racism exists to varying degrees among all racial groups. It seems that nationally, whites are viewed as the most distrusted, whilst the figures in the Western and Northern Cape suggest that black Africans were the most distrusted. The provincial indicators are perceived to reflect the continuing prejudicial feelings against blacks by the large coloured populations in these two provinces. The findings reflect that a large majority of whites perceive blacks to be racist and conversely a large majority of black people indicated that whites were racist. A large number of respondents also indicated that they had been subjected to discrimination based on race (Daniel, Southall, & Dippenaar, 2006).

On the basis of the HSRC research it was concluded that "South Africans still come across as deeply conservative-racist, homophobic, sexist, xenophobic and hypocritical in terms of sexual beliefs and practices" (Daniel, et al., 2006, p. 20).

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These views are followed through by the media who continue to report on the racial divisions and hostility between the races in South Africa and particularly in the city of Cape Town (Bunsee, 2007; Harvey, 2007; Jacobs, 2007; Tleane, 2007).

Further support to the idea that there are deep social divisions is offered by Mandaza (2001) who argues that South Africa is dominated by two contending world views, the one being white and the other African. In addition Seekings and Nattrass (2006) concluded that historical economic disparities between black and white remain largely unchallenged. The outcomes of research examining race relations on a beach (Durrheim, 2005) and in university residence dining halls (Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon, & Finchilescu, 2005) as well as the link between language and racism (Painter & Baldwin, 2004) also shows that informal racial divisions continue very powerfully. I conclude this section using Bekker's (2001) quote that encapsulates the sentiments expressed above, "In South Africa, it (race) was important and pernicious in our apartheid past, and is still clearly a major issue in our present" (p. 17).

Contemporary understandings of race

Many would suggest that they do not know what race is (Foster, 1993b). Others would add that race is a variegated concept (Winant, 2000), meaning different things to different people. Yet others would argue against the existence of race (Alexander, cited in MacDonald, 2006; Duncan, 2002) or pure races (Kwaa Prah, 2002). In effect Kwaa Prah argues that there is no such thing as 'race'. Winant (2000) on the other hand says that there is no other concept or construct that is more central and controversial than race. There is however general consensus that race as we have come to identify it is a product of contemporary social arrangements (MacDonald, 2006; Posel, 2001; Winant).

The embeddedness of race in both apartheid and post-apartheid South African society as well as the challenges faced as South Africa continues to move forward as a new democracy suggests significant local alignment with Winant's (2000) assertion of race being most central. As noted elsewhere in this text race formation in South Africa changed from not being a primary mode of distinction amongst people to being the primary means of differentiation. Race formation in South Africa mirrored global processes, "dominated by large-scale political processes" (Winant, 2000, p. 70).

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Early configurations of phenotypic and other differences, for example religion, were noted, conceptualised as biologic in genesis with associations of supremacy and inferiority. Whites were associated with descriptive labels of sophistication, civilisation, and Christianity, whilst others were seen as heathen, barbaric and uncivilised (MacDonald, 2006). These distinctions over time came to be seen as biologic or "natural" (Winant, 2000, p. 173), with differences seen as immutable, essential constellations with Biblical justifications. Political processes like colonisation and subsequently apartheid employed biologic theorising to substantiate taking possession of both labour and land belonging to others. Thus, out of political processes dominated by economic enrichment, "races" as social facts were born. Whilst biology was seen as a primary determinant of race, Winant argues that its application was often arbitrary and at time illogical. Globally, Jews and Irish alongside people of colour were deemed as being of different races from whites.

The assignment of people to the binary categories is based on arbitrary human characteristics of which colour appears to be "a powerful badge that is used by observers as a master label" (Bhui, 2002b). Phenotypical characteristics would be assigned value and sorted into politically defined race groups. The collective societal embodiment of racial stratification is reflected in what Hall (cited in Gilroy, 1987) described as "an articulated ensemble of social relations structured in dominance". The result is that as a society we see colour and when we see colour we see race (MacDonald, 2006; Miyeni, 2006). Bhui (2002c) goes on to question what it is about the colour of one's skin that elicits such powerful responses. He muses, "is it just the colour of the skin, or is it its texture, its smell, its history of relationships, its way of reflecting light, its softness and its warmth that fuel the immediate reactions?" (Bhui, p. 10).

The shifting landscape of political processes also consequentially shifted views on race. Winant (2000) thus argues that each theory about race "is marked by the time and place of its birth" (p. 174). Political events like World War II, the mass migration to Europe and America, with internal demands for reform, and, later, anti-apartheid lobbying, were some of the significant events that created stirrings towards global democratisation and labour demands set the context for a different evaluation of difference.

Historical world events with ultimate emphasis on political and social democratisation culminated in widespread interest in race relations, with emphasis on racial inequality. Pioneering

work by earlier writers such as Du Bois in the early 1900s instigated a following that powerfully directed global attention to race being a social construct rather than being 'natural' (Winant, 2000). Social and historical, "man made" (Bhui, 2002b, p. 23) constructs invented by the Europeans, came to be seen as responsible for assigning meaning to phenotypes which in turn denoted race (Winant).

As the theories about race shifted, so too have scientific investigations, including psychological research about race. Earlier investment in 'proving' the existences of different races have of necessity changed focus to social aspects of race and racism.

The link between biology and race has by and large been debunked. The current common-place view is that race is given meaning and form depending on the social and political context (Bhui, 2002c; Gilroy, 1987). Winant (2000) describes race as "a concept that signifies and symbolizes socio-political conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies" (p. 72).

(2002b p. 17) offers the following definitions of race:

1) Group of persons, animals or plants connected by common decent; house, family, tribe or nation regarded as of common stock; distinct ethnical stock (as in Caucasian, Mongolian, etc. race)

2) Descent kindred (of noble, oriental, etc. race; separate in language and race).

3) Classes of person etc. with some common feature (race of poets, dandies).

The theories underscoring racial distinctions are

1) Ethnicity-oriented, which locate race within a framework of shared cultural characteristics;

2) Class-based theories, which locate race as subsumed under class and place emphasis of economic differences and competition;

3) Nation-oriented theories, which favour drawing of geographical boundaries and favours amongst others, citizenship (Winant, 2000, p. 178).

Winant (2000) argues however that contemporary theories are inadequate as they fail to explain the "persistence of racially based distinctions" (p. 178). Racial discrimination and racial prejudice remain significant foci of interest and concern. Many researchers are perplexed by the stubborn

persistence of racial discrimination and prejudice in the face of continuing breakdown of anti-democratic structures and global commitment towards racial equality.

Winant (2000) believes that any new theory needs to address the "the persistence of racial classification and stratification" (as mentioned above) and to "include recognition of the "comparative/historical dimension of race". Furthermore any new theory should link "the micro- and macro-aspects of racial signification and racialised social structure and should include the "newly pervasive forms of politics in recent time" (p. 181).

Further to the challenge of racial theorising is that of challenges to the recognition of race. "Unadulterated poppycock" is what Kwaa-Prah (2002, p. 27), head of the Centre for the Advanced Study of African Society (CASAS), says about the assertion of the existence of a 'pure race'. He argues against the past or present existence of a 'pure race'. He goes on to say: "All human groups which are currently identified as races are results of interminable mixtures going back in the depths of time and the misty origins of humanity" (p. 27).

Additionally, Alexander (cited in MacDonald, 2006) argues that races do not exist and is quoted as saying,

> Ethnic groups do not exist: and since "ethnicity" is an attribute reputedly possessed by "ethnic groups," it follows "a fortiori" that it is an "invention". There is no logical reason whatsoever to argue for the existence of entities called "races" or "ethnic groups" simply from the fact of racial prejudice or ethnic awareness of whatever kind. It is anti scientific…to conclude that because a very large number of people in the world believe in the existence of ghosts and hence behave as though ghosts really do exist…[that] therefore a category called ghosts has to be invented. (MacDonald, 2006, p. 94)

In South Africa, there is a particular history of racial labels, as these were affixed and inscribed in law by the apartheid government. There has therefore been in South Africa a strong motivation to reject all use of racial labels because of the association with the apartheid enemy (Swartz, 1998). The use of racial labels has also attracted objections based on the view that these labels serve to fix people in racial categories viewed as an essential combination of attributes without giving recognition to diversity within as well as overlap between racial groupings. The emphasis on binary categories of black and white in academic writings, it is argued, does not account for within-group differences, nor does it account for racial categories that do not fit the binary frame

like those with bi-racial identities (Gillem, Cohn, & Throne, 2001). There is also a strong contingency of voices that object to the exclusion of influences of gender and social class perceived to be critical in identity development (Mama, 1995). There are also those voices who object to the perception that race is the primary determinant of all experiences, and thus identity development, who argue that identity is also worked and re-worked actively through language and in conversation (Erasmus, 2002; McAdams, cited in Howard, 2000).

Bhui says that race, whilst having an "empty" quality, however, remains important in that it confers identity, worth and value as well as being the powerful way in which humans relate to one another. According to Bhui (2002b), race continues to be used to classify ourselves and others and in so doing becomes a way "of seeking out the familiar and the less threatening in the apparently unfamiliar and threatening 'other'.

The reality of 'race' as a social construct takes on a particular significance in a rapidly changing society like South Africa, where there is the expectation that over a fairly short period of time, spheres of power and influence, including political, professional, and social spheres, will be deracialised. Miyeni's (2006) book titled, *The only black at a dinner party* speaks to the automatic scrutiny and evaluation of the other in this context. Miyeni speaks of the initial intimidation felt when being surrounded by an all white group. He describes being "sized up" (p. 52) and evaluated for sameness, a process that leads him to feeling "like a star", special to the white group. Similarly Miyeni reflects on being in a primarily white group and having another black person present where the process of evaluation is deemed similar. Miyeni reported his experience of having been ignored by a high profile black person whilst amongst a predominantly white group, reflecting on having been sized up by the other black and viewed as threatening his 'star' status. He states: "the important black man had been the only black for so long that his importance was now partially defined by being the only black in white circles" (Miyeni, p. 53).

Race, as is apparent, remains a highly emotionally charged construct with little consensus reached as to the meaning of race. In addition to the concept of race being highly emotive, and the more recent theorising linking racism to "abjection" understood as visceral, bodily and psychological manifestations of, for example, feelings of revulsion felt though unconsciously motivated (Hook, 2004), Lago and Thompson (1996) argue that the complexity of race and in particular racism, is that it is a changing phenomenon. Racism's ability to mutate and change

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form, make racist practices less visible, more subtle and as a result more difficult to notice and define (Lago & Thompson). Additionally Dixon and Durrheim (2000) draw attention to the relationship between identity and place. Place-identity further rejects the historical monolithism associated with identity instead suggesting the implicit fluidity of locating oneself in geographical locations. I am in agreement with D'Andrea (2005) that the debates about the definition about race and related constructs need to continue, with the view of finding standardized operational terms. I also share D'Andrea's scepticism with regard to the possibility of such an outcome of agreement on a construct that means different things to different people. The author argues that the focus of psychological inquiry into race should be on the socially constructed meaning of race. D'Andrea confirming the lack of scientific evidence linking race to biological determinants has this to say about evidence of discrimination against people of colour in the United States of America.

There is little scientific doubt that persons, who are visibly different from members in the dominant white cultural racial group in the United States (especially in terms of skin color) continue to be unfairly treated in our society (D'Andrea, 2005, p. 526).

And

> A growing number of social scientists have reported many ways in which a person's physical and psychological health is adversely affected because of the phenotypic differences that are manifested in skin color and other racialized physical characteristics. (D'Andrea, 2005, p. 526)

And

> Various interrelated racial disparities are well documented in other aspects of the lives of people who come from different racial and ethnic groups in the United States, including the disproportionate number of persons of color who have filled our nation's jails, who drop out or are pushed out of our educational system, and who are chronically unemployed. (D'Andrea, 2005, p.527)

According to D'Andrea (2005), it is clear that discrimination is informed by the colour of one's skin, hence that racism exists. Inversely, that white people experienced relative privilege, further suggesting that experiences were race-based. MacDonald (2006) emphasises that regardless of whether entities exist empirically, the common belief in such entities remains an important social

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fact. With race for example, whilst the natural and biogenetic determinants may no longer be considered valid, race holds social and political validity. "For political purposes, to be perceived is to be" (MacDonald, p. 94).

In summary, race firmly established as socially ascribed concept, is contentious. It is pregnant with complex emotions in response to its specific historical political design aimed at oppressing many for the distinct benefit of others continues to hold currency in contemporary society. Race had been historically designed to serve political systems embedded in domination and discrimination. The political design process involved conferring relative worth on the identities of the oppressed and oppressors will be the focus of the next section.

Identity and its terms of reference

The development of a positive self and group identity are considered amongst the most central contributors to attainment of psychological health (Massey & Fischer, 2006). Identity is shaped partly by worldview. The American Psychological Association (APA) strongly encourages psychologists to gain a better understanding of the multiple ways in which worldviews are racially shaped (APA, 2003).

The "know thyself" dictum is perceived as one of the core criteria for ethical and best-practice standards in the field of psychology. It is understood that through the reflexive practice of self-evaluation psychologists should be better positioned to reflect on their clients in a more holistic manner and avoid the unconscious re-enactment of prejudice in the therapy room. This is reportedly particularly critical in the US (Ponterotto, 2005) and elsewhere where psychologists are increasingly seeing racially diverse clients or as in South Africa where much of the debate is around making psychological services available to people of colour, long denied access to such services (Nicholas, 1993).

How then do we respond to the injunction of getting to "know thyself"? The common sense approach would suggest starting with the literature on racial identity development. This however is inherently complex since there is little confluence in the multitude of voices on the topic. Whilst there is a general consensus that identity is central psychologically speaking for everyone, significant disagreements exist about how we define our identity. There are some who question why one needs to be defined in racial terms, arguing that this risks reifying race and making phenotypical difference central to identity (Cokley, 2005).

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Black racial identity

People of colour in many countries have been conferred with minority status, and this status has played its part in maintaining the privilege of European countries and ethnic elites (Bulhan, 1993). Fanon (1967) has shown how in Algeria and similar countries, cultural imperialism permeated all facets of living and underscored the abhorrent practice of slave labour. Segregation was supported by fears of contamination by the other. Segregation was later legislated, having received support from various quarters following "scientific" evidence, including psychological reporting that proved the inferiority of the non-European.

Black people have been argued to have internalised the projected sense of inferiority and shame. This has been viewed as the result of exposure to a political system that rejected and denigrated all association to blackness (Bryan & Aymer, 1996; Manganyi, 1973). According to Fanon (1967), whiteness serves as an ideal to which Blacks aspire, supporting the notion that blacks internalised the idea of being inferior to their white counterparts. Kirtman (2001), exploring the dynamics of racism, reported that the mere presence of members of whites negatively affect the racial subjectivity of blacks.

Further themes of studies indicate the black self-concept as, amongst others, unattractive, not socially valuable, lacking impulse control, aggressive, sexually uncontrolled, ineffective in managing people and events, and unable to compete with whites (Couve, 1984; Jones, 1991; Nicholas, 1993; Whitney, 2004). Researchers have generated a considerable amount of work in the field of self-concept and more specifically the black or "Negro" self-concept suggesting self-loathing of the black self (Nobles, 1995).

The system of apartheid was strategically based on the "belief" in the inferiority of people of colour relative to whites. Even academic research contributed to a spoiled black identity. Foster (1993a), for example, reports on South African social science research that depicted black people as inferior to whites, and that legitimised segregation. Inferiority judgements were extended to all areas of black experience. Religious and cultural values were viewed as inferior, as were all aspects of intellectual ability. Indigenous languages were seen as primitive, and phenotypic features including skin colour were associated with unattractiveness. Myths were perpetuated in the name of science about black people's sexual prowess, and the length of black penises (Kamin, 1993).

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The negative consequences of sustained exposure to an oppressive system of such magnitude on the identity development of the oppressed group are arguably immeasurable. Some of the negative consequences outlined as the "mark of oppression", (Foster, 1993a) include out-group preference expressed by South African black children in a study assessing racial attitudes. The writing of Steve Biko highlights the recognition of damage to the black psyche and suggests the resolution of the damage:

> It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump life back into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the land of his birth. (Biko, 2004, p. 31)

South African researcher Mandaza (2001) reflecting on South African identities stated: "the subject of South African identity has to be considered against the background of complex historical process that spans more than 300 years" (p. 133).

Furthermore Bekker (2001) stated: "Western colonial influence, and its enduring effects both on identity construction and on interpretations of those identities is addressed in one chapter and is also found implicitly in all the contributions" (p. 16).

Speight (2007) argues that the internalisation of racism is perhaps the worst kind of injury one can suffer. Some authors argue, on the other hand, that the positions expressed above implicitly positions the person of colour as pathological, and advocate researching the multiplicity and continuously shifting nature of identity instead (Bhavnani & Phoenix, 1994; Mama, 1995).

Various racial buffers such as being suspicious of and antagonistic toward whites as well as resisting the apartheid government which was viewed as illegitimate, served to protect some blacks against oppression (Foster, 1993b). Similarly Soudien (2001) argues that the identities of people of colour should not only be viewed as responsive to racial oppression but "generative in their own right" (p. 128).

To summarise then, the view that a person of colour's racial identity is shaped by her or his responses to racial discrimination has according to the stated literature, been well established. One of the consequences of continuous, systematic exposure to racial discrimination is the

internalisation or inscriptions of the negative messages, theoretically defined as internalised racism or the mark of oppression (Nair, Carolissen, & Benjamin, 2003). Many have argued that viewing racial identity development as primarily in response to discrimination, presents not only a monolithic, pathological view but more importantly a reductionistic view of racial identity (Mama, 1995). The contemporary views of racial identity as being multiple with responses to racial discrimination being an aspect of racial identity have gained widespread currency. Black racial identity is also now thought of as having real possibilities of being healthy and positive. These contemporary views have shaped racial identity models and next we will look at Cross's and in particular Helms's revised models, both of which enjoy considerable status, particularly in the US.

Cross's black racial identity

Cross is one of the first proponents to empirically advance and direct attention to the multiple ways in which black people in America have been assigned relative worth through the abominable system of racial oppression. Cross identified an intrinsic connection between internalised racism, identity development and psychological health (Hocoy, 1999; Pyant & Yanico, 1991).

Cross's original 'nigrescence' model dating back to the early 1970s posited developmental stages that black Americans go through to achieve a positive, psychologically healthy black identity (Cokley, 2002). The original 'nigrescence' model that had five descriptive stages (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization and internalization commitment) was revised following criticisms of its design and the revised version emerged in the early 1990s. The revised model moved away from early conceptualisations of black identity development occurring primarily in relation to experiences of discrimination and ending once a healthy black identity is achieved. The revised model suggests that identity is multiple, i.e. not induced only by experiences of discrimination. The revised model also suggests greater movement between the various stages which may in turn occur at different stages through the life cycle of a person. Cross's models have been widely exposed to validity testing (Cokley, 2002).

Table 2

Cross's Revised Black Racial Identity Model, Adapted from Cokley (2002)[1]

Stages with identified sub-sets	Descriptions
Pre-encounter stage	The pre-encounter stage is generally characterised by identification with white normative standards and a disconnection from black race significance.
-pre-encounter assimilation	The first stage's subset (pre-encounter assimilation) is characterised by low salience for race and a strong identification with being American.
-pre-encounter mis-education	The pre-encounter mis-education is characterised by internalisation of negative racist stereotypes of being black e.g. lazy, stupid etc.
-pre-encounter self-hatred	The pre-encounter self-hatred is self explanatory, signifying extreme anti Black attitudes.
Encounter stage	This stage involves personal experience/s of discrimination or racism that alters the person's thinking and awareness of racism.
Immersion-emersion stage -intense Black involvement -anti White identity	During the immersion-emersion stage persons are engrossed with black identity that manifests in active black involvement or as the sub-heading suggests powerfully engaged in anti-white world-views.

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[1] Please note that tables in this thesis are formatted for ease of reading and not in the APA table style.

Table 2 *Continue*

Stages with identified sub-sets	Descriptions
Internalization stage -Black nationalism	The final stage is characterised by the emergence or internalization of a psychologically health racial identity.
-multiculturalist inclusive	The Black nationalism subset describes a non reactionary pro-Black stance which is described as being a "Black American interpretation of what it means to have an African perspective" (Cross, 1991, p.222). The multiculturalist inclusive is an extension of black nationalism with the added feature of including at least two other identity groupings e.g. sexual orientation, gender.

Helms's people of color (POC) racial identity

Cross's racial identity model served as a basis for later re-workings of racial identity development. Helms credits, amongst others, Cross's influence on the concept and design of her later racial identity models. Helms's racial identity models, or socioracial as she fittingly labels it, describes the impact or psychological consequences, i.e. intrapsychic and interpersonal, of societal racism on individuals (Helms & Cook, 1999). Like Cross, Helms's models had undergone some modifications, the significant change being the shift away from "stages" to the newly theorised "ego statuses" (p. 84). Ego statuses are defined as "cognitive-affective-conative intrapsychic principles" (p. 84), representing intrapsychic responses to racial stimuli. The racial development experience sees individuals moving successively, through differentially defined statuses, moving from the least sophisticated through to the resolution of fully integrated health racial identities. Ego statuses higher up the rank order allow individuals to process and ultimately respond to race related information with greater degrees of complexity. It is also important to note that individuals may experience multiple statuses simultaneously, however, to different

degrees of dominance. Table 3 shows Helms and Cook's summary of common themes of Helms's racial identity models which will be followed by an adapted version of Helms's racial identity models.

Table 3

Summary of Common Ego Status Themes in Helms's Racial Identity Models *(Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 86).*

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Themes

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Persons must overcome societal definitions of their socioracial group by redefining themselves in personally meaningful terms.

Self redefinition involves a sequential differentiation or maturation of ego statuses.

Simplest or least complex statuses develop first.

The seeds of more complex statuses are inherent in earlier statuses.

Statuses that are most consistently reinforced in the environment become strongest and potentially dominant.

A status is dominant when it occupies the largest percentage of the ego and is used most frequently for interpreting racial material.

Statuses that are not reinforced recede in importance and become recessive.

Recessive statuses are infrequently used to govern responses to racial stimuli.

Ego statuses are hypothetical constructs that cannot be measured.

The strength of ego statuses is inferred from their behavioural expressions- schemata.

Schemata typically reflect the themes that are present in the person's socioracial environment(s).

Environments can be internal (psychological) or external (environmental).

Helms and colleagues subsequently developed the model of black racial identity within a people of colour (POC) framework, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4

Adapted Version of Helms's Black and POC Racial Identity Models (Cokley, 2002; Helms & Cook, 1999).

Statuses: Black and POC (Bracketed)	Description
Pre-encounter (Conformity)	Pre-encounter is the first of the ego-statuses and represents the most primitive form of racial identity development. Individuals in this status devalue and denigrate all associations with being black, in keeping with white society's values. The social ills experienced by black people are viewed as being self induced, and not in the least attributed to socio-political conditions. Conversely all associations with whiteness are idealised. The person is unaware of racial or political implications of experiences. Contact and associations with white persons are celebrated and reflect their (blacks') self-importance. First-hand experiences of racism shifts pre-encounter black people to the encounter ego status (dissonance for POC).
Encounter (Dissonance)	The awareness that despite their association and idealisation of white people and culture, they, alongside all other black people are discriminated against. The rejection and lack of fit felt by black people when they realise that they are not part of the white group, give rise to a range of affective responses. The newfound awareness and perplexing emotional responses facilitate the shift to the

Immersion-emersion statuses.

Table 4 continued

Statuses: **Black and POC (Bracketed)**	Description
Immersion-emersion (Immersion-emersion)	Black people in the immersion status are said to be motivated to replace the negative perception of black group identity. The developmental process centrally involves immersion into black experiences and culture and the denigration of white people and white culture. Worldviews in the immersion status are primarily based on racial stereotypes and racist thinking. The recognition of a need for a positive group racial identity is said to mark the shift to the emersion status. Individuals in the emersion status surround themselves and are more involved with members of their own race group. The worldviews of those in the emersion status is more balanced and less reliant on racial stereotyping, with a greater understanding of socio-political influences on racial identity. The emersion status is also the precursor to the final, internalisation status. (same for POC).
Internalisation (Internalisation) -Internalisation-commitment (Integrative awareness) POC	The internalisation status represent the more mature of all of the previous statuses. Individuals in this final status experience and express positive associations with their group identity, associations that are internally defined and not therefore dependent on societal definitions. The internalisation status reflects mature, complex and abstract ability to process racial stimuli, in relation to similar and

dissimilar racial groupings.

Table 4 continued

Statuses:	Description
Black and POC (Bracketed)	
	This last stage is the final resolution toward healthy racial identity development and reflects an identity that is fully integrated with other aspects of the persons overall identity. The person holds balance views of all racial groups and responds equally to perceptions of all forms of racial discrimination. The latter part of this final stage-Internalisation-commitment, represents the status experienced by black people who manifest behaviours reflective of a commitment to the eradication of discrimination. Individuals in this status also manifest the capacity to recognise and celebrate the multiple nature of their racial identity, without excluding other oppressed groups.

The revised racial identity models posited by both Cross and Helms above, give greater recognition to the understanding of the multiple nature of identity in that it includes several stages/processes. However, responses to racial discrimination still remain central to conceptualisations of identity development of people of colour.

In contrast, white identity development reflects the opposite side of the same coin, that is a racial identity that has been shaped by the experiences of being in the position of power and dominance relative to persons of colour. This is the focus of the next section.

White racial identity

Theories on white racial identity have not attracted the same kind of attention as that of black racial identity. Helms, in an interview with Carter (1995), reflected on the striking absence of

theories on white racial identity at the time of her inquiry into the area. The continued dearth of literature appears to be the result of whiteness not having been perceived as a racial identity.

The almost exclusive focus on the experiences of blacks was fuelled by earlier implicit assumptions that racism was damaging only to the victims of oppression. The position of privilege and supremacy conferred to whites made the investigation into costs suffered by whites challenging and, I may assume, appear insensitive to the 'real victims'.

Early feminist writers who were considered quite revolutionary for their time initially were criticised for not reflecting on the impact and power of whiteness on their identity have subsequently cast much of the ground work for what appears to be a growing trend in the deconstruction and problematising of whiteness. In keeping with the political and arguably, academic contextual shifts, white people have been called to reflect on and add to the body of knowledge on whiteness in general and white racial identity specifically (Burman, 1994; Clark, 2001; Tarver-Behring, 1994).

There appear fairly substantial responses to the calls and requests for critical engagement with white racial identity. Emerging literature appears replete with reflections on the historical obliviousness or colour-blindness to race, culture and ethnicity by white people (Sue, 2001a; Tarver-Bering, 1994; Wong, 1994); the invisibility, including the invisibility of power inherent in white racial identity (Green & Sonn, 2006; Helms & Cook, 1999); and amongst others, the unearned material, emotional, psychological and educational privileges associated with being white (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Clarke, 2001; Sue, 2001a; Wong, 1994) as well as advantaged associations of fairness, justice and equity (Steyn, 2001).

Whiteness is also associated with what Trepagnier (1994) refers to as the "beauty myth" that specifies whiteness as the standard of beauty, placing all others at a disadvantage. The symbol of whiteness also embodies that which is desired as it serves as the standard of measurement (Whitney, 2004). Morrison (1999) in her novel *The bluest eye* describes the desire in the following manner: "A little black girl yearns for the blue eyes of a little white girl, and the horror at the heart of her yearning is exceeded only by the evil of fulfilment" (p. 162).

Similarly, when Whitney's (2004) student asked, "Don't you wish you had blond hair?"(p. 793), she was expressing a desire for whiteness as well as expressing, what Trepagnier (1994) refers to as the "politics of white and black bodies" (p. 200). The research community, including

psychological research into white racial identity, has also been criticised for their complicity in using whiteness as the standard of comparison. The heterosexual, Calvinist, white male insidiously and ubiquitously infiltrated research and became the global benchmark of comparison (Wong, 1994). Wong also argues that white researchers hardly report or problematise the impact of their race on their research process and outcomes, inferring neutrality of the researcher.

Authors are inclined to report whiteness as a racial category only when undertaking comparative racial studies and even then, would use the relatively politically neutral synonyms such as Caucasian, Anglo and European/American (Wong, 1994). Moreover, authors tend to assume that white racial identity is monolithic.

In contrast to the privileged associations to whiteness, contemporary literature argues that white individuals have also suffered, and encourages the exploration of the psychosocial costs of racism to whites (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; McDermott & Samson, 2005; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). According to Karp (cited in Helms & Cook, 1999), distortions that result in negative association with white subjectivity may include self-deception, self-hate, guilt and shame about being white. Similarly Clark (2001) supports the view of whites as wounded by the system of racial oppression orchestrated by forefathers. Paradoxically, this system may have contributed to woundedness that includes feelings of in-authenticity, a distorted sense of racial group superiority and denial of self as white. Additionally, the system may have fostered anxiety in white people about the expression of race or racial consciousness by blacks (Clark; Helms & Cook).

The perception created of whiteness as being monolithic, is also being challenged by emerging research demonstrating multiple group memberships (Tarver-Behring, 1994) that includes, but is not limited to socio-economic status, religion and geographic location. The concept of the multiplicity and fluidity of white racial identity has also been advanced by researchers who argue that whiteness is constructed, that is worked and reworked in conversation (Best, 2003). It is now recognised that there is as much diversity within as there is between whiteness as a collective.

In summary, white racial identity was firstly not considered. Many whites reportedly did not see themselves as having race, ethnicity or culture. The colour blindness approach was commonly reported and eventually criticised as it denied positions of privilege and power within. Privilege, power and dominance over those not identified as white are considered central to white racial identity development. In contrast, contemporary writings have challenged established perceptions

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of privilege and power arguing that those positions overlook the diversity within and between white people. The modern-day representation advanced of whites racial identity is that of also having been wounded by the system of oppression. Next we will look at Helms' white racial identity model which she mused as having been premised on cultural shock, with culture (or the introduction to culture) having been the shock (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Helms's white racial identity model

According to Helms's theorising, white people have been socialised and exposed to experiences that encouraged distorted self-experiences of superiority and privilege in relation to persons not identified as white, i.e. internalised racism. The systematic and relatively unchallenged exposure to experiences of privilege and power generates feelings of entitlement to on-going privileges. Distorted perceptions of reality and colour blind approaches thus represent defences against threats to loss of privileges. The shift away from white racial identity defined by racism involves the deconstructing and replacing of white racial identity with a non-racist, positive and authentic identity. The development of a positive, self-affirming racial identity includes becoming aware of the denial of race, learning about the socio-political implications of race and commitment to white group memberships and striving for non racist values and interactions. Tokar and Swanson (1991) have also confirmed the relationship between advanced white racial identity and self-actualising tendencies. Table 5 shows an adapted version of Helms's white racial identity model.

Table 5

Adapted Version of Helms's White Racial Identity Model (Helms & Cook, 1999)

Statuses	Description
Contact	The Contact status is the first status in the evolution towards a mature form of racial identity. Individuals in the contact status display a general lack of racial awareness and even less awareness of the socio-political implications of race. Their behaviours are simplistic, crudely based on racial stereotypes and generally influenced by the social/familial environment. There is strong identification with racial supremacy and racist behaviour. Generally, social contact is restricted to same-group members and cross/inter racial contact is discouraged, limiting opportunities for racial challenges and self reflective thinking. Obliviousness and/or denial also serves to protect individuals from recognising complicity based on historical/familial associations with racist behaviour, thus denying them any responsibility. Shifts to the disintegration status happens as individuals become aware of racial difference.
Disintegration	Central to the disintegration status is the awareness of, and associated moral dilemmas with awareness of unequal race relations. The internal conflict results in disturbances of affect as individuals become increasingly aware of complicity to racial inequality. Individuals in this status are in conflict with their personal position that contrasts with their white racial-group's values of sustaining inequality. Feelings associated with shame, helplessness and guilt accompany this status of internal strife.

Table 5 continued

Statuses	Description
	In dealing with the tension of this status, individuals cope by avoiding people of colour, outwardly challenging racial stereotypes, or by identifying with the view that racism is non-existent. The denial of the existence of racism is common-place for those with strong affiliation and investment in maintaining white group acceptance. The reintegration status follows.
Reintegration	The reintegration status is marked by the idealisation of the white socioracial group. Individuals acknowledge being white, expressed as separate and superior to others. Individuals in this status manifest behaviours that are racist, stereotypically believing the supremacy of whites and conversely, believe that black people are intellectually, socially and culturally deficient. The belief systems of individuals in the reintegration status may be informed by ideology that in turn is expressed in the form of ritualistic acts. The representational expressions of their worldviews serve to protect white privilege and foster oppression. The belief system is largely fixed, and shifts to the next status for individuals in the reintegration status, generally require noteworthy personal or collective events. Next is the pseudo-independence status.
Pseudo-Independence	Individuals in the pseudo-independence status express a commitment to their white racial group. The commitment however is said to be intellectualised as individuals, whilst critically reflecting on racism, still hold views that suggest whites are superior. There is an expression of liberal efforts to assist people of colour, though still based on white terms. Individuals also express greater

Table 5 continued

Statuses	Description
	discomfort when confronted with racial issues and experience a sense of shame attached to being white. Individuals show a greater awareness of the sociopolitical implications of race, though blacks are still perceived to be the custodians and responsible for addressing issues related to race. For whites in this status there is the experience of a loss of a racial home, having disconnected from white group membership and being on the margins of black group members. Continued striving toward a mature racial identity shifts white persons to the next status namely immersion-emersion.
Immersion-Emersion	The Immersion-Emersion is a status marked by significant self-exploration and introspection in the search for a non racist definition of whiteness. The person in this status actively engages in the reworking of earlier, distorted views of white racial identity. Accurate information is sought as well as forming stronger alliances for whites who serve as role models, having explored similar journeys. The active pursuit of a non-racist identity is evident and reflects an engagement with complex issues of race, on a much deeper level, than experienced at earlier statuses. Persons at this relatively evolved status are also invested in facilitating their racial group awareness and identity. The final level of white identity, namely autonomy follows on from the immersion-emersion status.

Table 5 continued

Statuses	Description
Autonomy	The autonomy status is the most mature status in the evolution of racial identity development. This status reflects the attainment of a white racial identity, free from racist worldviews. Independence of thought shapes his or her thinking and shows in the comfort with which those in the autonomy status interact across the racial divide. This most advanced status allows for complex, abstract experiences of white racial identity and responses to racial stimuli.

Helms's (Helms & Cook, 1995) model of white racial identity starts with individuals oblivious to their racial identity and the socio-political implications of race. Individuals move along an evolutionary process which involves distancing from whiteness, through to idealisation of whiteness, developing intellectual and then finally deeper understanding and awareness of white racial identity. The most advanced status is the attainment of a racial identity unencumbered by racism. According to Helms and Cook (1999), the statuses rarely reflect as 'pure' statuses. Instead, individuals are more likely to simultaneously experience and express multiple statuses. The analysis of themes inherent in several samples of an individual's race- related behaviour is necessary in order to elicit more consistent and stronger themes which in turn are reflective of more consistent statuses. Next we will continue our reflection on racial identity development, this time focusing on the socialisation of race.

The socialisation of race

Gilroy (1987) confirms the interconnectedness of the races, the extent to which meaning is made always in relation to the other, all the while being reinforced by the societal values. Gilroy argues that: "The positions of dominant and subordinate groups are ascribed by 'race'. It assigns and fixes their positions relative to each other and with respect to the basic structures of society, simultaneously legitimating the ascribed position" (Gilroy, 1987, p. 30).

Concurring with the societal reinforcement of racially ascribed meanings, theorists argue that racial/ethnic socialization occurs in early childhood. Richardson (2005), in her reflections on the embodiment of social class, to which race can be inferred, demonstrates how "personal interactions of childhood, reified through convenient social and cultural categories, shape our adult perspective on the world" (p. 490). In fact researchers Katz and Kofkin (cited in Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007) argue that race socialisation occurs even before the child acquires language. Race socialization is said to be influenced by various sources such as television, books, teachers, neighbours and peers (Brown, et al., 2007).

The process of identity formation is said to be reflexive, and to include the macro influences of political systems, policies as well as the influence of family, education, society, culture, ethnicity, gender, social class, religion, disability, etc. (Brown, et al., 2007; Nair, et al., 2003). Howard (2000) also asserts that language and place are amongst multiple aspects that shape identity particularly within segregationist societies that have assigned meaning and power to both.

Brown et al. (2007), whilst acknowledging the multiple influences on development, argue that the family is the leading influence on the socialisation process of racial/ethnic identity development. It is through typical familial interactions that lead to "discussions, observations, modelling, vicarious reinforcement and imitation" (Brown, et al., p. 23) that racial/ethnic socialization is said to take place.

Walker (2006), drawing on the work by Hall (1996), Cockburn (1998) and Nussbaum (2000) and others in the field of education offers a description of identity formation that addresses many of the objections stated above. Walker concurs that identity is vital and states that identity formation is continually under construction, it is a process of becoming and not to be viewed as an end point. The formation or shaping of identity takes place in context and is therefore relational. The relational nature of identity formation thus implies that both our everyday experiences as well as the social structure in which we live (itself determined by larger scale political/historical determinants) inform lived identities as well as influencing its future direction (Howard, 2000).

Race is not an isolated variable - it is informed by and intersects with multiple identities and processes (Delgado-Romero, Rowland, & Galvan, 2005; Howard, 2000). Nagel (cited in Howard, 2000, p. 375) describes this reflexive practice as "a dialectic between internal identification and external ascription" and Bhavnani and Phoenix, (1994) describe racial identity as "the site where

structure and agency collide". The influences as stated, though not exhaustive, are clearly varied and understood to occur at different stages of a person's development, contributing to an identity that is multiple and subject to change. The relational nature of identity development makes us subject to the influences of the "relations of power and difference in society" (Walker, 2006, p. 5). As Walker states, we draw on the possibilities and options perceived to be available to us, filter that through our personal prisms and in so doing shape our preferences and choices that inform our identities. Whilst reflecting on how we make academic choices, her emphasis may be relevant to racial identity formation, where she states:

> Our preferences and choices are informed or deformed by society and public policy so that aspirations (for higher education) are shaped by what you think you can do, how confident social and educational arrangement have made you, and what society tells you about the opportunities are open to you. (p. 5)

The element that Walker (2006) emphasises as key to understanding identity formation is that the process of identity formation is influenced by both individual circumstances and social contexts in which the person lives. To emphasise the point, Walker (p. 5) shares Cockburn's view in the following (1998, p. 214) quote, "there is no thinkable specification of selfhood that does not have reference to other people known or imagined". Whilst identity formation is relational, the shaping thereof is not to be viewed as only imposed or determined by our contexts according to Walker. On the contrary, our contexts also "create the potential for change" (Walker, 2006, p. 5). Similarly, Erasmus (2002) argues for example that whilst coloured people from rural and urban areas were exposed to white racism as a marginalised collective, the two groups have developed identities distinct from the other challenging the notion that identities are necessarily only externally or "white imposed".

Further to the challenges of defining identity formation has been the rapidly increasing literature on bi-racial or multi-racial identities (Cokley, 2005; Gillem, et al., 2001; Lee & Bean, 2004). Literature on bi (multi) racial identity formation suggests multiple configurations of identity development (Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, & Harris, 1993; Miville, Constantine, Baysden, & So-Lloyd, 2005) that include identification with one, or both, or what Howard (2000) terms "border crossing" as well as a 'mestiza' identity described as, at the border. Immigration also adds further challenges to defining identity, as the permeable identity boundaries continue to flex

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(Howard, 2000). Tilly (cited in Bernstein, 2005) speaks of "embedded" and "detached" identities to distinguish between identities experienced in everyday engagements or not. The notion of identity as multilayered as exemplified by, though not limited to, bi-racial and immigration experiences support the assertion that different identities may be activated at different times. Whilst seemingly essential aspects are paraded these are understood to be subsumed by multiplicity of identities. Bernstein in fact says that when articulations of identity appear to reflect notions of essentialism it is imperative to determine whether such articulations are strategic or contextually determined. Bernstein identified the strategic use or "deployment" of identity by activists for political use or transformation. The comparative style emphasising difference or sameness to the identified norm commonly used by agents of social or political change is often used to maximise political effect. The audience is a therefore also an essential consideration when identities are expressed.

The multiplicities inherent in racial identity formation are perhaps what limit the field of psychology in producing a theory that defines its borders. Additionally, authors courageous enough to offer their insights often attract criticisms as their theorising is often perceived as reductionistic and exclusionary, reinforcing McNay's (2000) view as referenced by Walker (2006) that, "there is always room for a struggle over the meaning of the world" (p. 5).

There has however been a noticeable shift away from the focus on race to a proliferation of research into culture or more recently multiculturalism (Bhui, 2002d). Helms (1994), however, argues that the shift toward cultural studies is premature and does little to address the mental health problems due to what she aptly terms "sociorace" (Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 81). Furthermore, she argues that turning the psychotherapeutic gaze away from race obscures therapists' ability to fully understand their clients (Helms & Cook). Multiculturalism studies, according to Helms, are vague in their description as they may include a range of aspects under the rubric of culture and may in fact exclude race. Culture and ethnicity, whilst at times used interchangeably with race, are distinct from race (Helms & Talleyrand, 1997). Racial identity, according to Helms (1994), is generally defined as "the quality of a person's commitment to his socially ascribed racial group". Culture on the other hand reflects the values, norms and practices that have been transferred through the generations and ethnic identity refers to the extent to which individuals share an association or commitment to an ethnic group. There may be multiple ethnic groups with a specific socially ascribed race group (Cokley, 2005).

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New constructions of identities in post-apartheid South Africa

The shift in South Africa's political landscape in 1994 to the first non-racial democratically elected government has heralded renewed interest in racial identities. The government's commitment to redressing past inequalities has reconfigured relations of power. The sanctioned mobilisation and upward mobility of people of colour concurrent with the political 'de-powerment' of the old order of governance for white people have reversed the racial hierarchy. The new state has thus been responsible for an empowered black collective and relative de-empowered white collective, particularly the white male.

New constructions of black/African racial identity

The striking difference between constructions of black racial identity, pre and post liberation, appear to be a change in what Durrheim and Mtose (2006, p. 156) describe as "the basic conditions for self-stigmatisation". The post-liberation period saw the historical political shift or removal of political machinery, designed to oppress and confer a status of low worth and generalised inferiority on all people of colour, albeit differentially. However, removal of political machinery did not translate into a parallel process of evacuation of internalised racist self-referents. Instead, the historically stigmatised black/African identity appears relatively recalcitrant, and is repeated post apartheid. Durrheim and Mtose (2006) argue that significant political change, the repetition of self as having low worth, and the continued reference to white standards as normative, contribute to what the authors argue, as constructions of black/African identity, now associated with "multiplicity, ambivalence and conflict" (p. 157).

Further changes noted in the constructions of black/African racial identity have been the claims to authenticity, contesting who is 'rightfully' African. The African label has been hotly contested, as some believed only persons indigenous to Africa could lay claim to the title. 'Africa for Africans' had been one of the political slogans used in the early 1990s to support the claim. The changed political landscape, with new organising principles of racial hierarchies has introduced claims of moral authenticity, political credibility, resistance and subversion associated with being black/African (Erasmus, 2001).

There is also the much contested reconstruction of black identity as emulating white racial identity. Black individuals who display behaviours, mannerisms, use of English as language of choice, adopt an accent that is indicative of white identity, are labelled 'coconuts', 'oreo' (a

biscuit variety originally consisting of two dark chocolate biscuits sandwich together with white icing sugar) or 'wannabe' (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006; Matlwa, 2007). The coconut label is particularly applied, often negatively, to young black people, though not exclusively, who due to parental choices of migrations to historically white residential areas and schools, socialise and school amongst predominantly white people and allegedly discard their black identity for white ones.

New constructions of white racial identity

The shifting political landscape has contributed to long-awaited and anticipated change. However, whilst many of the changes were anticipated, there has arguably been little in preparation for the change. One of the radical upsets had been the change of socio-political status for whites, who moved from long established positions of superiority and power to suddenly being marginal (Steyn, 2001). The marginalising of whites, particularly white males, was politically motivated.

In keeping with policies of political redress, whites, for the first time, were in unenviable positions of relative disadvantage. Recruitment policies, for example, stipulated black economic empowerment (BEE) regulations, marginalising whites. The substantial shift in status for white people is the subject of Steyn's (2001) inquiry. Steyn explored the experiences of some white people to understand the meaning they made of their new statuses in a changing South Africa and the following five themes or narratives (Table 6) were identified.

Table 6

Experiences of Being White in Democratic South Africa (Steyn, 2001)

Narrative 1	Still colonial after all these years
Narrative 2	This shouldn't happen to a white
Narrative 3	Don't think white, it's alright
Narrative 4	A whiter shade of white
Narrative 5	Under African Skies (or White, but Not Quite.
	-I Don't Wanna Be White No More
	-Hybridisation, That's the Name of the Game

Herewith follows a summarised version of Steyn's 2001 study.

Narrative 1- Still colonial after all these years

This narrative describes those who have internalised a belief in the value of the historical old order that places whites at the helm of authority. Those assuming this position do not challenge the belief of white superiority and perceive of themselves as valuable guides to the evolution of black people. Steyn (2001) states, "The person still constructs whiteness around the belief that whites are in a position to define themselves and the "other" more or less unilaterally, and that intervention needs to take place on "white" terms, for the "good" of the "blacks" (p. 59).

Steyn (2001) differentiates between "the hardliner colonial" and "the altruistic colonial". The altruistic colonial is somewhat set apart by the awareness of the need for change, whilst holding on to the master narrative of white superiority. The altruistic hardliners have distanced themselves somewhat from local politics and associates with the European heritage.

Narrative 2 – This shouldn't happen to a white

People narrating this perception of 'this shouldn't happen to a white' largely hold on to the view of white superiority. The changed fortunes of whites following the new political dispensation is

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viewed as unfair and misguided. The perception of mistreatment and undervaluing of white values is deemed as catastrophic for the future of South Africa.

The binary lens with which South Africans are viewed is not questioned, instead it is perceived as a racial order that is responsible for stability and order in the country. Interfering with the perceived good order has created a chaos responded to by hostility and feelings of powerlessness.

Narrative 3 – Don't think white, it's all right

White people assimilated under the 'don't think white, it's all right' category are those who whilst firmly holding on to their white identity, are more accepting of the need for change. They express a greater optimism about the future in South Africa whilst acknowledging the inversion of differential treatment based on race. Dissatisfaction with their changed fortune is often expressed with an understanding of the inequity of the old order. Steyn (2001) differentiates two versions within this category. The stronger category, "Whites are doing it for themselves", is distinguished from "We can work it, out" by the relative strength of the respondents' acknowledgement and owning of their racial identity as well as to the perceived threat thereto. "Whites are doing for themselves" expresses a stronger desire to maintain racial categorisation. There is identification with the master narrative of white supremacy but the inversion of fortunes does not confer victim status. Those identified perceive of the need to engage with the process of change whilst being unapologetic about being white.

Those identified within the "We can work it out" category also identify strongly with their racial identity but are less inclined to maintain separate racial categories/boundaries. They support equality between races and suggest a more reflective stance about the collective racial history. They are more pragmatic about creating changes and dismiss "white guilt" often expressed as "pointless, unconstructive, and pathological emotion" (p. 98). According to Steyn (2001), their penchant to avoid reflecting on white guilt limits their ability to introspect. There is however a greater tendency toward cooperating in a mutually inclusive way.

Narrative 4 – A whiter shade of white

Steyn (2001) identified various appeals by persons identifying with the above narrative, commonly defined by their desire to dissociate from whiteness. Their new construction of their racial identity involves distancing themselves from racial categorisation. Whilst this narrative contains an appeal for an overarching South African identity, it does little to problematise white

identity. Furthermore, the shift away from racial categorisation also affords the narrator the denial of race-related privileges gained.

This new construction also involves "othering", demarcating the white group along ethnic lines. English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites are seen as distinct categories. The historical difference between whites of European descent and Afrikaners lies at the basis of the new construction of whiteness. The process of othering within white identity informs the appeal to politically correct ethnicity (Steyn, 2001). Afrikaners are conflated with racism and viewed as the malignant other, thereby perpetuating the demonisation of Afrikaners seen as responsible for racism. Within this construction of demarcation, English- speaking whites are absolved from responsibility for racism.

White South Africans who have spent significant years abroad also reportedly articulate the appeal for non-applicability of racial categories to their lives. Their experience of perceived comfortable interracial socialisation supports their view of racial non-applicability. As noted above however, while shifting the focus away from racial categorisation may be a noble attempt at inclusiveness, it does little to problematize whiteness. Furthermore it naively conflates racism with Apartheid.

Narrative 5 – Under African Skies (or White, but Not Quite)

The final narrative as elicited by Steyn (2001) suggests a distinct shift from the previously stated narratives. The delineating factors are the shift away from the master narrative, acknowledgement and ownership for the racial inequities and a belief in the need for the creation of new subjectivities. There is a general sense of optimism expressed by those subscribing to this narrative. Similar to the other narratives described earlier, those persons who subscribe to this narrative are not a homogeneous group. There are three groups identified differentially by the degree of their strength to act on their ideals. One of the groups for example defined as, I Just Don't Know What to Do, Being White, whilst subscribing to the idea of reconfiguring their subjectivity, lack the certainty and direction for the required reconfiguration. There is often pain associated with the reorganising of racial subjectivities but they remain committed to the shift.

Another group defined as I Don't Wanna Be White No More whilst committed to the racial shifts, attempts to altogether dissociate from whiteness. According to Steyn (2001), the dissociation is borne out of a more informed representation of the historical political landscape.

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The history of oppression engineered and sustained by whites has resulted in an over identification with white guilt. The discomfort arising by association to whiteness as well as the familiarity with other racial groupings encourages a distancing from their white racial identity.

The third and final sub-categorisation named Hybridisation, That's the Name of the Game, whilst acknowledging and owning responsibility for the ills of Apartheid, do not dissociate from whiteness. The discomfort felt associated with whiteness is understood and fuels a redressing of the said ills. White racial identity is seen as an integral part of that which shaped their identity, including the position of accrued privileges. The privileged position not the process of acquisition is valued and seen as a valuable resource to be shared and utilised in the service of a democratic South Africa. There is greater clarity about the way forward for whites in this final stage, which include the need to own culpability of past atrocities, to learn about South African political history and make conscious attempts to add value to the process of transformation.

New constructions of coloured racial identity

The coloured label continues to carry complexities of perceived marginality relative to both black and white labels. The complaint of "not having been white enough in the past and now not being black enough" has common-place status in social discourse. The complaint reflects experiences of having historically been "less than white and better than black" (Erasmus, 2001, p.24) which marginalised coloureds from privileges enjoyed by whites though being treated better than blacks and in the new dispensation not being considered for privileges reserved for blacks. In addition, for some coloured people who during the liberation struggle had aligned under the collective banner of black/Africanness the renewed focus on racial distinctions and perceptions of black racial privileging had created a re-identification with coloured identity.

The re-establishment of identity as coloured has emphasised its "creolized" or "hybrid" status referring to "cultural creativity under conditions of marginality" (Erasmus, 2001, p. 16). The emphasis is now placed on specific conditions of cultural borrowing in rejections of earlier notions that coloured identity was a mixture of black and white, a residual identity lacking authenticity (Erasmus).

Coloured identity whilst having been shaped by white domination is more than that, it is also defined by its complicity in subjugation of black people a connection that Erasmus (2001) argues coloured people have to acknowledge and which would be denied if coloured identity is

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subsumed under the collective black identity. Erasmus argues, however, that whilst coloured identity has been shaped by colonisation it should not be viewed as its sole definer, to do that would evade the "condition of its making and remaking" (p. 22) which defines its ambiguity, fluidity and place specificity (Erasmus, 2000).

In summary, concerning the new constructions of racialised identities, it is perhaps fitting to conclude, that, whilst much has changed, much still remains the same. New constructions of racial identities were perhaps one of the inevitable and necessary consequences of political transformation. Politically, South Africans had shifted from being governed by a political regime defined by its system of racial oppression, on one day, to waking up in a free, democratic country the next day. It would, however, appear as if the internalised psychological constructions, understood to be products of a shared history of oppression and domination, are less amenable to affirmative shifts. Many South Africans continue to be challenged by both the old and new constructions of racial identity, and by the troubling possibility that these constructions are not that different from one another. The 'struggle' continues.

The next chapter will prepare the reader for the narrower the gaze for the empirical part of this thesis - looking specifically at a small section of the South African population i.e. the clinical psychology trainees at three universities in the Western Cape in a specific year. The focus will be on clinical psychology trainees in their final or practical internships year with specific reference to institutional, academic, professional and training issues. In order to prepare for this focus, the next chapter explores issues of race in the training of psychologists.

CHAPTER 3: RACE AND THE TRAINING OF PSYCHOLOGISTS

At present in South Africa, the qualification and registration of clinical psychologists requires the completion of a master's degree. The master's degree is a two year qualification obtained at an accredited university. The course comprises a one year attendance at the university, primarily immersed in theoretical teachings, with limited exposure to clinical work. The second year is spent at an accredited psychiatric placement centre, usually, but not limited to, hospital settings where trainees further develop and hone practical skills, supported by their theoretical orientations. Trainees are in supervision during the two year period, as supervision is considered one of the critical elements of professional development. Trainees are also expected to complete a mini-thesis as part of the qualification requirement. Individual psychotherapy is usually recommended, though not enforced, during training. Following the master's degree, trainees are currently expected to complete a stipulated period of compulsory community service prior to writing the final qualifying examination for registration.

I obtained my qualification as a clinical psychologist at one of the three universities located in the Western Cape. At the time of my training, whilst grappling with issues of race and professional training, I queued and voted for the first time, in my early thirties, for South Africa's first democratic government. I continued to grapple with issues of race post qualifications and was interested in exploring whether the macro political transformation had informed training practices for clinical psychologists, many years later. This thesis represents part of that journey of inquiry into the impact of race on training. This chapter starts with reflections on the historical positions and current perceptions of the three universities in the Western Cape, with reference to their degree of interconnectedness with South African racial politics. The chapter also includes reflections on professional training of psychologists in South Africa with the lens on developing multiracial competence; reflections on the 'self' or 'being' of the trainee, widely regarded as one of the tools of the profession; supervision of trainees; the experience of race and racism in the therapeutic space and concluding with the role of mental health services and racism.

The universities in the Western Cape

The three universities (Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Western Cape) that were selected as sites for this study, were historically positioned in separate racial categories. The universities of Cape Town (UCT) established in 1911 and Stellenbosch established in 1918 were for the exclusive use

of white, English and Afrikaans speaking persons respectively (Swanson, 2007). The University of the Western Cape (UWC) on the other hand was initially established as a University College in 1960, and envisioned as an institution of higher learning for people classified as coloured. UWC was a site of active engagement in the struggle for liberation. Some of the present-day key political figures have graduated from UWC, many of whom cut their political teeth at the institution.

According to De la Rey (1998), the structures of academic institutions as well as educational content were "explicitly intended to reproduce and maintain a racially divided political, social and economic structure" (p. 7).

Whilst both Stellenbosch and UCT were state subsidised and thus unavoidably complicit in the apartheid schema, UCT attracted attention as the more liberal institution. Even as apartheid era legislation sought to segregate higher education further and further, UCT offered limited admission to students of colour, subject to Senate approval and satisfaction that courses selected were not offered at the universities designated for black and coloured people (Saunders,, cited in Swanson, 2007). UCT was also referenced as the white institution that offered academic courses with links to socialism and communism considered radical for its time (Lennox-Short & Welsh,, cited in Swanson, 2007). In addition, the university was active in raising objections to government policy aimed at legalising complete racial segregation amongst institutions of higher education in 1957. The Act, ironically titled, the Extension of the University Education Act was passed in 1959 (De la Rey, 1998). UCT's relatively open admission academic and ideological stances not withstanding, the overall institutional practices remained largely racially segregated. The number of persons of colour in attendance at UCT remained small until very recently, and the academic staff remained primarily white (Frankenberg, 1993; Swanson).

Stellenbosch University remained exclusively for white, primarily Afrikaans speaking students (Giliomee,, cited in Swanson, 2007). The significance of language as a marker of identity at Stellenbosch has been supported by research (Leibowitz, et al., 2005). Stellenbosch University's language medium historically, as mentioned, was Afrikaans, an identity the university has in common with the historical Afrikaner National Party[2]. Stellenbosch University is also seen as

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[2] The question of language at Stellenbosch University continues to be a hotly debated political question. By the time the data for this thesis were collected, master's degree students were taught in English.

having been politically aligned with apartheid politics, reflected in the number of prominent political figures of the old regime amongst the list of its alumni (Nicholas, 1993; Swanson, 2007).

In summary, the three universities in the Western Cape, as with many other social structures, had been structured by and drawn into racial politics. Two of the universities had been predominantly for the exclusive use of white students, with the difference in language of instruction. The third university was designed for coloured people. One of the challenges of transformation in South Africa, as with elsewhere, is the deconstructing of structural vestiges of the apartheid era (Robus & Macleod, 2006). Failing to do so may obscure, albeit unwittingly, possible relations of power, and may potentially risk the re-enactment of racist practices.

Race and professional training of psychologists in South Africa.

The question of how to address diversity in the professional training of psychologists is of concern in South Africa and elsewhere (Suffla, Stevens & Seedat, 2001; Swartz, 1998). South Africa's notorious political system of white domination has largely dictated the contexts within which all professional bodies have operated. In keeping with political mores at the time, the professional body governing psychology in the apartheid era espoused white racist society's normative standards (Duncan, et al., 2004; Nicholas 1993).

Suffla, et al. (2001), in agreement with Nicholas's (1993) detailed a historical account of racism within professional psychology and described the multiple ways in which psychological structures had served as 'gatekeepers' primarily aimed at maintaining contextual racialised political structures. Bulhan (1993), addressing issues beyond South Africa, provides an acerbic account of psychology's complicity in racial oppression by having provided the 'scientific' justification for racial discrimination, a tradition to which South African psychology contributed. Furthermore, the theoretical content selected for professional psychology training and at present largely still in use in South African academic institutions emphasises white middle and upper class contexts (Duncan, et al., 2004; Ratele, 2004; Stevens, 2001; Suffla & Seedat, 2004) offering little challenge to the historical status quo. Painter and Terre Blanche (2004) report on the parallels between the training and practice of psychology in South Africa and elsewhere, particularly the American tradition of psychological research and practice. Swartz (1999) argues that theories that emphasise white standards cannot be assumed to have universal applicability. Moreover, the uncritical use of those theories sustain whiteness, and oppress other bodies of

knowledge, even if this is not intended (Alexander, 2004). According to Cushmen (1995), such theories tacitly maintain political agendas without drawing attention to this fact.

Racial discrimination was eventually legally abolished in 1994 following various forms of local and global pressure, including pressure from within the psychology fraternity (Nicholas, 1993). The political transformation set the stage for significant reform within professional psychology structures, with psychologists keenly engaged in issues of redress (Suffla, et al., 2001). Following the monumental shift in South African politics and changes within professional psychology, the *South African Journal of Psychology*'s (SAJP, Nov, 2004) editors designed a special focus issue with the expressed purpose of examining psychological developments a decade after the first democratic election. The journal produced a mixed bag of results with authors largely critical of the perceived lack of transformation. The findings suggest that whilst there have been improvements noted in areas from theoretical knowledge production (Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004) to relative increase in authorships by both persons of colour (Duncan, Van Niekerk & Townsend, 2004) and women in particular (Shefer, Shabalala & Townsend, 2004), the authors were of the opinion that the areas noted still require significant sustained attention.

The dissatisfaction noted by the above authors was echoed throughout with many critical of the perceived slow progress made in the ten years. Ahmed and Pillay (2004) were critical of what they viewed as the lack of an action oriented approach in clinical psychology training. The criticisms centred on training issues with concern for the perceived lack of racial representivity among trainees and what has been described as the limited progress that training institutions have made in meeting needs of "equity, justice and redress" (p. 669) in the selection of clinical psychology students (Mayekiso, Strydom, Jithoo, & Katz, 2004). Authors implored the regulating bodies within the field of psychology to review and revise existing policies and practices that govern institutional spaces (Ahmed & Pillay).

In other academic circles the debates with regard to questions of psychology's relevance continues (Macleod, 2004), with attention being directed to community psychology as one of the possible means to liberate psychology from its perceived socio-political limitations and individualism bias (Seedat, Mackenzie, & Stevens, 2004). The seamless introduction of community psychology as a discourse of liberation is however not without its perceptual challenges of stereotypes. Nair, et al. (2003) report on the perception of community psychology

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as black and left-wing psychology, and one assumes therefore not likely to enjoy mass appeal within a white-dominated profession. One of the outcomes of the broader relevance debate has been calls for local, indigenous approaches to local problems (De la Rey & Ipser, 2004; Lazarus, 2006). In the absence of suitable direction by authoritative professional bodies guiding the profession with regard to responsiveness to issues of racial and other areas of diversity, psychology and in particular clinical psychology as currently practised in South African continues to tread troubled waters.

As reported elsewhere, there was at the time of writing this thesis no recorded set of recommendations made regarding multicultural counselling competencies training by the South Africa accreditation body governing the training of clinical psychologists.

Race and psychology training in broader context

Globally, researchers continue to grapple with issues of training and share similar concerns with relevance. Psychological theories continue to be critically evaluated. Sue (2001a) argues that the use of traditional theories in professional training is geared towards developing mono-cultural counsellor/clinical competence. Trainees not exposed to different worldviews enter the field ill equipped to effectively work in multicultural contexts, giving credence to criticisms by multicultural specialists of inadequate, inefficient and even dangerous service delivery by mental health professionals. Indeed, clinical psychology has been criticised and its arrival in the post World War II period, described as "the beginning of a disaster" (Sarason, cited in Holdstock, 2000, p. 93). The predominantly individuocentric orientation and reliance on the medical model are seen to significantly limit clinical psychology's scope of practice. The individuocentric orientation steers the discipline away from primary prevention and the consideration of social determinants of psychopathology. Clinical psychology is therefore perceived to be ineffective in the public and political environment, essentially constraining the discipline's involvement in public and political policy formulation on a macro level. The ineffectiveness of clinical psychology on the micro level, as it pertains to dealing with the social determinants of maladjustment has been emphasised by Albee (cited in, Holdstock, 2000) as follows:

> Nowhere is the futility of psychotherapy as obvious as among the poor and powerless
> whose suffering, crowding, and despair will yield only to social and political

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solutions…one-to-one treatment, medical or psychological, does not, and cannot, affect incidence. (p. 93)

In addressing the limitations or 'minding the gap' of clinical psychology, it has been suggested that the discipline must reflect on the theoretical paradigms that support its individuocentric, patriarchal orientations, that clinicians problematise the reactive nature of their discipline, reflect on the limitations to working creatively and the potential for broader application of the discipline with regard to promoting human welfare (Callaghan, 2006; Dunstan, 2002; Eagle, 2005; Holdstock, 2000).

The more recent dissatisfaction with traditional theories and practices has grown partly out of the significant shift in the racial profile of clients visiting mental health centres, particularly in the US. It appears that the field of counselling psychology has ardently engaged with and responded to contemporary training needs, responding to calls for transformation. D'Andrea (2005) argues that counselling psychology has been pivotal in transforming psychology. Counselling psychology has attempted to liberate the profession from what has been described as "intellectual incarceration" (Parham, cited in, D'Andrea, p. 524) and "monocultural ethnocentrism" (Sue & Sue cited in, D'Andrea, p. 524). Counselling psychologists have successfully lobbied for "the implementation of more culturally responsive research methods, clinical practices, and professional training strategies" (D'Andrea, p. 524). They have furthermore contributed to the APA's guidelines for psychologists (2003), considered a landmark in the history of psychology.

One of the critical themes in the APA (2003) guidelines is the importance and centrality of attaining multi racial/cultural competencies by amongst others educators, trainers of psychologists, psychological researchers, providers of service, and those psychologists implementing organisational change. Multicultural competence is essentially a set of tools that those in the helping professions, psychology being one, need in order to provide ethically sound services to diverse populations (Pope-Davis, Lui, Toporek, & Brittan-Powell, 2005). Majumdar, Keystone and Cuttress (1999) assert the importance of providing training and process opportunities designed with the specific purpose of enhancing both knowledge and skills in clinicians working with diversity. Researchers suggest that training needs to be based on theory and research for optimal outcomes (Smith, Constantine, Dunn, Dinehart, & Montoya, 2006). Awareness of difference allows clinicians with the necessary "openness and flexibility" (p. 184)

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for accurate assessment, diagnosis and treatment. In fact (2001b) argues that multicultural competence is super-ordinate to counselling or clinical competence.

The APA document (May, 2003) entitled 'Guidelines on multicultural education, training, research, practice, and organizational change for psychologists provides a comprehensive account of the direction institutional and individual practices need to evolve to mirror the historical socio-political changes sweeping across the USA as well as other areas. The guidelines to those associated with the field and practice of psychology is stated as being based on psychologists' ethical principles (stipulated by APA in 1992) "to be competent to work with a variety of populations, to respects others' rights, to be concerned to not harm others and to contribute to social justice" (APA, May 2003). The guidelines offered are as follows:

> **Guideline 1:** Psychologists are encouraged to recognise that, as cultural beings, they may hold attitudes and beliefs that can detrimentally influence their perceptions of interactions with individuals who are ethnically and racially different from themselves.

> **Guideline 2:** Psychologists are encouraged to recognise the importance of multicultural sensitivity/responsiveness to, knowledge of, and understanding about ethnically and racially different individuals.

> **Guideline 3:** As educators, psychologists are encouraged to employ constructs of multiculturalism and diversity in psychological education.

> **Guideline 4:** Culturally sensitive psychological researchers are encouraged to recognize the importance of conducting culture-centred and ethical psychological research among persons from ethnic, linguistic, and racial minority backgrounds.

> **Guidelines 5:** Psychologists are encouraged to apply culturally appropriate skills in clinical and other applied psychological practices.

> **Guideline 6:** Psychologists are encouraged to use organisational change processes to support culturally informed organizational (policy) development and practices (APA, 2003, p. 382-392).

In line with transforming psychology are calls for the liberal reporting of more complex definitions of racial/ethnic variables in research. The author argues for inclusive reporting that reflects multiple identities (race/ethnicity, religious/spiritual, economic class, sexual identity etc)

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considered as shaping a person's development. Inclusive biographical reporting is considered essential if researchers aim to:

    a) provide a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of human development,

    b) enrich our knowledge of the types of psychological interventions that are most effective in fostering healthy psychological outcomes among persons from diverse populations, and

    c) extend our thinking about the training strategies that effectively enable students to become culturally competent professionals. (D'Andrea, 2005, p. 525)

Another area pertinent to multiculturalism advanced by counselling psychologists is that of shifting and transforming the thinking patterns of white trainee counselling psychologists (Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005). The challenge with engaging white counselling psychologists and white trainees in discussions about race has to do with the manifest difficulties experienced by the counsellors and trainees when expected to engage with the race related topics. Research findings suggest that generalised apathy as well as anxiety and anger (D'Andrea & Daniels, cited in Utsey et al., 2005) are experienced by white participants when asked to engage with racial topics. There is a general avoidance in talking about race as white trainees reportedly feel guilty about the perceived complicity with oppression. Utsey et al. (2005) implore departments responsible for professional training of psychologists to both be aware and design interventions that will address the resistance experienced by white trainees. The centrality of liberating white students' minds has to do with the importance of producing racially aware and sensitive counsellors skilled in multicultural counselling. D'Andrea (2005), summarising Utsey et al.'s findings, cautions that omitting to address the complex issues of race with white trainees runs the risk that it will:

    a) adversely affect the working alliance that is important to create between counselors and clients and between supervisors and their supervisees;

    b) increase the possibility for a therapeutic impasse in counseling;

    c) heighten the probability of premature terminations; and

    d) foster resistance to supervision (D'Andrea, 2005, p. 531).

Thompson (2007), examining attitudes of trainee clinical psychologists toward a socio-political approach within the clinical psychology field, found that the average trainee perceived the socio-political to be relevant to the field. However, Thompson's (2007) study adds that whilst the socio-political approach is deemed relevant by a large percentage, trainees reported obstacles with regards to implementation within the field. The barriers reported were concerns expressed about the uncertainty of ways in which the socio-political could be integrated in present practises as well as the concern for space within an already tight curriculum. Trainees raised concerns about incorporating the socio-political as being idealistic and impractical and also questioned the appropriateness of clinical psychologists taking on a socio-political function (Thompson).

In addition to pleas to align professional psychology training and practice with amongst other areas, multicultural competence, there are also calls for even further expansion of the professional borders, to include social justice work.

Goodman, et al. (2004) in fact assert that, "multicultural competence cannot be achieved without a commitment to social justice" (p. 794). The authors further argue that it is critical for the profession of psychology to develop into areas of advocacy, community intervention and policy levels, and advocate the following six principles for social justice work:

> a) ongoing self-examination,
>
> b) sharing power,
>
> c) giving voice,
>
> d) facilitating consciousness raising,
>
> e) building on strengths, and
>
> f) leaving clients with the tools for social change (Goodman et al., p. 798)

The ongoing encouragement given to members of the counselling psychology profession by peers evident in the literature are laudable. I would argue for widespread promotion of these views and urge all categories of psychologists to heed the call for social justice action. Extensive coverage given to issues of social justice is likely to maximise the benefits of such training. The expansion of the boundaries within the practice of psychology as well as across categories to incorporate social justice work may protect social justice work from also assuming marginal status and yet again, attract renewed calls for shifting the critical work from the margins to the centre.

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In conclusion, there is general consensus that training issues in South Africa, as elsewhere, need to be critically evaluated for suitability and relevance to shifting contexts. The strong reliance on European and particularly North American theories in South African training institutions is attracting critical attention amongst South African scholars. However, South Africa still appears to lag behind the robust engagement with redress of training needs, as suggested by our global partners, raising serious concerns.

A further aspect to clinical psychology training is that of working with the 'subjectivity' or 'self' of the therapist, which will be elaborated below.

The subjective in training of trainees

It is widely recognised that the psychologist's subjective "self" is a primary tool of the trade. In view of the primacy of the subjectivity of the healer, training institutions invest substantially in the optimal development of the person. Intensive focus on theoretical, practical as well as personal development underscores training programmes. In many trainings, especially those influenced by psychoanalytic thinking and its offshoots, enormous emphasis is placed on self-awareness, as this is understood to facilitate working with clients. The genesis of the emphasis on personal therapy for psychotherapists alongside supervision and academic stipulations, deemed essential within trainings influenced by psychoanalysis, reportedly dates back to the inception of psychoanalytic and Jungian movements (Kirsch,, cited in Haumann, 2004). Self-awareness, it is argued, allows the clinician or therapist to discern between experiences and or feelings that are projected by the client and those evoked by clinicians' or therapists' own experiences, loosely defined as transference and counter-transference.

In view of the importance of self awareness on the working relationships with clients, clinical psychology trainees are often encouraged to be in psychotherapy for the duration of their training period. In many trainings, including in South Africa, personal therapy is strongly recommended, though not as often enforced as a course requirement, largely because of the financial costs involved in personal psychotherapy. The unspoken understanding is that when psychotherapy is utilised by trainees, the focus is primarily on individual pathology and personal growth. The literature suggests that personal therapy is advised as it is shown to further facilitate professional development. Haufman (2004) argues that personal therapy: "improves emotional and mental functioning, allows for the understanding of personal dynamics, interpersonal elicitations,

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provides experience of the transformational power, facilitates empathy and allows for the provision of a model of doing therapy" (p. 7).

The benefits for the attending psychotherapists reportedly include providing emotional and mental stamina to work in highly emotional charged environments. (2001a) argues that self exploration is critical in multicultural training where getting to know the 'other' is crucial. Carter (2001), an ardent supporter of self-exploration as one of the essential steps to getting to know others and thus to develop multicultural competence, argues for revisiting this psychoanalytic principle in training:

> The goals of cultural education are not solely to create tolerance of diversity but to change existing structures that perpetuate intolerance, oppression, and inequity. The broader message is that our society needs to change drastically, but that the paths toward those changes are multiple and must be undertaken in a concerted, interactive way. By looking at self, one sees the other. We should each take on the task of understanding self. But we come to see self through the eyes of others, thus we must implicate ourselves in the development of the other if we ourselves wish to develop. This is a call to all [irrespective of one's race or culture]. (Torres-Guzman & Carter, cited in Carter, 2001, p.789)

Many trainees, as stated above, pursue individual therapy as recommended by some training institutions with the assumption being that personal therapy is aimed at self exploration. It is also generally understood that most therapists working analytically 'work with what the client brings', the client therefore in part determining the agenda of the analysis. I agree with these sentiments, but need to add a qualifier to that which may be implicit in Carter's thinking though not explicitly stated. I would add that exploration of the racial/cultural/ethnic identity of the trainees/analysands should be added to therapeutic goals. Analysis of the self is not what needs to be marketed as this is widely accepted as an aim in psychologists' therapy. It is analysis of the multiple identities of the self, with race being one, that needs to be promoted. This level of critical analysis is underscored by Bryan and Aymer (1996) who argue that black people, for example, need to take responsibility for their emancipation, by developing, what the authors refer to as "a politics of criticism" and "a black psychology of psychic integration" (p. 116). Similar to calls urging black people to emancipate themselves/ourselves from mental slavery, the authors

argue that developing a politics of criticism and a black psychology of integration, is necessary for personal transformation, as it enables blacks to acknowledge that:

- ❑ It is all right to have survived even with damaged parts;

- ❑ Some of the strategies we have used have ensured our survival but some have been maladaptive; and

- ❑ The possibility exists for us to anticipate and move towards a future that is not for all eternity constrained and limited by the spectre of racism (Bryan & Aymer, 1996, p. 116).

Parallel to the deconstruction of being black in the world, is the call for white people to critically deconstruct the socio-political meaning of being white. Sonn and Green (2006) argue, for example, for that the problematising of the privilege and dominance associated with whiteness, seen to sustain and perpetuate "disadvantage and colonizing practices" (p. 338). In a similar vein, Cooper (1997) argues for the engagement in processes that may facilitate the exposure of both conscious and unconscious defences against anti-racist thinking. Additionally, authors argue for the critical evaluation of institutional practices that further serve to sustain and perpetuate racist ideologies (Lousada, 1994).

The racial identities of trainees and the way in which their internalised racial identities may influence therapy with clients, do not attract much institutional and research attention in South Africa. The perusal of training experiences by clinical psychologists suggests that there is little if any direct attention drawn to the multiple ways in which race may have shaped the therapist's subjectivity (Kleintjes, 1991; Mokutu, 1998). The potential for racial biases and stereotyped assumptions as well as countertransferential re-enactments in working with clients may be inferred as highly likely given the inattention given to race.

Helms (1994) argues that therapists' racial identity and racial stereotypes influence the therapeutic process. Helms is of the opinion that not only does race influence the therapeutic space but that the racial matching or difference between the dyad differentially informs the process. Conlon (1991) in her work on gender research concurs that race, like gender, contributes to transferential issues in therapy with clients. According to Conlon, both race and gender are embedded in dominant discourses that have the effect of marginalising the "other". The silence

that 'race' attracts in academic institutions further compromises trainees' post-qualification competence in dealing with effects of race and its many variants (Nair, 2002).

Similarly, Olkin (2002) argues for the inclusion of a studies on disability in graduate clinical psychology training stating that excluding disability not only marginalises students with disabilities but also leave all graduates ill-equipped to deal with disability in their professional capacities. Disability is viewed as a social construct and shares minority status alongside other variable such as race, ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation (Watermeyer, 2002). Disability attracts prejudice, stigma, discrimination, oppression and people with disabilities are thus generally underrepresented and underserved as clients (Olkin; Watermeyer). Additionally, Olkin encourages us to think about the relationship and overlap between disability and other forms of marginal statuses. Whilst Olkin's argument above relates specifically to disability, many would argue that the same could be said for other areas of exclusions or variables that occupy marginal status, for example religion and sexual orientation.

Marginalisation in general has a rippling effect in suppressing knowledge production in areas related to the marginal constructs. Szymanski (2005) shows, for example, how the apparent marginal status of gender in turn limits exploration of feminist identities and theories thereby impacting supervision practices and training of psychology graduates.

In keeping with the understanding of the centrality of the subjectivity of the psychologist to the process of psychotherapy, training institutions invest strongly in developing trainees professionally as well as personally. An awareness of material or 'blind spots' that trainees may not be conscious of is considered important, as it may interfere with therapy. Self awareness is therefore, usually of high importance on the training agenda of clinical psychologists. In South Africa, with its history of racial oppression and segregation, accompanied by the difficulty many people have in speaking about racial matters, arguably, a range of areas remain unexplored. Moreover, the difficulty in speaking about contentious issues, for example, race, disability and religion, ostensibly compromises the professional development of trainees. Next we explore the role of supervision in professional training.

Supervision and issues of race

The master's programme for clinical psychologists is designed as an intensive two year curriculum at the end of which trainees should have acquired assessment, diagnostic and

therapeutic skills supported by a broad range of theoretical frameworks. Throughout the two year period trainees are continuously monitored and evaluated as a means to guide and assess suitability for the profession. An essential part of the training process involves supervision, with the role of the supervisor likened to that of teacher, counsellor and consultant. The centrality of supervision is highlighted by Worthen and McNeil (1996) who describe supervision as "the base of all good therapeutic and professional training" (p. 25).

The premium placed on supervision in the professional development of trainee psychologists presumably assumes that the supervisors possess strong professional and personal credentials. Good supervisors, according to Worthen and McNeil (1996), are generally those supervisors who, amongst others, "invited an openness to learning", are seen as "conveying an attitude that manifested empathy, a nonjudgemental stance, a sense of validation or affirmation, and encouragement to explore and experiment" (p. 29). Furthermore, supervisors who self-disclose, provide a safe environment that allowances for mistakes and failures. Supervisors who identified and facilitated tasks appropriate to the developmental level of trainee have also been identified as meeting the criteria for good supervision. It should be noted that supervisors may mirror institutional cultures which may unwittingly either facilitate or constrain supervisory dyads (Neufeldt, Karno, & Nelson, 1996). In a similar vein, Whitney (2004) argues that academic departments, in general, need to be aware of the ways in which educators may, albeit unwittingly, be contributing to the silencing of students. The author expresses agreement with Hooks, who is quoted as saying: "Making the classroom a democratic setting where everyone feels a responsibility to contribute is a central goal of transformative pedagogy" (Whitney, 2004, p. 789).

The increased likelihood of seeing racially and culturally diverse clients has contributed to a chorus of voices, stressing the importance of developing multicultural/racial competencies, placing additional demands on the supervisor (Friedman, Friedlander, & Blustein, 2005; Helms & Cook, 1999; Ladany, Brittan-Powell, & Pannu, 1997). Ladany et al. defined multicultural competence as "the extent to which a supervisee has the knowledge, awareness and skills necessary to work therapeutically with clients from multiple cultures and races" (p. 288). In a study of foreign medical graduates, multicultural/racial competence training is viewed as critical for its contribution in the development of "tolerance, non-judgementalness and understanding towards others different from oneself" (Majumdar, et al., 1999). It stands to reason that

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supervisors tasked to promote the qualities needed for multicultural/racial competence in supervisees have themselves developed competencies in the area of race and have mature racial identities.

Researchers have demonstrated that the racial identity statuses of both supervisor and supervisee play a significant role in the supervisory dyad (Constantine, Warren, & Miville, 2005; Helms & Cook, 1999). Furthermore, the same race and the racially diverse supervisory dyad, may contribute to different supervision experiences. Indeed, white supervisors have been shown to be less likely to address issues of race as compared to their counterparts of colour.

The different racial identity statuses are said to contribute to interactions that may be identified in the following ways. The four types of racial identity interactions identified are as follows: **regressive** "in which the supervisee is at a more advanced racial identity status than the supervisor", **progressive** "in which the supervisee is at a less advanced racial identity status than the supervisor, **parallel interaction**, "is one in which both the supervisee and supervisor are of comparable racial identity statuses". The parallel interaction status is further delineated into two types, namely **parallel-low and parallel high,** the former being when supervisor and supervisee share similar racial word-views and are at the lower identity statuses and the latter describing similar racial world views whilst both occupying higher racial identity statuses. The authors emphasise that the racial identity statuses, and not merely racial matching (i.e. demographic characteristics of the supervisory dyad) are predictive of working alliance and training outcomes (Ladany et al., 1997).

Additionally, research suggests that supervisors of colour are perceived as being more sensitive to and understanding of racial issues, serve as multicultural models, and also provide white supervisees with multicultural experiences. In contrast, white supervisors are viewed as less likely to raise race related issues, either due to personal biases or lack of exposure or training (Constantine et al., 2005).

Implicit in the supervisory dyad is the expectation that the supervisee share details as these relate to cases as well as to relevant personal material. The supervisor relies on material provided by supervisees, to be used as grist for the supervisory mill. The expectation that supervisees bring their clinical case material for supervision is premised on the generally accepted belief that supervisees have the capacity to self reflect (Neufeldt, Karno, & Nelson, 1996). The capacity to

self-reflect has implications for professional growth. Self- reflection, viewed as essential to professional growth may inform supervisees' level and frequency of disclosure during supervision. In studies done by Ladany, Hill, Corbett and Nutt (1996), a large percentage of supervisees indicated that they often withheld information from supervisors, with 97.2% indicating at least occasional non-disclosure. The non disclosures were described as "passive", with neither person in the supervisory dyad raising the issues.

Matters that were not disclosed to supervisors were rated as follows; personal issues (60%), clinical mistakes (44%), evaluation concerns (44%), general client observation (43%), negative reactions to the client (36%), counter-transference (22%),, client-counsellor attraction (9%), positive reactions to supervisor (23%), supervision setting concerns (18%), supervisor appearance (9%), supervisee-supervisor attraction (9%) and positive reactions to the client (5%) (Ladany et al., 1996, pp. 18-20).

Findings from South African studies suggest that trainees may be least likely to disclose race related content, which include difficulties with clients as well as experiences of internalised racism (Christian, Mokutu, & Rankoe, 2002; Kleintjes & Swartz, 1996; Nair, 2002). The reason most commonly reported for non-disclosure was fear of negative reactions from the supervisors, resulting in supervisees often using alternative outlets for clinical information.

Given the centrality of supervision to professional development and the position of power accorded the supervisors within the supervisory relationships, it is perhaps worth quoting Lago and Thompson's (1996) suggestions, some of which had been differently stated in earlier texts. It is suggested that supervisors consider the following (Lago & Thompson, 1996, p. 131):

- ❑ Power in the counselling or supervisory relationship
- ❑ Perceived power and colonial history and its implications for effective practice
- ❑ Countertransference issues between the counsellor and client and between counsellor and supervisor
- ❑ Parallel process issues between the supervisor and supervisee
- ❑ The danger of collusion and over-identification with counsellors and between counsellors and clients
- ❑ The importance of role models and positive images

- ❏ The facts and mechanisms of racism and the effects of oppression

- ❏ Black people's expectations of white people

- ❏ White people's expectations of black people

- ❏ Black/white people's perceptions and expectations of other black/white people in differing roles

- ❏ Advantages and disadvantages of working in same race triads (counsellor, client, supervisor).

To summarise, it has generally been established that supervision is critical to the professional development of trainee psychologists. Working with racially diverse clientele requires additional competencies from supervisors including mature racial identity statuses. Central to the responsibilities that supervisees contribute to the success of supervision, is the responsibility to disclose therapeutic challenges. Of note are the significant numbers of non-disclosures by supervisees, based on fear of negative reactions by supervisors, ostensibly limiting opportunities for growth.

Race and racism in the therapy room

Race and its attitudinal concomitants are, as the literature suggests, ubiquitous. The current president of South Africa has been at pains to describe the insidious and divisive nature of present day racism (Roefs, 2006). However, psychological literature and theories examining race in therapeutic interactions appear inconsistent. Race as a concept appears to attract little attention in shaping therapists' professional identities. The race of trainers, trainees as well as their patients as a construct that requires problematising receives little if any attention during training. Similarly, the perception of race as an unexamined construct is evident in contemporary South African literature that continues to provide detailed sampling statistics whilst omitting to report on race. Furthermore, race is often not a consideration when clinicians report on critical reflexive stances in their work with clients that focus on factors that inform transference and counter-transference phenomena.

Carter cited in Strous and Eagle (2004) believes that the paucity of reflection on race in both theory and identity development has contributed to the lack of insight on the part of mental health professionals with regard to the salience of race in therapeutic interactions.

The literature is replete with the 'costs' incurred in the therapeutic encounter when therapists do not acknowledge, name or invite discussions about race (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; S. Swartz, 2007). The reasons for therapists' silence on the issue of race may vary. Some therapists may experience fear and guilt, thus their own discomfort, about their racial identity and choose not to invite discussions on issues that may be painful for themselves. Therapists' therapeutic framework may be supported by universalistic approaches that rely on a basic set of skills that is applied to all people, without distinction. Silence in the therapeutic encounter with regard to race may also be the result of therapists who have not begun to critically engage with the impact of their racial identity. The colour-blind approach is common to therapists who do not see themselves as raced and therefore do not see race in the therapeutic space. The literature suggests that therapist of colour are more likely than white therapists to address racial matters with clients, including with racially different clients (Burkard & Knox, 2004; Knox, Burkard, Johnson, Suzuki, & Ponterotto, 2003). The findings are in accord with those of De Vos and Banaji's (2003) research suggesting that ingroup bias, which sometimes may indicate stereotyping, is common (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002).

The limitations to not engaging with race in therapy are well documented. Firstly therapists who do not reflect on the multiplicity of their identities, of which race is one, constrain the working relationship to that which they can tolerate. Moreover, therapists who do not invite discussions on race, irrespective of their frameworks, run the risks of enacting discriminatory practices, essentialising differences, failing to attend to the needs of clients, encouraging non-disclosure by clients who may perceive the therapists as unwilling to engage with race, holding the client accountable for social determinants of maladjustment and facilitating client attrition, even unwittingly (Adams, 2002; Burkard & Knox, 2004; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Shelton & Richeson, 2006; Strous & Eagle, 2004; Swartz, 2007; Thompson & Jenal, 1994; Wade, 2005; Wade & Bernstein, 1991; Walker, Burman, & Gowrisunkur, 2002; Ward, 2005).

In contrast, having open discussions about race is considered to strengthen the therapeutic alliance and promote better treatment outcomes (Burkard, Knox, Groen, Perez, & Hess, 2006; Cardemil & Battle, 2003). It seems ironic though, that whilst many therapists are still engaging in debates and challenges about seeing themselves in racial terms, many clients are unambiguous in identifying therapists racially. Research has shown that clients show preferences for certain

counsellor demographics, with race being one (Atkinson, Poston, Furlong, & Mercado 1989; Helms & Carter, 1991).

South Africa's long-standing history of racial discrimination contributed to race relations often being premised on large-scale racial stereotyping. Racial distortions are inevitable in a context where racial mixing was largely prohibited and racial mobility restricted. Feelings of fear, anger, resentment and guilt are logical outcomes when relations are designed around experiences of domination and oppression. It is within this very complex political landscape that Strous and Eagle (2004) argue for the importance particularly for South African therapists exposed to our history of racial segregation and discrimination to engage in processes that facilitate the understanding of ways in which race have has our identities.

The authors provide compelling research findings, supporting their call for developing an awareness of the multiple ways in which we, as South Africans have been affected by race. The white therapists who participated in the study underscored the profound impact the experience of race has on therapists as well as on the therapeutic interactions. In their work with black/African clients, many of the white therapists in the study indicated that their sensitivity to racial differences facilitated a positive working alliance. Race sensitivity expressed by some of the white therapists was viewed as facilitating the therapeutic work. Many of the therapists also shared insights into serious complications that beset the cross racial therapeutic dyad, hindering the therapy process. Some therapist reflected worldviews which Strous and Eagle (2004) label "whitecentricism" (p.31). Whitecentricism, like the commonly known Eurocentrism describes a worldview informed by white, western values. Those white therapists in Strous and Eagle's (2004) study, whose worldviews were informed by "whitecentricism", grappled with the following stereotypes in their therapeutic relationships with their black/African clients. The stereotypes reported by the Strous and Eagle's study (2004) included, black people as being culturally encapsulated, violent, deprived and inhumane, unduly entitled and hostile to white therapists. Additionally, black men were viewed as sexist, black family life as non-facilitative and hierachical.

The white therapist on the other hand is viewed as (a) being the victim of overly expectant clients; b) being 'landed with the problems of apartheid'; c) being placed in a position of authority whether one likes it or not; d) being the victim of black hostility towards white

therapists; e) being the victim of black reluctance to trust community outsiders; and f) being powerless because of shortages of mental health resources (p.35).

In a different context, Tinsley-Jones (2003), a black American woman shares her experiences of race in the therapy room: "As a psychotherapist, I encounter racism on a regular basis-I receive it from clients, feel it toward them, and belong to organizations that inadvertently perpetuate it" (p. 182).

Tinsley-Jones (2003) speaks of her struggle with internalised racism in the presence of white clients, as well as grappling with internalised stereotypes when seeing clients of colour. She describes her emotions felt in the cross racial dyad as resonating with societal messages that continue to define people of colour as having low worth, relative to white people. Her automatic impulse, she recognises is an irrational questioning of her professional competence. She describes it as follows:

> I feel an almost imperceptible twinge in my stomach - will my colour make a negative difference to them, will I have to alter what I do (e.g., push myself to look smart) to be accepted by, to work effectively with them? (p. 82)

In conclusion, the literature suggests that South African society continues to be deeply racially divided and if the therapy room is viewed as a microcosm of broader social relations, as it often is conceptualised, then race issues probably 'sit' like an elephant in the room (Speight, 2007). Psychologists' choice to avoid talking about race may be perceived, as repeatedly passing up opportunities to heal themselves and their clients. The issue of the role of mental health services and racism concludes this chapter.

The role of mental health services and racism

Trivedi (2002) suggests that mental health services are products of society and as such contextually driven. The unconscious practices of institutional and individual racisms make mental health services complicit with the prejudicial treatment of ethnic minorities "often exacerbating and compounding our distress" (Trivedi, p.78). The training of mental health professionals is primarily informed by what have been termed Eurocentric frameworks contributing to shaping of distinct diagnostic, assessment and therapeutic tools. This biased predisposition, according to Trivedi, not only results in the misdiagnosis of black people but also

serves to pathologise "in particular our culturally determined expressions of emotional distress" (p.78) which of course have critical treatment implications. Minimising or reframing issues related to racisms may be a consequence of mental health professionals who have been taught to turn their caring gaze away from the discriminatory practices of politics.

Trivedi (2002), giving voice to the users of mental health services, cautions mental health workers to critically reflect on their work which according to Trivedi, reflect the antithesis of professional ethical standards. Trivedi states that mental health professionals disempower black people when they (mental health professionals) pathologise black ethnic and cultural differences. Furthermore, black clients are disempowered when their world views are not acknowledged and validated, instead when they are viewed as problematic when expressing the need to talk about race and racisms experienced. Additionally black clients are disempowered when mental health professionals do not build capacity in the field of multi-racial competencies, instead allowing their fear of the unknown to dictate professional interactions, limiting exploration of racial issues as it arises, limiting accurate treatment and referral options as well as being not grasping the complexities and re-enactments of institutional and other racist practices.

Trivedi's message is directed at mental health workers and I would argue for the inclusion of academics and training institutions as well, as these are the people and places perceived as actively shaping the professional identity and minds of mental health workers. The final section of the literature review will explore critical theory, which lends itself to the type of exploration that this thesis is based on.

Critical theory as an approach to understanding race and diversity in psychological practice

The complexity of the issue of race in clinical psychology practice may be addressed to some degree by the use of critical theory. Critical theory, emanating originally from the Institute of Social Research at the Frankfurt University, Germany, was reportedly conceptualised in response to contextual shifts that underscored continued processes of prejudice and subjugation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). Kincheloe and McLaren on whose conceptual theorising on critical theory I primarily rely, argue that whilst no unified approach to cultural criticism exists, the objective is always to challenge the status quo. A critical social theory is said to be: "concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and

gender, ideologies, discourses, education , religion and other social institutions, and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system" (Kincheloe & McLaren, p. 281).

The authors emphasise the importance of seeing critical theory as a guide to the social field, a guide that facilitates the design of questions and strategies for exploration.

The conceptual aims of critical thinking, according to Kincheloe and McLaren (2000, pp. 281-285), are said to include, though are not limited to, facilitating enlightenment and emancipation; rejecting economic determinism; problematising ideological power, pedagogical and language dominance and exploring the relationships between culture, power and domination. A critical approach, in addition, views people as social, historical beings and also recognises the role of the unconscious as proffered by psychoanalysis.

Critical enlightenment describes the focus and analysis of power differentials amongst individuals and groups (Callero, 2003; Rodriguez, 2006). The specific focus is on the ways in which the dominant group/s resist challenges to the status quo as a way of maintaining privilege. The aim of critical enlightenment thus is to uncover and expose the inequitable statuses between and amongst individuals and groups.

Critical emancipation refers to the uncovering of oppressive processes or forces that constrain those (the oppressed individuals or groups) from gaining the necessary power and control to determine their own lives. Oppressive powers, it must be noted, may be external - for example, structural - or internalised (mental) forms of oppression.

Rejecting crude economic determinism, critical theorists argue for the recognition and inclusion of multiple factors, alongside economics, which powerfully dictate everyday living. These factors, such as, race and gender, may combine with the economic to construct our worlds. The Marxist view which gives central, and in some versions, sole, stage to economic issues in shaping lives, is replaced with a more complex understanding of multiple processes of domination, of which economics is one aspect.

Problematising power and ideological, pedagogical and language dominance highlights the multiple ways in which individual and group dominance is maintained through control of the respective areas. Whilst power is recognised as being potentially positive and intrinsic to social relations, it is the abuse of power that critical theorists aim to expose. Critical theorists recognise that whilst people may be compelled by physical force to submit to enforcement of power, power

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may also be insidiously imposed through social psychological means. Domination may also therefore be achieved by the unwitting cooperation of institutions other than the state. Social structures such as the media, schools, the church and the family, for example, have been recognised as conduits for indoctrination.

Similarly, the critical theorist's gaze is on dominant ideologies whose purpose is to produce and reinforce knowledge production aimed at systematically inscribing oppressive meanings onto people. The exposure of operational ideologies that serve to maintain oppressive practices lead to the view that the oppressed collective is inherently passive and easily manipulated, being challenged. The power of ideologies to inform and shape worldviews is recognised. Collusion by the oppressed with their domination is not a passive acceptance of domination but rather a product of how ideology works – by 'interpellating', or calling on people to participate actively in the very view of the world which excludes and oppresses them.

The concept of pedagogical domination makes reference to the privileging of certain cultural knowledge production and dissemination or teaching thereof. In particular, cultural theorists argue that the media, with the financial support of corporations is often co-opted into reinforcing the privileging of certain cultural values. Critical researchers believe that it is essential to study the complex impacts on individuals of the widespread circulation of dominant cultural meanings and values.

Language is seen by critical theorists as a powerful and active agent in the politics of domination. Language is not neutral. To understand who is allowed to speak, and under what conditions, and whose constructions of language carry greater currency is to understand the inherent power of language. This power is also seen to extend into educational settings where language's power lies in its ability to determine the texts, teachings and values imparted. Intrinsic to the politics of domination is the denial of the possibility of multiple meanings – one particular linguistic construction, or master narrative, is seen to deliver the sole truth. In this way, language domination is not only about language in a narrow sense, but also about the insidious propagation of the view that multiple views and meanings are not possible. In this way, the dominant linguistic style, or discourse, becomes naturalized and seen as the only way in which to interpret, and, hence, to experience the world.

Critical theorists, as a result of their concerns about discursive domination and control, tend to be sceptical of an instrumental or technological rationality through which issues of technique, procedures and methodology in research endeavours come to replace and in fact obscure more fundamental questions about the nature of reality. What has been referred to as 'methodolatry' (Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004) describes research approaches which uncritically accept and reproduce dominant global forms of knowledge production, and effectively silence knowledge not acquired by a narrow and tightly policed set of methodological procedures. In this process, concern with methods overshadows deeper and more messy questions about research aims and values, and methods are presented acontextually, and as value-neutral, and not aligned to the power held by those in a position to claim privileged status for their particular approaches. Critical researchers raise the importance of expanding research boundaries to weigh the purpose and humanistic value of research against pursuits of historically established methods, as indicators of best practice.

Kincheloe and McLaren's (2000) conceptualisation of critical theory also gives recognition to the importance of the insertion of understanding the subjective and emotional aspects into discourses of socio-political power. The psychoanalytic understanding of the workings of the psyche allows for deeper probing of unconscious processes that impact on and constitute people's lived experiences. In particular, critical theorists recognising the human psyche as complex, and in part being structured by socio-political forces, argue for the exploration of unconscious operations to shed light on emotional investments in the status quo. In addition, they argue for the consideration of the question of why people who may have the most to gain from socio-political change may have much invested in resisting emancipatory processes and in the compulsion to repeat destructive patterns.

Psychology as practised in South Africa has been subject to a growing trend of critical inquiry. Critical work points out psychology's continued, though subtle, complicity with racism (Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004; Stevens, 2001). In alignment with critical theory advanced by Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) above, the South African researcher Macrone cited in Foster (1993a) as a lone voice at the time of his work, had as far back as the 1970s challenged the status quo with his research into and exposure of South Africans' racist attitudes. Since the 1980s voices of discontent with the status quo have increasingly been heard. South African researchers challenged, amongst others, the persistent racial imbalances within organised psychology. They

have raised questions concerning political commitment; traditional hegemonic theoretical, gender, language and publishing practices and teaching, training and selection practices that served to marginalise black psychology trainees (Christian, et al., 2002; Duncan, Seedat, Van Niekerk & De la Rey, 1999; Nicholas, 1993; Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004; Stevens, 2001; Swartz, 1998; Swartz, et al., 2002). A number of psychology professionals have actively engaged critical theory in various book publications and university courses at certain institutions and conferences (Painter & Terre Blanche).

In line with critical theory as described above, a number of South African researchers recognise the socio-political and gendered constructions of world views and gave due consideration to unconscious constructs of the mind (Duncan et al., 1999; Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004; Swartz, 1998, Swartz, et al., 2002).

In South African political circles, the popularising of Biko's (2004) philosophy of Black Consciousness further served to powerfully entrench critical thinking amongst many South Africans. President Mbeki's determined highlighting of race as a persistent signifier of value in South African society (Roefs, 2006) and the ruling political party's expressed commitment to non-racialism serve to keep critical debates alive.

South African psychology is increasingly viewed through the lens of critical theory, the result of mounting agitation by trainees, trainers and researchers. Despite advances made, however, Painter and Terre Blanche (2004) argue that the critical psychology in South Africa has largely been the purview of a small number of academics at a few universities. The relative isolation from larger political movements, a broader range of global counterparts and other academic disciplines like economics, as well its restricted range of public representations are considered further limitations to the growth of contemporary critical theory within South African psychology. The authors suggest that undergraduate psychology students be targeted as sites of intervention. The mass appeal psychology enjoys amongst vast numbers of undergraduate trainees is seen as opportune for interventions that improve the possibility of radical changes.

This thesis, as noted earlier, is to an extent underpinned by critical theory as postulated by Kincheloe and McLaren (2000). Additionally this thesis is in keeping with the views of the ever-increasing number of researchers in the field of psychology contributing to and recognising the need for the radicalisation of the discipline. This thesis turns its critical gaze on, and argues for

the centrality of the person of the psychologist in addition to the constituents of her professional training to the transformation of the field. I argue therefore that revolutionising the racialised identities of trainee psychologists is a prerequisite for the optimal transformation of the discipline.

The next chapter will present the methods used in this study. It will be clear that a hermeneutic or interpretive approach, which is in keeping with critical theory, serves as one aspect of my armamentarium in approaching this qualitative inquiry.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Many authors discussing the marginal status afforded qualitative methods speak of the politics that lie beneath this marginalisation. Almost no literature expounding the merits of qualitative methods seems complete without the inverse comparison of its methodological other. At a glance the debates reflect powerful territoriality and jostling for power.

Of late there appear attempts at quelling the 'debates' by the proliferation of articles and books promoting combining qualitative and quantitative methods (Clarke, 2004; Harré & Crystal 2004). The integration of qualitative and quantitative methods is perceived as affording the researcher the "best of both worlds" (Clarke, p. 81). The view is that neither method is complete, and the combination will allow for compensation of shortcomings. Burman (2001), whilst not advocating necessarily for combining of methods, argues that qualitative inquiry addresses the shortcomings or "mind the gaps" (p.259), as she articulates it, of quantitative research.

The irony of these methodological debates is that they assume a quality that echoes the historical racial debates, where "quantitative" to a degree takes the place of "white", and "qualitative" the place of "black". The binary racial categories and the ensuing power struggles are common knowledge. The power struggles resulted in the domination of one category of people over another. The subsequent struggle for recognition and autonomy by the dominated are familiar to all. Moreover, reference to the subjugated group (whether in terms of race or methods) is always in relation to the dominant group. The value and power of the 'other' perpetually diminished.

For the purposes of this thesis the ongoing debates concerning justification for the choice of methodology will not be elaborated on. The choice of methodology however will be discussed with the expressed aim of justifying its suitability for the research topic.

A qualitative approach which allowed for extensive consideration of personal meaning seemed the most appropriate to my task. In order to provide a textured history for this methodological choice it is necessary that I return briefly to my own story, and my own motivation for this work. This reflexive turn, though not conventional, is in keeping with reflexive approaches to understanding methods more generally (Swartz et al., 2002).

My interest in this area of inquiry, as mentioned, started with my personal experiences as a trainee clinical psychologist. At the time, I experienced a sense of disquiet with the training. It is

reportedly not uncommon for trainees to feel dissatisfied with the psychology master's training, indeed, it is anticipated in the 'rites of passage' to professional development (Kottler & Swartz, 2004). However, part of my challenges with the masters training felt political. I was peripherally aware of, though unable to articulate, underlying processes that maintained political systems of inclusions and exclusions (Painter & Baldwin, 2004; Potgieter & Moleko, 2002; Robus & Macleod, 2006).

At times I felt excluded. The theoretical content of the master's course, in particular, was experienced as a site of exclusion. However, the apparent ease with which my white peers engaged with theoretical jargon seem to suggest that they were included. In casual conversation with other trainees of colour, it became apparent that I was not alone. The knowledge that our experiences were common amongst the few of colour, however, did little to erase inadequacies felt. We would often joke that theoretical jargon was "a white thing", to cope with niggling feelings of inadequacies. Feelings of inadequacy were particularly pronounced in preparation of case presentations. Presentation of clinical material is considered standard practice, aimed at developing clinical skills. Presentations are usually done in the presence of one's peers but also include presentations at other universities. Whilst I was confident about my diagnostic and treatment skills, the formulation of cases remained a source of significant anxiety. In formulating our understanding of factors that contributed to the patient's presenting problem/s, we were expected to justify our understanding of cases with psychological theories. Therein was the challenge. In retrospect, I managed to pass through the system by latching onto a few "catch phrases" that was repeatedly rehashed when the opportunity presented itself. I felt like an imposter and it was grounded in my lived experience. Excelling at other areas of my training also served to mask my "imposter" status in the area of case formulations.

Given the complexity of some of my experiences, some of which appeared to overlap with that of peers of colour, I was interested in empirically investigating the experiences of others (Ponterotto, 2005). Qualitative research is viewed by many as best suited to research aimed at exploring the lived experiences or worldviews of participants. The lived experience include the socio-political contexts of participants, making this method a popular choice for the study of race, gender, class as well as the ramification of the interaction between constructs (Burman, 2001; Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). Qualitative research of the type I undertake here is descriptive, relying on words and not numbers, allowing for depth of understanding (Marecek, et al., 2001).

The generalisability of research is not a serious consideration; instead qualitative researchers privilege the meaning of data. The qualitative researcher is seen as being part of the research process and is encouraged to work reflexively (Burman). Working reflexively is seen as adding value rather than weaken claims to value. The research process has premium status in qualitative research and researchers are encouraged to keep a record of their personal experiences, what is commonly referred to as field notes (Best, 2003; Carter & Morrow, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Etherington, 2007; Frow & Morris, 2000; Furstenberg, 2007; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Humphreys, 2005; Morrow, 2003; Oosthuizen, 2002; Ponterotto, 2005; Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2003; Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Arora, & Mattis, 2007; Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001; Yeh & Inman, 2007)

Given the subject matter of this inquiry, qualitative research was considered the obvious choice.As Dilthey (1976) argued "to be scientific- one must adjust one's methods to the subject matter" (p. 6).

Aims

The research was aimed at exploring the racialised identities of trainee psychologists. I was interested in finding out how they identified themselves racially and the developmental experiences that they felt shaped that identity. I was also interested in their understanding of the impact that their racialised identities might have on their work as clinical psychologists (Fine, et al., 2000). In addition, I wished to explore their perceptions of the role their academic institutions have played in this process. I was interested in their personal experiences with the view of understanding the conscious (overt) and gaining a sense of unconscious (covert) material. Throughout the research process I reflected on my subjectivity and the ways in which it influenced the research and participants.

Sample

The sample was intended to include all students in their second and final year of the masters in clinical psychology programmes at the three universities in the Western Cape. The three institutions are universities of Cape Town, Western Cape and Stellenbosch. Two trainees chose not to participate in this study despite numerous attempts being made to include them. It is my understanding that they faced particular academic challenges that preoccupied their experiences.

Because the group of respondents is small, the particular year in which the respondents were completing the second year of their masters degree will not be mentioned in order to increase chances that the participants will remain anonymous. It was however within the past five years.

Nineteen trainee psychologists participated, representing 90% of the total student population registered for the course. Four males and fifteen females participated. The racial categories were reported as follows:

Seven participants identified as persons of colour with the following sub-categories.

Black/African = 1

Cape Malay   = 1

Coloured   = 3

Indian   = 2

Twelve participants identified as white, which included 1 who self identified as Chinese.

White   = 12

Research Methods

I started by seeking approval from the respective institutions for conducting this research with their students and possibly on the institutional premises. I was provided with contact details of all participants and initially made telephonic contact. This was followed up by interviews ranging from 90 to 120 minutes. Seventeen interviews were conducted in participants' consulting rooms, one in the researcher's consulting room and one took place in the researcher's vehicle at the end of the participant's working day. The interview instruments were semi structured questionnaires. Minimally structured questionnaires are recommended in this type of study, as these allow for the

self-exploration of respondents (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). Participants were asked to complete a form giving their biographical information which included asking for their racial identification. The form was also used to obtain consent. Participants were furthermore made aware that whilst the data would be treated judiciously with due consideration to confidentiality and anonymity, it might not be possible to protect their identities from all the readers given the specificity of information. Ethical procedures of the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University were followed (more detail on this issue is provided later).

The questions covered two broad areas of participants' history. The first area explored the self articulation of their racial identities and the historical/psychological experiences that shaped their racial identities. The exploration of historical factors is supported by Dilthey's (1976) view of the historical/social nature of humans as follows:

> From the world of objective mind the self receives sustenance from earliest childhood. It is the medium in which understanding of other people and their expressions take place…The child grows up within the order and customs of the family which it shares with other members…Before it learns to talk it is already immersed in that common medium. (p. 221)

The second area required participants to reflect on the impact, if any, their racial identity has had on their work as trainee clinical psychologist and the input from their institutions of study with regards developing competencies in their area of race in therapy.

The delineation of the questions asked is as follows:

Participants' self articulated racial identity was used as the point of entry to the interviews. Following this:

1) They were asked to reflect on the meaning of their racial identity.

2) Participants were then asked to provide a historical account of significant factors that shaped their racial identity.

3) The impact of their racial identity in working with patients/clients of different and same races was also explored.

4) The extent to which their respective academic institutions adequately prepared trainees in working with racially diverse clients were also explored.

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5) The role that supervisors played in mediating experiences when dealing with race was assessed.

The above direction taken follows on from Dilthey (1976) who stated: "We must start from the culturally shaped human being, describing the connections within his mental life and highlighting its most important manifestations as clearly as possible by every artistic means (p. 76)".

The autobiographical accounts offered by participants were recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were read several times to encourage familiarity with the content and limit omissions. The written texts were examined in anticipation of themes to be extracted. Thematic analysis involves the grouping of themes followed by "an attempt to trace the internal shape of experiential awareness", referenced as "phenomenological immediacy", (Parker, 2005, p. 99). The process of transcribing, according to Parker, involves levels of analyses as decisions made during the transcription already inform the direction of the research. Verbal texts are converted by the researcher to written texts, a process that predictably involves analysing the suitability of texts for abstraction. Parker states Ochs' (1979) point that transcribing "is already a kind of theory".

Thematic analysis

I personally transcribed the tape recordings as recommended by Parker (2005) who also suggested that one listens in the anticipation of eliciting themes. I initially identified multiple themes without considering overlap. The detailed deconstruction of data into multiple themes is also recommended to limit researcher bias toward essentialising. The themes were then reread and details extracted that allowed for collapsing of overlapping content into sustainable themes or structures (Myers, 2000; Parker). The process of organising themes into a structure that highlights the content is recommended (Castaneda, cited in Parker). Themes were then grouped for further analysis. In addition to the core business of analysis of themes Parker (2005) indicates that is important for researchers to pay attention to differences reported and the implications thereof.

Parker (2005) further cautions against viewing the accounts rendered by participants as a true reflection of their stories. Firstly, participants' accounts are rendered through language which is a particular account of their experiences. Secondly, participants' stories are shaped by the interaction with the researcher. Parker states that "stories are crafted for an audience, and you

should not get drawn into the performance" (p. 67). Instead it is advised that the researcher reflects on the version of the story and conditions that may have shaped it (Gaskell, 2000). This was of particular relevance in this research, especially with my being a woman of colour and engaging in discussions around race in a historical climate that is relatively race sensitive.

Thirdly, the experiences of participants are subjective and only allow a reasonable approximation to understanding. The participants' account of events are viewed as subject to temperament, character as well as historical circumstances.

They are, inevitably, subjective and one sided even though they contain genuine insight they can only be facets of the truth (Dilthey, 1976, p. 23).

Research Framework

The theoretical framework underpinning the methodology used in this thesis endeavour, with a critical lens as background, is primarily supported by the "interpretive" or "hermeneutic" approach to psychological theory as advanced by Dilthey, (1976). This thesis inquiry is aimed at exploring an aspect of the "lived experiences" that is, immediate concrete experiences of individuals (Tappan, 2001). Individuals, according to Dilthey's theorising, are perceived as having the capacity to think, feel and act and as such share capabilities of self reflecting, interpreting their situations and making purposeful plans for their future. Furthermore individuals are termed psycho-physical beings to denote the interconnectedness and mutual influence of a person and their environment (Dilthey). The inquiry into the lives of others and the relatively common shared basis as fellow human beings allow for what Dilthey describes as "immediacy of insight", though also creating susceptibility towards prejudice.

Academic rigour is central in Dilthey's theorising and considered essential for best practice. He defines a number of processes that may be assumed by a researcher. The key elements for the achievement of objective or scientific findings need to include:

1) Detailed description and thorough analysis of a range of complex phenomena that could include written texts, and in the case of this thesis, transcriptions of auditory tape;

2) Studies that focus on individuals in the contexts of their social-historical reality;

3) Interdisciplinary collaboration to facilitate a fuller understanding of humans;

4) Incorporation of human behaviour and activities that have traditionally been overlooked, for example, facial expressions or seemingly random doodling etc for analysis.

Typically, the commonly known "Freudian slip" would be included for interpretation. Dilthey argued that individuals convey meaning through a range of behaviours that include gestures (smile, frown, etc) and actions. In fact Dilthey, signalling the salience of the inclusive range of behaviours that include the conscious and unconscious (slips of the tongue) communications or symbolic representations of lived experience, referred to those technically as "expressions" (1976, p. 8).

5) Processing or analysing the meaning conveyed by "expressions" that would facilitate an "understanding" of the mental state of individuals.

"Understanding", technically refers to the process by which expressions are understood or "the interpreter gains access to the "mind" or" 'spirit' of another (Palmer, cited in Tappan, 2001). Understanding is critical to the process and Dilthey asserts that the undertaking of understanding needs to be methodologically sound. For Dilthey, understanding involves processing the cognitive, affective and the will (e.g. impulse, desire or resolve) of individuals, that is, recognising a mental state or inner content from the signs perceived.

6) Methodically bringing together the basic acts of understanding that leads to the understanding of the complex whole or "permanent expression" (Dilthey, 1976 p. 10), a process Dilthey called "interpretation" or exegesis.

This methodology of interpretation Dilthey located within the field of hermeneutics. Hermeneutics has added significantly to the human studies by making available a methodology that allows for the interpretation of written texts, tape recorded interview narrative (Tappan, 2001), verbal expressions as well as "other social phenomena as if they were texts to be interpreted" (p. 10).

7) Recognizing that any whole or fixed expression is made up of parts and that there exists an interdependence between the whole and its parts and vice versa, labelled the "hermeneutic circle" (Dilthey, 1976, p. 11).

The hermeneutic circle is critical to interpretation as Dilthey (1976) argues that the circularity of relationships is central to the human world. In other words in order to understand the specific one

needs to have a sense of the general and by understanding the general allows one to respond to the meaning of the specific. This circularity of meaning thus rejects notions of absolute starting points or basic certainties;

> A part of the historical course of events can only be understood completely in terms of its relation to the whole and a universal-historical survey of the whole presupposes the understanding of the parts united in it .

And

> To understand the whole of a work we must refer to its author and to related literature…I can understand hatred in terms of the injury to life which caused it. Without this relationship I could have no idea of the passions. The environment is indispensable for understanding (Dilthey, 1976, pp. 261-262).

Dilthey's (1976) hermeneutics firmly positions individuals in context. The historical and psychological surrounds are inextricably bound to the lived experiences of individuals and to understand the individual one has to understand her environment. Tappan (2001) adds that interpretation must take cognisance of the historical and psychological contexts of the lived experience of the individual whose experiences are being interpreted as well as that of the individual responsible for the interpreting. Individuals, despite their independent existence, are also products of their position in time and space and "the interaction of cultural systems and communities" (p. 181). Understanding someone else, according to Dilthey, is made possible by the shared experiences or features that all humans are said to have in common, in other words, that which is expressed also forms a part of the interpreter. Dilthey does however maintain that there is also significant variability amongst individuals. The commonalities we all share are amongst others that; the mind has an innate structure which gives rise to typical connections between mental processes. For example, perceptions give rise to memories, memories awake desires and desires prompt us to action.

> a. Our mental life is purposive.
>
> b. We are aware of affecting the environment and being affected by it.
>
> c. We express, both intentionally and unintentionally, our mental states by physical manifestations.

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d. We not only perceive the world around us but evaluate it in terms of the feelings it arouses and the way it affects our purposes.

With regards to differences it is stated that:

> The individuality of each person is determined by his physical make-up and personal history and his thinking is shaped by cultural and historical factors such as his education and membership of a class or nation…Because we are partly alike and partly different understanding is possible but often difficult. (Dilthey, 1976, p. 15)

The commonalities allow us therefore to see ourselves in others or as Dilthey (1976) puts it, understanding is "the re-discovery of the I in the Thou" (p. 15). Familiarity is also further advanced by what is described as a "common sphere of mind" (p. 18) which essentially means the body of knowledge that we people have access to. This body of knowledge includes, for example, the rules of mathematical equations, languages, cultural practices, traffic regulations, ideologies and political systems etc. The sphere, a product created by people, also extends further and is made manifest in objects such as books, buildings etc. and in turn given meaning when we become consciousness these. Of note, Dilthey (1976) adds that the common sphere of mind is also what can be referred to as a source to bridge the divide for example between people from different cultures separated by different beliefs and ideologies. So, for example, one of the ways of getting to know the other, experienced as different, is to search for ways in which one can engage with the texts, literature, looking at architecture, studying the lifestyles of the other etc. with the view of gaining a better understanding of the other. Introspection, according to Dilthey, is not enough to get to know. We further need to explore history, which provides us with a collection of what "man has done and thought", offering us the "range and potentialities" of human nature (Dilthey, p.18). In exploring history, however, Dilthey argues that one needs to be mindful of the relativity of all historical convictions reflected when doing historical comparisons.

The above establishes our historical and psychological environments which include the "interaction of cultural systems and communities" (Dilthey, 1976, p. 181) as being central in shaping our realities. Awareness of time and the place of an individual as well as awareness of familial influences is essential. The family, as conduit of cultural norms, political ideologies and values, is described in the following manner:

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> The child grows up within the order and customs of the family which it shares with other members and its mother's orders are accepted in this context. Before it learns to talk it is already wholly immersed in that common medium. (Dilthey, 1976, p. 221)

Whilst the emphasis is on the socially constructed nature of individuals it is also acknowledged that individuals are not merely the products of their environment but that people also exercise free will. Dilthey (1976) describes it as the "individual slant which colours the personal knowledge" (p. 179) but also argues that the larger community collective has a powerful influence over individual will.

However, he adds that whilst individuals are "all conditioned by climate, race and circumstances", they are able to "inhibit and control their reactions" (p. 112). When such a person expresses her lived experiences, interpreters are able at best, to make probable inferences.

Next we look at the conditions under which such inferences would be deemed valid.

Validity

Complexities regarding validity as a concept continue to vex qualitative researchers. The challenge is centered around convincing the research communities primarily steeped in traditional quantitative approaches of the credibility of a different approach. Whittemore, et al. (2001) suggest that the traditional research community is challenged by a research modality that incorporates subjectivity, rigour and creativity. The unique contribution that qualitative research made, necessitated distinctive designs measuring validity within this approach. Whittemore, et al. however cautioned against the "a slavish attachment and devotion to method" (p. 526) which they termed 'methodolating'. Yet another author radically questioned the validity concept within the qualitative paradigm if interpretation is by nature subjective (Tappan, 2001). The criteria defining validity currently do not enjoy general consensus.

For the purposes of this thesis I based the validity assurances on the hermeneutic and interpretive traditions. The hermeneutic approach advances that there can be no objective truth and as such data can never be measured against "facts", and that there cannot be a "correspondence theory of truth" (Tappan, 2001, p. 50). The objective should be to provide accurate accounts that are descriptions and explanations of independent reality (Tappan). The accurate descriptions however are not viewed as independent from the researcher influence. The researcher and the researched

are seen as essentially interrelated. The hermeneutic circle describes the circularity of processes, i.e. the researcher's understanding and interpretation is initially informed by her/his subjective perspective. The interpretation, however, remains open to review and reconstruction as the process of engaging with the material and awareness of biases and blind spots unfolds. To evaluate validity, Fish, cited in Tolman and Brydon-Miller (2001) advanced that the interpreter of qualitative research produces or constructs meaning based on her subjective perspective. Interpretation is therefore subject to the researcher's worldview and cannot be seen as 'true' meaning. The subjectivity of the researcher is context bound and interpretation is therefore shaped by the institution or community she is immersed in. Interpretations are thus made by an "interpretive community" (p. 51). The process of interpretation he concurs is never value-neutral but includes the interpreter's political and ethical commitments. Tappan argues that: "There is no such thing as an isolated individual working alone to interpret a text in some unique and idiosyncratic manner (Tappan, 2001, p. 51)".

Tolman and Brydon-Miller (2001) quote Fish's position that "interpretive agreement" must be sought from members within the interpretive community sharing similar biases, assumptions and prejudices. This serves as an evaluation of validity. In seeking interpretive agreement I engaged colleagues and friends, two coloured females with a background in psychology and one Indian male who shares an interest in psychology.

Having read the transcribed texts several times I was able to identify several themes. In re-reading the themes initially elicited I was able to collapse themes that shared significant overlap. A selection of themes that I considered sensitive to alternative interpretations was selected for 'outsider' assessment or interpretive agreement. I also included texts that deviated from the overall responses that I needed dis/confirmed.

Another technique that facilitates interpretive agreement is the citing of verbatim texts that allows the reader to evaluate interpretations in relation to the actual spoken word. It is suggested that the researcher provide "thick descriptions" of texts allowing fairly detailed analysis by the reader (Tappan, 2001, p. 52). This is also the approach undertaken with this research.

Analyses

Following on from Dilthey's (1976) application of hermeneutic philosophy, I followed the interpretive approach to analyses. Dilthey's historical subject is both influenced by environment

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and internal (mental) processes. I was interested in establishing the ways in which trainees defined themselves in racial terms and the impact of their respective environments in shaping their understanding in that regard.

Dilthey argues:

> We must analyse the individual connections within the comprehensive context as accurately as possible and take the analysis as far as we can; we must explain the origin of things we can analyse and describe accurately those we cannot. (p. 16)

This approach to research is also supported by the feminist communitarian model that advances interpretive sufficiency as the objective of social science. Christians (2000) describes interpretive sufficiency as, "Taking seriously lives that are loaded with multiple interpretations and grounded in cultural complexity" (p. 145).

Furthermore she argues that ethnographic accounts "Should possess that amount of depth, detail, emotionality, nuance and coherence that will permit a critical consciousness to be formed by the reader" (Christians, 2000, p. 145).

In dealing with subject matter that embodies such complexities as studying the racialised person, a combination of theoretical approaches were indicated. The direction for analysis indicated by the above approaches lends itself to the employment of psycho-dynamic theories, also used as the theoretical underpinnings in this research endeavour. Additionally social identity theories were also used to shed light on group identities, and critical racial and feminist theories offered explication into the dynamics of race.

The question of reflexivity

Burman (2001) argues that reflexivity is of critical importance when doing research. Reflexivity is considered essential given the subjective nature of interpretation as it proposes that the researcher reflect on that which informed her interpretations as well as reflecting on the impact of the process on her person. Reflexivity allows the reader insight into the subjectivity of the researcher, allowing for independent assessment of potential researcher bias. The judicious transparency that is advocated in qualitative inquiry is a significant shift away from traditional approaches that promoted the neutrality and anonymity of researchers. The transparent stance exposes not only the identity of the researcher but also exposes the multiple ways in which the

researcher is located within the research (Etherington, 2007). To this end I continue to reflect and have stated my conscious positioning at the time of writing up. Journalling one's experiences during the process both whilst interacting with participants as well as experiences elicited outside of the context have been recommended. This was found particularly useful in understanding, in part, the protracted period of disconnection from the thesis project.

Ethical considerations

Ethical issues, like the issue of validity, are complex, and there are a range of differing views. The moral directive of ensuring that the interests of participants are safeguarded is incontestable. However strict adherence to prescribed ethical guidelines when researching psychosocial subjects has been contested. Christians' (2000) reflections on social and feminist researchers and Snyman and Fasser's (2004) paper on the ethical responsibilities of psychotherapists argue for the need to revisit the question of ethics. According to the researchers, the changing contexts having facilitated and redefined the boundaries of research and practice, have necessitated a reconsideration of traditional ethical practices. The field of social science has shifted direction to include raising consciousness, historically contained within political spheres. The aims of which, like those shared by this thesis project include conscientisation with the ultimate view on transformation. The trajectory and contemporary status of research in the social sciences points to the need for a radical revision of the established ethic model to one "in which human action and conceptions of good are interactive" (Christians, p.129).

I generally followed the conventional format of ethical consideration in the field which required consideration of informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality and accuracy (Christians, 2000). These considerations are discussed in the following section.

Informed consent

The guidelines followed in this project were to ensure that participants were not coerced, neither physically or psychologically, into agreement of participation. Furthermore, it was important that those participants were reasonably informed of the nature of the study. I had made initial telephonic contact to register their agreement to participation. This was followed up with signing of consent forms. The challenge I faced was how much to disclose about the nature of the study. I had indicated that I was interested in exploring the participants' racial identities. I followed Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) lead by not disclosing the formulated ideas I had so as not to

prejudice the research by allowing planned responses. Christians (2000) reported Punch's (1994) argument that "divulging one's identity and research purpose to all and sundry will kill many a project stone dead" (p. 139).

Partial disclosure of the purpose of the study (Deception?)

There is general opposition to deception within social science. Deception is considered morally reprehensible by most social scientists. It is considered unjustifiable, unnecessary and of no value to academic pursuits as reported by review of literature by Christians (2000). However the challenge facing researchers in pursuit of knowledge is the limitations placed on research by complete disclosure particularly within psychology. This suggests that deception by omission is a necessary part of the endeavour. Christians' quote of Soble's work captures the essence in the following manner, "If the knowledge to be gained from deceptive experiments is clearly valuable to society, it is only a minor defect that persons must be deceived in the process" (Christians, p. 139).

I share the view that if the direction of my inquiry had been spelled out in great detail to participants they would have had time to discuss process and employ strategies that would have altered the stories in unintended ways. For the "minor defect" I will take this opportunity to apologize. I refer to Hollway and Jefferson (2000) who see deception as "part of the human condition" (p.97).

Whilst I had intended to share the findings of this research as well as the partial disclosure at the outset, this had not been possible due to various factors, of which time constraints had been one.

Privacy and confidentiality

Promising participants privacy and confidentiality is central to ethical considerations. Ethical principles generally outline the non-negotiable nature of providing assurance of protection to participants of their identities as well as research locations (Christians, 2000). There is general consensus that participants should be protected from harm, embarrassment and exposure. The criticality of confidentiality is captured in Reiss (1979) quoted by Christians considering it as, "The single most likely source of harm in social science inquiry" (p. 139).

Despite the flagship status occupied by these laudable principles, Hollway and Jefferson (2000) and Christians (2000) report on the difficulty in meeting their requirements. Firstly, disguising

information offers little guarantees that the details will not be recognised. There exist inevitable discrepancies between researcher and participants' views as to which material should be treated as confidential, offering further challenges to perceptions of betrayal by the latter. The responsibility to share knowledge with the general public is further challenging when studying educational institutions. What constitutes confidential information remains contestable: "Encoding privacy protection is meaningless when there is no consensus or unanimity on what is public and private" (Christians, p.140).

Furthermore, Hollway and Jefferson (2000) point out that privacy may be impossible to maintain where the nature of materials studied are unique and recognisable. The question with regards confidentiality on the one hand and serving wider public interest with the overarching aim of influencing transformative practices, on the other, remains unresolved. The unique presentation of this research venture proved particularly testing when dealing with privacy and anonymity. I had informed participants at the time of seeking consent that whilst every effort would be made to treat confidentiality with sensitivity, anonymity could not be guaranteed. Participants seemed to understand this. In some interviews, reference was made to a discomfort with the sensitive nature of the material. For example:

I'm quite glad that you will be publishing this only after my internship [laughter].

I don't know if I should go in the detail.

Accuracy

This principle implores researchers to ensure that information made available provides accurate accounts of participant stories. Fabrication and fraudulent material however obtained is considered unethical.

To conclude Christians (2000) advises that "Codes of ethics should serve as a guideline prior to fieldwork but not intrude on full participation" (p. 139).

The next chapter will detail the findings.

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CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

The self reported meanings of trainees' racial identities.

All interviewees reported negative associations regarding their racial identity. The associations with racial identity for the respondents appear deeply rooted in South African politics of oppression. Ethnic identity superseded racial identity for those who expressed strong affiliation to their ethnic identity. The negative responses were differentiated depending on which side of the colour line respondents were historically identified. A cursory glance however suggests a sense of hurt, shame, defiance and reclaiming of a positive identity by those labelled as persons of colour. Of significance is the absence of expressed anger felt by those persons identified as persons of colour toward white people.

For those identified as white there appears a uniform sense of shame and guilt, and a strong desire to dissociate from the identity as white. There also appears an ambivalent desire to (re)claim a positive white identity. The detail of the results will be outlined below.

Persons of colour

Black/African

The interviewee reporting her racial identity as black/African describes her understanding of black/African racial identity as rooted in enormous difficulties. The experiences of being challenged are seen as the result of oppression by white people. She reports a struggle in the form of a quest for acceptance as equal to white people. She also expresses a struggle with dealing with external and internal consequences of having been oppressed as a people. Being black is described as being part of a collective. The sense of being part of and responsible for the collective is deeply entrenched. The sense of responsibility manifests in the deeply felt injunction to assist other black persons, in particular the family. The interviewee described this as follows:

> *Being African was associated with struggle and deprivation. One thing that I learnt is that white people are dangerous and you as an African person you have to work, you have to look after your family. There are certain things you have to preserve. You are also socialszed from a young age that the little privilege that you've been given you have to use it to uplift other people.(Thandeka)*

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The collective identity, or burden of responsibility as it is often referred to, creates a level of self awareness that the interviewee views as absent in more individualistic Westernised cultures. The constant accountability to the collective is described by the interviewee in the following manner:

> *Being an African you constantly ask the question what you've done is it the right thing.(Thandeka)*

The interviewee described a long standing history of having been critically aware of the injustices of the oppressive South African political history. She was actively involved in student protests that saw the killing, maiming and in her case expulsion from senior school. She had been exposed to rural living on the one hand and relative opulence at the house of her mother's white employers on the other. Her quest to move beyond the confines of life as prescribed by Apartheid policy had been present at a young age. She reported always expressing a desire to have a career, money and travel opportunities. She entertained the idea of working within the advertising industry long before this was a popular choice for black people. She is adamant that her drive and determination to achieve is the result of personal choices and not symbolic of an African identity. She stated:

> *My choices in life was mainly about ME.(Thandeka)*

Similarly her determination to help or "save" her family is viewed as her personal choice. She described feeling anger that the African identity is viewed as defining her. She stated:

> *Well my sister had this dream that probably being the younger sister at home and I was sort of the intelligent one, I'd be able to save the family and I carried that identity more than I carried being an African. I mean saving the world it was more about wanting to save things and improve things at home and doing right things and correcting things.(Thandeka)*

Her views are in contrast with a popularly held view that all African people interested in bettering their situation will ascribe this desire to overcome collective African experiences of apartheid within an *ubuntu* framework.

Ubuntu literally means "humanness". The Xhosa saying "Umntu ngumntu ngabantu" which means " a person is a person because of other people", sums up the "ubuntu" concept of interlocking mutual responsibility and caring[1]

Cape Malay

The interviewee identifying with the racial identity Cape Malay reported a stronger association with the religious than with the racial aspect of being Cape Malay. Cape Malay was the "racial" classification given to a cohort of people who were followers of Islam. Cape Malays whilst sharing similar histories as slave descendants were distinguished from those labelled Coloured people, many of whom are Christian.

The interviewee reported a mixed parental lineage. His father is registered Chinese and his mother Cape Malay. The family is described as following his mother's Islamic religious path and being religiously conservative. He reports that he is a devout follower of Islam and views the religion as his primary identification. He reports not seeing himself in racial terms. He provided a detailed description of his religious affiliation and his quest to further align himself with his religious principles. His dissociation from a racial identity is reflected in the absence of racial associations. He states:

> *Cape Malay you might call it racial identity, that is really my religious identity that*
> *dominate, the racial identity is quite incidental.(Salie)*

Coloured

The three interviewees who indicated their racial identification as Coloured reported identities that are also deeply intertwined with South African racial politics. The identification with their identity had mutated over time reflecting the changing political landscape. The common internalisation and initial experience of being Coloured is one of "less than". The unspoken emblem of comparison determining inferior status is White.

The interviewees reported what was described as a painful history of oppression, of being excluded and the withdrawal of privileges. One of the interviewees reported her relative recent experience of being excluded. She interpreted the response by the owner as racially motivated:

> *When I was second year at university, first I was travelling in and out (from home) and*
> *second year I tried to find a flat and when I phoned I spoke to one person and the person*
> *said fine you can have the flat you can just come and check it out and I went to actually*
> *go and check out the flat. When the people met us they said sorry there was a confusion*
> *and the other person spoke to you and the other person spoke to someone else and we've*

actually given the flat to someone else, and I thought there was only one reason the flat wasn't available I still think its because I'm coloured.(Sharon)

One of the interviewees reported having gone through a period completely rejecting racial identity as coloured. She reported wanting to have been white from the age of 15 years. Her fair skin allowed her the option to partially adopt a new white identity. She reported:

I adopted a white identity, rejected things coloureds do and places they went, listened to white music and hung out with white friends.(Shona)

Her desire to be white was born out of a strong sense of shame about what the coloured identity signified. She attended a previously exclusively white school and the negative projections of coloured identity appear to have been reinforced in the school environment. The messages that shaped her desire to be white were:

Coloureds were viewed as bad, foul mouthed, inferior, animalistic, aggressive and unsophisticated with kroes (unattractively curly) hair.(Shona)

Another interviewee reported that being coloured was to her about being sandwiched between Black and White and having to deal with the relative privileges that come with the precarious positioning.

I think first of all for me coloured is always having the feeling of being in the middle where previously where the whites were at an advantage due to apartheid and black people were far less advantaged than coloured people and we were always in the middle so that is part of it we weren't threatened as much but more accepted than maybe a black person but also not so accepted as much because not being white so being in the middle.(Deidre)

All interviewees described having only recently, (for one as recent as 3 years ago) shifted toward acceptance of their racial identity as coloured. It is suggested that the shift is work in progress as interviewees reflect on the need to reclaim a positive racial identity.

Indian

The interviewees who identified with being Indian differed in their experiences of their racial identity. The older of the two had been more involved with racial politics and described her racial identification as having mirrored the South Africa's Black Consciousness movement. During her

formative years the older interviewee attended school at a school for designated coloured children. It is at the school for coloured children that she was made aware of not being coloured but Indian, by fellow students. Her initial introduction to racial politics was described as painful as she was "othered". Her relationship with her Indian identity moved through periods of dissociation and adoption of the black identity and currently acceptance of an Indian identity. She describes this progression as follows:

> *It's been a complex process having shifted from awareness of Indian to not coloured to black and back to Indian.(Shamalah)*

The younger interviewee had less exposure to political unrest and also spent most of her formative years in schools dominated by children from similar religious and racial backgrounds. Despite the relatively uniform racial environment in which she operated, she described her struggles with regards her racial classification in the following way:

> *I've never classified myself as Indian I've always said I'm NOT Indian I was not born in India I'm more South African. I've got the Indian heritage yes but everything else in me comes from a South African basis.(Yogas)*

She rejects being "boxed" into any specific racial classification and does not identify with the historical adoption of a unified Black identity.

The racial categories in South Africa had been implemented to support a specific political agenda. The system of racial categorisation left little room for people like the above interviewee to opt out of the racial structure. It is further complicated by the apparent general adoption of the imposed racial classification system. The segregated living arrangements that entrenched exclusivity contributed in making it difficult for those who rejected the assigned categories. These difficulties are evident in the self reporting by the interviewee who opted to see herself as South African as opposed to Indian. She made frequent references to her abhorrence in being classified as Indian but would also describe ways in which she prides herself with practices that is shared with the community identified as Indian. Her speech is peppered with descriptions of herself as Indian and South African respectively, with each depicting separate categories.

White people

Eleven interviewees indicated their racial identity as white. One person indicated Chinese. Chinese had historically been allocated "honourary white" status within South African politics and is thus included in this subsection, but in full recognition of the arbitrary quality of apartheid racial categories.

All twelve of the interviewees had difficulty with the question that asked of them to list their racial identity. During the interview process they appeared hesitant in writing their response and some needed clarification as to what the researcher was looking for. Interviewees appeared discomforted by the racial reflection and their body movements reflected their unease.

Some interviewees noted their dis-ease by annotating "white" with quotation marks on their response sheets, or by talking about their "uncomfortable fit" with the category. Others reported on the difficulty in answering the question. The person classified Chinese said:

> *There was a little hesitation to write that (Chinese) because I know it's difficult I mean in this country categorizing race I mean I spent a lot of time thinking about that I'm so used to filling in forms where there isn't a block for Chinese people.(Michelle)*

The participants classified as white had the following to say:

> *I'm not sure really, I know usually on forms they ask for race erhm sometimes it's difficult for me.(Karin)*

> *I suppose the hesitation to answer is about the categorization, the history of SA and I suppose there is some kind of naïve wish that it can be done away with that.(David)*

> *I felt I had to confront whiteness again because I had forgotten about it. It really wasn't an issue while I was there [UK]. And I was really frustrated coming back and being reminded that I am white…Yes I do feel guilty erhm I suppose my main concern is that I don't want to be racist, I don't want to be the racist white person.(Daniella)*

> *I don't really like to classify people or myself in terms of skin colour.(Maria)*

> *Ek dink omdat dit nie altyd belangrik is nie, my persepsie is dit maak nie regtig saak watter groep jy behoort nie ek kyk na die individu en ek dink nie dis eintlik iets waaroor ek dink nie. (Translated as: I think because it is not always important, my perception is that it does not really matter which group (race) you belong to. I look at the individual and I don't think it [race] is something that I really think about).(Marie)*

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I would much rather not be white- there's a lot of shame attached to it and it's shame and resentment I suppose because I do feel that this is my home and I am attached because of my skin colour to the history of the country so that's really what it is.(Rene)

I think for many years I felt extremely guilty. I still feel a little guilty about yah simply being privileged by a system that erhm that actually discriminated so severely and so terribly against people. And being privileged by that you know, having a good education, erhm having the benefit of a good education, getting privileged jobs and being able therefore to financially take reasonably good care of myself. Well it was those kinds of things, that was simply because of my skin colour and I guess I feel guilty about, I haven't done enough, not actively part of the struggle, not really having done enough.(Justine)

The trainee who indicated that she is both of Portuguese origin and white reported to having actively protested against being "Portuguese" and refused to take part in practices that were deemed Portuguese. She refused to learn the language, which she felt would link her to a culture that was seen as -"backwards".

I think for MY generation we are South African, we are not Portuguese.(Simone)

Two of the interviewees indicated that their struggle in acknowledging their racial identity had more to do with aspects of themselves that according to them supersede being white.

One, an orthodox practising Jewish person, suggested that his religious identity was his primary identification. He reports to having been raised with strict religious principles that were continuously foregrounded within the familial setting. His Jewish identity formed an integral part of his being, having been actively inculcated since childhood. The orthodoxy is defined by cultural and religious practices that form part of his earliest memories deliberately shaping his identity. He said:

Jewish probably would be the most I mean in terms of that being an orthodox and devout practising Jew.(Nathan)

The profound identification with the Jewish religion was evident in the ease and with which and insightful manner the interviewee elaborated on religious matters. The research question however focused his attention on racial material. The profound struggle with the racial content is

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suggested by the conversely disjointed and relatively inarticulate manner he reflected on the matter.

> *The fact that being white, Erhm automatically or not automatically but in terms of my case, Erhm..no I well I suppose Erhm..I supposeI, I dunno..this is hard to Erhm..I think being white Ehrm in a sense Ethm having grown up in a within a privileged in terms of socio economically background Erhm in terms of financially Erhm secure and Erhm obviously I suppose political overtones of what it means to be white and in some way having an association with the previous apartheid government……yet in terms of identity I mean I see myself as a white person, I guess that's indisputable.(Nathan)*

Another interviewee similarly reported that her significant physical disability from birth was the primary identifier. For the interviewee her physical restrictions dominated her life as it set her apart from everyone else. Her lifestyle and environment required modification and constant attention as she attempted to integrate into a society of and designed for able-bodied persons. Like the above interviewee her attention was eventually drawn to matters racial. She struggled to define herself racially and reported that she was uncertain about whether to refer to herself as white or European. She mused about the importance of language when reporting on race whilst she settled on white.

Another interviewee noted his racial identity as white but clarified that it was difficult to answer, as he puts it, he does not see colour:

> *Colour of skin white sometimes pink. I don't see the colour.(Peter)*

The considerable struggle white interviewees expressed with their racial identities appear deeply rooted within racial politics. Whiteness is reportedly unequivocally synonymous with apartheid. The complicit status of whiteness with apartheid results in a particular meaning for whiteness that is with the perpetration of, or at very least, the benefiting from atrocities. The interviewees expressed their need to distance themselves from apartheid, and thus whiteness in the following ways:

> *White is seen as wealthy, privileged and being judgmental of other races.(David)*
>
> *Daar is ook die hartseer kant in dat, dat die blanke veral in Suid Afrika geassosieer word met al die ongeregtighede wat plaasgevind het met rasisme veral deur die apartheid jare*

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en miskien le die ongemaklikheid daar en ek wil my nie daarmee vereenselwig nie ek voel ongemaklik met daardie deel van ons geskiedenis en in Suid Afrika voel dit nog 'n sensitiewe topic vir my. Ek voel ongemaklik want ek was nooit deel daarvan nie maar my ouers en voorgeslagte was deel daarvan. (Translation: There is also the painful part that white people particularly in South Africa, are associated with all the injustices that took place with racism specifically during the years of apartheid rule and maybe that is where the discomfort lies and I do not want to be associated with apartheid and I feel uncomfortable with that part of our history and in South Africa it still feels like it is a sensitive topic for me. I feel uncomfortable because I was never a part of it [apartheid] but my parents and forefathers were a part of it.(Marie)

I suppose it has a lot to do with SA and apartheid and you know being associated with the oppressor and I suppose there is some naiveté that says oh God can we just get beyond that.(Daniella)

Apartheid has thus assigned whiteness a dominant, offensive meaning. The potential multiplicity of meanings for whiteness is overshadowed by the overriding offensive quality. The singular association with whiteness suggests that it lacks depth, texture and culture. Interviewees report on the ambiguity of the association with their racial identity. For some, though, whiteness informs both a sense of pride of being as well as a deep sense of shame and a general sense of fear associated with any expression of desire to further explore their white identity. The fear of reprisals limits expressed desires to understand and explore their white heritage.

I feel comfortable with the label but discomforted by the political history of oppression.(David)

There's a part of my history that I would like to go back to find out more about but it's always complicated because I do feel I'm an African, a South African that is my primary identification but I am also white and I do have a tribe and I came from another country and I'm curious for those reasons as well and how they lend themselves to my particular psychology as that trickle through the generation. One of the things of my ancestral history brings is an enormous amount of alcoholism in my family, my Irish ancestors, and it's things like that, that are kind of immediate, that runs in the family tree but there are

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other things you know a love of music a love of poetry and it's complicated if I'm doing that am I saying that my identification is not primarily as a South African.(Simone)

The meaning of racial identity for all those interviewed appears to be challenging and largely unresolved.

Next we look at early experiences that shaped their racial identity. The areas covered are experiences within the family and schooling.

Experiences that shaped trainees' racial identities

Black /African

Childhood

The interviewee spent her formative years in a rural area. She lived with her mother and her extended family. Her father was a migrant worker and spent extended periods away from home. She described her history as follows:

> *I thought my parents got divorced because my father spent 11 months of the year in Stellenbosch my mom 11 months of the year alone and had to manage make the decisions and then my father comes home and be pampered and be proud that he has these fat cows and my mom has slogged the whole year and I just think and some of the things I really feel if my mom was helped with her depression and things I mean who cares about an African woman and those are the things that I'm still angry about and they get totally complicated about the fact that I'm African and that define who I am.(Thandeka)*

Following her parents' separation her mother left the home to seek work as a domestic worker in a city. During her childhood the interviewee had visited her father in the migrant labour men's hostel which catered only for men and which was known, even though many of the men were married, as "single quarters". She also visited her mother at her place of employment. In both cases she needed to be prepared to give appropriate responses when questioned about the legitimacy of her visits. She had always been exposed to political discussions particularly related to the hardships of African people.

The interviewee described her migration to the city and the first year at junior school when she resided with an extended family member.

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Eight or seven (years old) it was very difficult times, I think my dad managed but there was so much suffering with us. I remember my father because he was a migrant labourer he um he lived in single man's hostel and my father is quite a hands on man and every time he came from work he'll come and check me whether I've you know, and sometimes he used to smuggle me into this single man's hostel and I would sleep with him and that was the only way he could make sure I had eaten, I was looked after where I stayed because my father paid my aunty and he came to check me everyday after work. Only problem was in the morning he had to be at work at 7 and I started school at 8 so he couldn't manage that process.(Thandeka)

She reported having lived with her mother on her employers' property for a while. She was unable to remain with her mother as there were no schools for black children within travelling distance. She was eventually enrolled at a school with boarding facilities and would stay with her mother during school vacations. The school was exclusively for black children and she recalls being given a school pass to be used by students outside the school premises.

Every time we came back on holidays we had to carry school passes to show that we were at school but these young white kids used to terrorise us. They used to go. "Hey, hey kaffir (derogatory/racist term for black Africans) come here" and we used to be scared of them and 'what are you doing here?' and we used to be so scared of them. We were very well trained, you must never ever tell where you live, you must always pretend that you're lost because if you tell where you live, the place might be raided because we were not supposed to live there. So we're always looking for our mother, we don't know where our mother is.(Thandeka)

So being an African was always about struggle, I mean it almost confirmed what my parents' were saying, the things I was hearing when I was younger, you struggle, you work hard you know.(Thandeka)

She described her senior school, which was exclusively for black children, as "highly politicised". The school was at the forefront of political activity during the State of Emergency in the 1980s. The school children were actively involved in political bodies, with some serving on executive committees. The scholars' political involvement drew a lot of attention from the police, with many having to go into exile every year. The police brutality in response to, also resulted in

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many suffering permanent disabilities. The learners all went on strike as part of their political activism and were all expelled. Whilst some learners were reinstated at the school, the interviewee opted to complete her final year at a different school. She said:

> *We were quite in touch with what was going on in fact even that year it was 1985 we were one of the few schools that were operating in the Eastern Cape. We used to call our netball fields the freedom square, it was difficult.(Thandeka)*

> *I did half of my standard 10 (grade 12) then we were expelled and I decided to finish school in another place.(Thandeka)*

Adulthood

She reportedly wanted to study law after completing school. Her sister disapproved of her intentions to do law fearing that she would "end up in politics" and encouraged her to study social work. She struggled with her sister's steadfastness and after much deliberation registered at University of Cape Town (UCT). She was unclear at the time what direction of study to take but was certain that she would not be able to study law at UCT. She shared the general perception at the time that black students were restricted from certain areas of study and law was considered one of them. She further reported that her research had confirmed that even if black students were admitted, the failure rate was particularly high amongst black students pursuing degrees at that the university (UCT),

> *Yeah and that was our belief and you know so I wasn't going to do law at UCT because it meant failure. It was clear at UCT when you black it takes you how many years to do law, I mean we had done all this investigation that so many people, black African had failed.(Thandeka)*

Cape Malay

Childhood

This interviewee described a family background dominated by religious practices. The family followed his mother's religious direction (Islam) with little emphasis on racial awareness. He said:

> *I come from pretty much traditional conservative religious background, so that has been pretty much my life experience.(Salie)*

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The interviewee describes having attended a historically white school. He talks of not having been conscious of himself in racial terms but of being reminded by peers of his otherness. He had been quite isolated as there were few activities at school that focused on religion.

Adulthood

The isolation shifted when he did his undergraduate degree at UCT where he joined the Muslim society. He reported:

> *You could say I actually immersed myself so much in the Muslim society there, to the almost complete exclusion of other racial groups, like white.(Salie)*

The interviewee describes having felt quite isolated at Stellenbosch University. He suggests that this isolation may be viewed as the result of racial differences but adds that race is unimportant. He understands the isolation he felt from peers and the psychology department as religiously determined.

> *I think the main thing is that the Islamic lifestyle is just completely different from other lifestyles.(Salie)*

And

> *Typically what you find that religion don't play all that an important part in their life and here I was where religion in my case was perhaps more importantly, my life. So I think there was an extreme juxtaposition of a religious way of life and an irreligious way of life and that exacerbated my feelings of estrangement.(Salie)*

> *You know because of being estranged I often had very little to say in the classroom. Sometimes I felt that my views on particular topics will be considered too controversial, they would rock the boat and once or twice it did.(Salie)*

Coloured

Childhood

All three interviewees reported early exposure to racial injustices. Older members of the families had been vocal about their experiences of racism. One spoke of the family's repeat stories of forced removals. Similarly the older members of the families would talk with bitterness about the ways in which they were discriminated against in other ways:

I think that growing up we heard so many stories about how they were removed from the places where they stayed, how the parents were removed and a lot of the anger and the actual rage and the bitterness from that in the telling of the stories.(Deidre)

Another spoke of her parents' experience of having been taunted because of their dark skin:

I know, both my mom and dad, growing up they were ostracised because of their colour. I think my mother's nickname was chocolate something. I don't know, my mom suffered quite a bit when she was growing up.(Shona)

She reported anecdotes of her father being totally overjoyed at her birth as she is of very light complexion. Her light skin however offered little protection against other sources of shame of being coloured, like having frizzy hair. She recalls her discontent with being the only member of the family with frizzy hair. Her disquiet regarding her hair was intense enough for her mother to agree to have her daughter's hair professionally straightened. This interviewee's process of rejection of symbols of her coloured identity began as early as junior school:

I remember being five years old and asking my mother what was wrong with my hair because it was all knobbly, 'what was wrong with my hair'! And yah I wanted straight hair (laugh) and I hate my hair. Not that I hate it, I think I grew up with all the prejudices about hair and certainly having straight hair was better than kroes (unattractively curly) hair.(Shona)

Issues of discrimination were brought home to another interviewee when the family witnessed the financial disparity between her father and his colleagues. Her father was employed by the South African Police services and it was painfully apparent that he was being paid much less than the whites within the same rank:

Even though they were on the same level, they were paid so differently because of being coloured. We were initially staying in a small house and they would be staying in this huge house with a swimming pool and it was difficult for me, difficult as a child to understand. Why are we living like this? And the only reason was because they were white, that was explained to us.(Sharon)

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Race related issues were experienced daily. The poor coloureds juxtaposed against the rich whites were part of their daily observations. One interviewee described being part of an extended family that embodied the stereotypical working class coloured image.

> *My mother's family most of them work in factories. Most of them wasn't allowed, didn't finish school, went up to Standard 5 (end of junior school) and they're still living in townships, living a life that I would associate with being coloured. Not too poor and not too rich having just enough and being very much about how you dress. They feel they have to dress a certain way, my brothers for example, they're very interested in the hip hop culture and they used to dress like that and wanted to be like that. And also the very strong element of religion for my family, and most coloured families that's Christian, to go to church as regular as possible. That is how I have been reared. I think initially, even some of my family are involve in gangsterism. Some have been and some are associated with crime, that is also part of the things people associate with coloureds.(Sharon)*

In addition to being exposed to the older generation's experience of trauma associated with apartheid, the interviewees recall their personal experiences of being discriminated against. Memories of being excluded and "othered" are some of their childhood experiences that remain deeply etched:

> *My earliest memories of being coloured was probably pre school and going to the beach and not being allowed especially like Strand, Gordon's Bay some of those beaches you weren't allowed to go I remember that our neighbours they were quite light of complexion they could almost looked white they would often go there and their one daughter she was like my colour she couldn't go with and I remember that those were some of the discussions when we went out that we couldn't go there and I remember asking why can't we go there? "It's because we're coloured it's for whites only".(Sharon)*

And

> *I remember going to Kimberley. My father's brother he was working at a hotel and we went to go visit him and there was this family with their children and they came out this children just shouted at us "Hey, Kaffirs wat maak julle daar" (Hey Kaffirs what are you doing there), and that was because I never experienced that living here in Cape Town. I remember it was the first time we visited that town and my father and mother just trying*

to protect us just pulled us away and my uncle took us one side and no one actually said anything just walked away and there afterwards when you watch television and people it would always be that there'd never be any coloured people. And schools, the way schools looked-it was the same way in my life in my experience the classrooms didn't look the same it was much bigger, the children didn't have to dress specifically. In my experience from what I was seeing on television and what I was experiencing because in our school there was obviously only coloured children and the television was only white children and our school we could wear anything I mean I would wear a school dress and some of the children couldn't afford a uniform could wear anything any jersey or tracksuits and on television they'd all wear the school uniform.(Sharon)

All three interviewees described their immediate families' emphasis on the children "getting an education", as a means to overcome the limitations placed by apartheid. Thus tertiary education for the children became a political act, an opportunity to redress injustices suffered.

My parents discouraged us from speaking in slang and encouraged us to study; my brother is now a qualified doctor.(Sharon)

All three interviewees attended high school during the 1980s, a period of significant political unrest, as has been mentioned. Many learners of colour attending historically coloured, black and Indian schools were involved in mass actions during that period.

The protest actions drew retaliatory responses from the members of the police. Transgressions were deemed punishable offences; as a result many learners were arrested and or beaten and some even killed. No learners of colour were protected from the brutality of those experiences. One of the interviewees recalls having been very young and refusing to take part. She described her discomfort with the level of violence and disruptions, viewing the learners as responsible for the mayhem. At the time, she believed the police to have been justified in their actions of violence against the learners. Her view has however shifted and remains a source of significant discomfort:

I remember as well when I was younger my father being a policeman and during the 80's there was riots in Bonteheuwel on how he was involved with that and they would have to go and protect the school and shoot rubber bullets and throw gas at the children and that time I thought it was right because it was violence and it you not supposed to be violent

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school children wasn't right and looking back NOW and it's sometimes difficult to think that he was a coloured man and yet he was part of the regime that was fighting against those children so that is something that I also remember.(Sharon)

She recalls not having had any personal choice with regard to participation in protest action. Participation in protest action was thrust upon all children at affected schools and excluded white children.

Going to high school and having to march in the streets that time all the coloured schools and you wouldn't ever hear of white children and white schools children joining in the march- it was always just us and coming from school being forced to take part and staying at home for weeks because I didn't like to take part to avoid going to school and marching in the streets and coming out of school and the police were all standing there to prevent the children and my father being part of it.(Sharon)

Another interviewee at school during the same period as the above interviewee reported her experience at one of the schools 'unaffected' by the protest actions. She attended a Model C school. The Model C schools were formerly white schools which with the relaxation of apartheid laws in the 1980s were permitted to admit children of all races. For many parents enrolment at a model C school was perceived as an opportunity at better education. Model C schools were much better resourced and were seen to offer superior quality and quantity of sport and education, The social integration into the Model C schools by children of colour was however not considered in detail. An experience that profoundly affected the interviewee's experience at the Model C school is elaborated upon below:

It happened just after I had written an exam my friend asked my how I found the exam and, I said, "I wrote kak (shit)". I didn't realise the teacher, a white teacher, was standing behind me and my friend couldn't hear and she said "What?" And I said it louder, I said, "I wrote kak". The teacher like looked at me and he said,."You know, you people will never change" and that sent me to a place where I completely rejected my racial identity. I'd been left with the feeling that coloureds were bad, inferior, coloured is animalistic, coloured is unsophisticated, um, coloured is BAD and from that day onward I was, I must have been about 15 years old and then I rejected my racial identity. I certainly went through some very strange behaviours where I rejected the things

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coloureds do, the places they went to, I also only listened to white music, I hung out with white friends, I wanted to BE white because white was more sophisticated, white was more intelligent, white had global identification, and coloured people they can't express themselves through written language, they act out, they're aggressive. I wanted, yah I wanted all those things that I certainly thought being white meant.(Shona)

The interviewees' reports of events during their childhood suggest that race awareness was brought into sharp focus for all those of colour. Their experiences of racial awareness were reportedly advanced into their adulthood.

Adulthood

Race, more particularly the experience of themselves and others in racial terms serves as the backdrop to all adult exchanges for the interviewees. There appears a constant comparison between themselves and others, with race being the basis of comparison:

Moving away from a historically black university to a historically white institution that was a huge, huge shift. The transition was very difficult, I felt absolutely displaced. The psychology department was managed by mainly white staff who had so much power.(Deidre)

I went to Stellenbosch (university), erhm, yah I never I remember my interaction. I remember before you have the orientation classes I went on this church camp. It was nice but there were only two people of colour, myself and a much older woman and I made friends, obviously the friends that I made were all white. Even meeting their parents on the first day and the way they took us, and that was almost like this fairy tale I was a bit shocked because they were actually nice to me I didn't expect that the acceptance would be. Then afterwards when the camp was finished going back to university classes started ok we were all busy with classes. I remember by the end of the term we didn't even greet each other when we walked past each other.(Sharon)

I remember in the first years, I didn't make any new friends all the coloured people from Cape Town we travelled in every day and we all stuck together, we'd do everything together. In honours it was a much smaller group and most of my coloured friends did other things and I was forced to make other friends and then it actually became more sincere friendships, and we'd talk about things about being coloured and white, but from

my side, it, the sort of pride about being coloured, all of them (whites) who was very rich lived in grand houses and travelled extensively and I come from Cape Town totally different family, one was working as a policeman-I'm proud of being coloured because look where I come from and I worked hard. A lot of people would say this often "coloured people are thieves", that we're not all like that, and though my parents didn't go to school they tried to give us the best and they gave us love and they gave us an education what they weren't allowed to have.(Sharon)

You'd speak to your coloured friends in normal Cape Town slang and when you are with white people you try to speak suiwer (pure) Afrikaans that is always something that bothered me its strange because all of us do it and then afterwards you say, "But why do you do it".(Deidre)

Indian

Childhood

The interviewees both described having been relatively unaware of racial differences whilst growing up. Their formative years were spent largely within the family circles. Family members are predominantly Indian. There appears to have been a prevailing sense of pride in the Indian identity. Young adults were encouraged to socialize and select marital partners from within the Indian community. Fathers were described as particularly conservative with regard to racial preference.

I think that ideally he'd [father] want us to marry Indian men, he'd want us to assert that Indian-ness to know the language.(Shamalah)

Whilst the interviewees described having been relatively unaware of racial differences and politics at large, they both had encounters at school that raised issues with regard to their identity as Indians. Before being transferred to a junior school for Indians, one of the interviewees was registered at a primary school for coloured children. It was during her stay at the school that she was made aware by fellow pupils of not being coloured. Racial differences formed part of playground squabbles.

The other interviewee described her early sense of shame attached to the Indian identity. The religious overlap between her and the others meant that the children were either identified Indian

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or Malay. The derogatory statements that circulated about Indians informed her sense of shame being associated with the racial signifier:

> *I was ashamed to say that I was Indian, they used to do the checks in class to see who was Indian and I would look around who all is putting up their hand before putting up my hand. I would check if any of my friends would put up their hands it is only much later when I would say, "Yes, I am Indian". I think I was in standard 5 when I was comfortable to say, "Yes I am".(Yogas)*

For both interviewees the political struggle was brought into focus during their high school years. Both attended schools that participated in the 1980s political unrest. For one of the interviewees the political unrest did little to shift her political awareness. She described her parents as not having been politically involved. The political discussions if held were shared only amongst the adults in her home. She described having lived a "very sheltered" life and was generally politically unaware. She describes having been in school during the 1985 political student uprising but was unaware of the significance or direction of the unrest:

> *I just knew school was evacuated and I got to go home. I didn't identify with what was going on at the time, and the struggle. I knew what the struggle was about but it wasn't a struggle for me. I don't see myself as having been oppressed. I haven't lived in that time, [apartheid] by the time I became aware of everything that was going on it was quite late.(Yogas)*

Whilst being disengaged from the political situation with regards to race, the interviewee was powerfully engaged with her ascribed racial identity. She struggled with the perceived negative associations with being Indian. Her protests took the form of choosing friends, activities as well as dress codes that would not likely be associated with Indian.

She reported having formed friendships with only non-Indian friends. Her associations with friends described as coloured and of the Christian faith heralded a shift towards standards that are described as Western. She watched popular English language movies and listened to Western/English pop music:

> *I was then sort of shoving aside the one part of me and gaining an identity there and becoming a new person. At times it felt that I had different personalities at different stages in my life.(Yogas)*

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She also made significant efforts to neutralise the Indian cultural features of the family when her friends visited. Her parents were told to "behave", which implied suspending their needs for Indian music or delicacies during the visits. Her mother's preferred traditional Indian dress code had to be altered on the day, as per her daughter's request. Similarly she dressed in Western fashions:

> *I stayed completely away from ANY Indian detail while growing up I didn't dress at all the punjaab (dress with a matching pants underneath)- the whole outfit it wasn't for me. Some children would wear their Eid (religious festival) outfit to school the next day and would be made fun of. I wasn't going to put myself through that. I found every reason not to be drawn into the clothes thing because the clothes represented who you were.(Yogas)*

Similarly she distanced herself from the Indian language spoken by her parents:

> *I feel robbed that I was too ashamed to say that I want to learn (Indian language) when I was younger, now I realize how difficult it is to learn something completely new at my age.(Yogas)*

The elaborate attempts to disguise her racial identity had been in an attempt to "fit in". She perceived the Indian identity to be rejected and vilified by whites, as well as other persons of colour not identified as Indian. Her difficulty regarding her racial identity persisted into adulthood when she describes having experienced a shift.

The second interviewee also described an initial unawareness of the political issues at hand. She ascribed her initial obliviousness to the limitations of youth and her parents' apolitical stance. The participation of the school in the protests facilitated her political awareness:

> *Mostly, I was oblivious, I think, during my high school years but just when the political upheaval came up then that became important, but I think around racial categories I was very oblivious. My parents didn't emphassze race with other people, my Indianness wasn't foregrounded as exclusive, as different. Those things weren't made an issue in my house.(Shamalah)*

And

> *High school was, again I felt I lived in a little bit of a cocoon, you went to the school, you didn't have an opportunity to go into the world, so you're not terribly aware of what was*

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happening out in the world, so I didn't spend too much time thinking about it. Just when, I think, the 1985 riots happened, (protests) that threw into awareness for you so the notion of what being an Indian means came up, an Indian was holding the struggle, and I happily went along with it all. It wasn't an issue for me at time. What was foregrounded was that you identified with being a black South African and that's exactly how I identified myself.(Shamalah)

She participated in the student unrest and was comfortable adopting the unifying black identity as espoused by the political movements during the same period.

Adulthood

The first interviewee, having experienced the tension of rejecting her Indian identity and not replacing it with the collective black identity, reported having shifted toward an acceptance of her racial identity as Indian. The shift is reported to have come about in recent years. She expresses pride in the association with Indian:

Now going to Ster Kinekor (cinema) to watch an Indian movie, previously I'd watch it on video (at home). I listen to the music now. I'm not afraid to listen to the music in my car and have my non-Indian friends in the car. Now it's tough- you don't like it learn something from it, learn that there are other cultures other than your own. If you going to ask me what culture I come from I'm not going to say Asian, I'm not Indian. I'm gonna say Indian I'm comfortable with being Indian.(Yogas)

Her shift is noted in the expression of pride in being viewed as Indian as well as seeing herself as separate from practices that she disapproves of.

The second interviewee's identification of black continues into adulthood. She is aware of certain family members' identification as Indian. Her father in particular espouses Indian values and has expressed the desire for his children follow his identification. She appears to deal with the disparity between her racial values and certain family members by acquiescing to some cultural rituals and not others:

I mean there's a lot of little rituals that I do because my family does it and I just go along with it. Oh there's a lot that he wants me to do, but no. Some of my cousins have notions of being Indian that I don't.(Shamalah)

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There is also the expectation by her father that she select a marital partner from the Indian community. She reports further that her father harbours prejudice against other races. She reports to being unaffected by the expression of prejudice and exclusivity. She does report that to date her siblings have all selected marital partners from the Indian community:

> *I think that ideally he'd [father] want us to marry Indian men, he'd want us to assert that Indian ness, to know the language. Some of it might have its merits but none of us have taken it on or measured ourselves in relation to other groups.(Shamalah)*

White

Childhood

All of the trainees who self identified as white described their early awareness of experiences within the immediate family, extended family, neighbourhood and school environments that spoke to issues of race and racism. Their experiences ranged from overt racism to more subtle forms of discrimination, for example, being exposed to parents who eschewed apartheid ideology and actively promoting non racialism but who expressed disquiet when their child got romantically involved with a person of colour. The trainees for whom ethnic/religious identity and dis/abled body statuses were primary signifiers, racial awareness remained peripheral and primarily out of conscious awareness throughout their lived experiences.

Trainees who described greater exposure to racist behaviour generally had a parent or parents whom they would describe as having been or continuing to be racist. The behaviours that trainees described as racist on the part of others included, though were not limited to, expressions of racial stereotypes that depicted people of colour as having less worth than whites. Further expression of racist behaviours were interpreted from the way in which parents, mothers in particular, treated domestic workers in ways that were perceived as discriminatory. The experiences of African black domestic workers at the hands of family members were recalled with alarm and shame. For example, domestic workers were not allowed to use the family eating utensils, and were instead given utensils of inferior quality kept separate for the exclusive use of the domestic workers. Another trainee described the relationships with farm workers not dissimilar to relationships with domestic workers. Transporting farm workers and their families always meant farm workers traveled in the back of the trucks belonging to the white farmers, even when space was available in the cabin of the vehicle. There was also an unquestioned acceptance that the farm workers

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were not allowed into the house of the farmer, even the black community priests were not allowed inside the homes of white farmers. When farm workers were ill they needed to share their complaints with the farmers, who made the decisions whether their case warranted the attention of a medical doctor. Farm workers would either be treated with remedies administered by the farmers or transported to the medical doctor. This also was never questioned. Of racism on the farm one trainee says *"it was in your face"*.

Other participants had the following to say about exposure to racism:

> *I was not allowed to have boyfriends that wasn't white…they wouldn't outright say it's because of his colour. It would be more the kinds of [racial mixing] it's the negative things that go along with people of colour in their minds [stereotypes], which is that there would be something lower class about him [coloured boyfriend], yah lower class would sum it up, really. Somehow his morals were not right, that I was taken advantage of, that I'd come to harm [be abused or taken advantaged of] all those kinds of things.(Maria)*

> *I think as I got older I protested quite a bit and my stepfather he was terribly racist, he used to use the k [kaffir] word and it used to feel like, it used to hurt me it sounded so offensive, but at that stage I don't suppose I knew why I just felt horrible. Yah, he'd make comments at the television or in the car, or whatever, so I suppose I grew up in a very racist household. There was ABSOLUTELY no space to talk about [racism], it [the home] was absolutely dictatorial.(Michelle))*

Another trainee reported that it was commonplace for her father and brother to make racist jokes, for example:

> *Ag that guy can't drive because he's black and these stupid black people are running the country.(Marie)*

Likewise, trainees who described their family home as neutral or those whose parents were actively promoting interracial mixing amongst their children, opting to send their children to racially mixed private schools over state owned segregated ones, described unprotected exposure to extended family members and neighbours who publicly espoused racist values. One of the trainees whose family home was located in the northern suburbs of Cape Town, an area described as racially conservative, said that whilst she was not allowed to use racially derogatory terms in

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the family home, it was not uncommon for racist behaviour and utterances to be exhibited by neighbours:

> *They used words like you know, kaffir and hotnot and others.(Karin)*

Additionally, trainees who reported to having had some inter-racial contact during their childhood as is the case with many white children living on farms and having children of colour on the farms as playmates, described cross-racial engagements that did not challenge the power differentials, nor were any maintained beyond the childhood commonalities of play. As one trainee stated:

> *The books, the toys they were mine. I decided what we played or whether we played.(Rene)*

Another trainee described the contradictions she was exposed to by her parents who ostensibly had been ardent and active supporters of racial equality. She was raised in an environment where issues of race were openly discussed amongst the adults. The children were raised with an awareness of inter-racial sensitivity. In contrast to the home values with regards to race, however, she and her siblings were sent to a racially conservative school in a neighbouring city. The trainee and her siblings were expelled from the school, a school which she reports emphasized strong Christian and racist ideals, which the nuns at the helm viewed as complementary ideologies. Once expelled, the children were sent to a racially integrated private school, something the children had reportedly had to "beg for". The interviewee perceived further contradictions in her parents' views: despite their liberal views as academics and writers who shared strong relationships with persons of different racial and gender orientations, they responded negatively to their daughter expressing romantic interest across the colour line.

The trainees, for whom religious affiliation and /or disability status,as opposed to race, were the dominant signifiers, described day to day activities that reinforced their awareness of themselves in those terms. For the disabled trainee, negotiating her adjustment to the world with the disabled label meant that all of her attention was directed to her status in relation to a world that favours amongst other things, able bodies.

Her parents have reportedly been instrumental in facilitating her adjustments and encouraging her to achieve despite her physical limitations.

The trainee whose ethnic/religious affiliation is central to his sense of self described generally having been unaware of himself in racial terms. He viewed himself as different, only to the extent that his religious applications differed in orthodoxy from that of his (white) peers. He reported on a racially related incident relayed to him by his mother. The incident occurred when he not older that five. He was in a lift (elevator) in Minneapolis, USA (the family was there while the father was on a research visit) when a black man entered the lift, according to the trainee's mother, the trainee asked his mother why the man was so black. The man apparently took umbrage and commented on the child's lack of manners.

In later years the trainee's main focus had been his religion and race remained unproblematised. As far as he is aware, race is not a problem, and his family presents a healthy model of cross-racial interactions. Of his family life the trainee described the inter racial contacts the following way,

> *My mother and these colleagues have a very strong relationship now for a long time and at my engagement party erhm two nights ago they were at my house present, you know my mom's assistants. So we've kind of you know also had erhm in that sense a model or kind of a template from our parents in terms of relating to other people erhm with respect and with appreciation almost.(Nathan)*

Another trainee, who espouses a colour blind racial worldview, described his parents as very liberal and also very happy that their children mix with other races. He does however acknowledge that on occasion his parents made racist utterances. He qualifies this by saying that they grew up in a political and social environment that was racist, implying that they should not be held accountable for those occasional racist remarks. By way of example, the trainee indicated that when his mother was mugged she made reference to the "kaffir" that mugged her. Similarly his father reportedly would often make comments about blacks being really lazy or would generalise about the swearing and perceived vulgar behaviour by supporters of colour at soccer matches as "the way they are". The trainee concluded that his parents do hold stereotypical views of the coloureds and blacks but "other than that they were happy for us to be exposed to different races".

Trainees further reflecting on experiences with regards to race in adulthood directed their attention to experiences at universities, during travel and at the workplace. Some trainees

reflected on experiences at universities in some cases as sites of continued oppression. Certain universities were described as holding onto vestiges of their past participation in and alignment with apartheid practices. Some trainees viewed the historically white universities as having made marginal shifts which for example reflected shifts in students' racial profile whilst maintaining white only staff compliments. Whilst some trainees expressed awareness of progressive positions assumed by certain universities, they still perceived the universities to be bonded to their conservative pasts. These were depicted in the following manner:

> *Kind of struggling through the first three years at Stellenbosch University erhm really struggling with erhm Afrikaner culture and because there wasn't even, you were surrounded like it was nowhere to escape to.(Karin)*

> *It was a feeling of wanting to be invisible because you had the feeling of being stared at. I don't think I ever wished that I was blond [white as opposed to Chinese]. I never wished that I looked different. Sometimes I think I did develop that kind of pride in thinking , well you don't really know who I am so make whatever judgments you need to.(Michelle)*

As compared to the University of Cape Town (UCT), Stellenbosch was described as having, *less of an African feel, though there are efforts to be quite a lot more progressive.(Karin)*

Stellenbosch University was also described as the place where the trainee reportedly attended her first political meetings, which in turn reconfirmed her decision to dissociate from her racial identity as white Afrikaner. Thereafter she registered at the University of Cape Town for postgraduate studies where she was confronted by fellow students for being white Afrikaner. The period coincided with public political protests. She recalls being in class amongst predominantly Jewish females who directed their anger at the political situation toward her:

> *I was asked a few times to defend or explain (laughs) my people (laughs) and their actions. And I just, erhm, I did a whole like, "No I don't associate with those people at all. I hate them. I am not an Afrikaner. I don't call myself an Afrikaner. I denounce my Afrikanerdom". I did that actually for quite a few years after that.(Karin)*

Another trainee describing her experiences at UCT described it as a shift from school where she had friends across the racial spectrum to an exclusively white circle of friends:

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I feel like I went a bit backwards. I only associated with white people. That wasn't a conscious choice (reflected on her choices for the first time) it just sort of happened that way.(Simone)

However, it was during her studies and exclusive friendships with white students that the trainee reported feeling marginal as a Portuguese white person, relative to her friends:

All the friends that I made there were white but then it was interesting because I mean I felt, the white people I knew were from the Southern suburbs and kind of from the UPPER middle class which I definitely don't come from, and I actually experienced myself as really just, I don't know not good enough and how I imagine sometimes how coloured friends of mine might have felt being in that position. These other people were better than me they are better educated, live in better houses, their parents are educated.(Simone)

For others, having gone to racially segregated junior and senior schools, university offered their first exposure to racially mixed groups:

Well I suppose going to university was a big milestone it was a big turning point because it was then for the first time that I got to mix with people of colour. I remember my first year geography class there was actually a Moslem woman and I suppose I was completely intrigued, you know what their lives were like, and what they believed (religion) ya, I remember being quite friendly with her, not enough that we went to each others' homes.(Karin)

For another trainee her first contact and peer relationship with a person of colour was established whilst she travelled overseas the year after school. It was also during her travels that she was first made aware of South Africa's racial politics when she, along with the rest of the group that travelled from South Africa, was excluded from certain travel sites. She reported having been jeered during parts of her travels and judged by her white skin as racist. In Australia she was expected to answer questions about South Africa's political situation and, having been relatively unaware racially speaking, the release of Nelson Mandela opportunely became the basis of her newly formed ambassadorial role.

Of her overseas travel experiences another reflected on her year-long course she attended at a psychoanalytic clinic in the UK. She recalls initially feeling that the theories covered were not suited to South African clients as they were presented devoid of context. The theories were

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viewed as too individualistic for South African application. She reports however eventually settling in and overlooking the perceived lack of applicability.

> *I remember at the start of the year thinking, "this is never going to work for me this doesn't apply to where I'm from". But by the end of the year I had forgotten about context and was quite happy to ignore it [contexts] and that, the thing about England there's not a lot, in my experience, of people talking about social issues.(Karin)*

The university experiences of the trainee having adopted the colour blind approach, suggests adult experiences that do not reflect much critical awareness of race. He reports to having had no contact with people of colour as he maintained friendships with whites, established at high school. The science course he registered for was described as having very few "non whites" which he understood as a consequence of "non whites" opting for easier courses. He proceeded with post-graduate studies in sports psychology at a distance learning institution and final studies at Stellenbosch University which he referred to as a white Afrikaans institution, his tone implying his displeasure.

The costs of racial segregation in South Africa and elsewhere are immeasurable. Racial segregations have amongst others contributed the immense lack of knowledge that people have of each other as well as contributing to racial distortions. I conclude this section with an account given by one of the trainees that I think captures the artificial distance created between people, which will be followed by the next section looking at ways in which the trainees' racial identities may influence their work with clients.

> *I said to her (mother) look I saw him (her boyfriend of colour) cut his skin and when it opened up it was exactly the same inside like the blood and the vessels, when he cut himself the blood and everything the flesh it all looked exactly the same (as that of white people). And this somehow for some unknown reason, I mean my mom is an intelligent woman and this really struck her, was it exactly the same? And then it seems that colour seems so shallow, so thin, so much on the surface. That whiteness or that blackness is a thin layer of cells and underneath it was all the same. It was a lightbulb moment for my mother. I mean she would say terribly racist things, like once I said, I mean she really grew to like him and I think the experience was really good for her. I said to my mom "God I'm busy making supper and he's damn-well eating a huge big sandwich" and my*

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> *mother saying "they like those big sandwiches (laughs) they like those big door*
> *stoppers". Oh God (laughs).(Karin)*

Whilst expressing her disbelief at her mother's surprise at their alikeness, the interviewee shared the question that puzzled her at the start of their relationship.

There were things, there were bits of me that wondered whether his bum was black.

The impact of their racial identity on their work with clients

This question addressed whether the racial identity of the trainees and/or their clients impacted, if at all, on the therapeutic working relationships. All but one of the trainees of colour indicated that their, as well as the racial identities of the clients, played a significant role in their work and three of the white trainees initially said race made no difference. For another, his religion rather than race affected the work. Another initially suggested that his religion and his gender, rather than his race impacted on the therapeutic alliance, however when he reflected on the question of gender he "stumbled" upon the possible significance of race in the therapeutic work. In using the analogy of a female client who had been abused at the hands of a male perpetrator, for whom working with a male therapist is experienced as re-traumatising, the interviewee figured that the race of the therapist may, at times, have similar effects. He consequently reconstructed his earlier assertions and concluded that race must be a factor in the therapeutic alliance. A third thought that her struggle with language (and not race) that is, her limited proficiency in Afrikaans and no knowledge of Xhosa, rather than her whiteness played a role.

Black/African

The black/African trainee was emphatic that her being African played a role in the work she does. She reflected on some of the challenges of interpretation in the hospital setting that is primarily centred on the Western model of treatment. She alluded to the commonly mentioned differences in body language between white and black people-for example, black clients may avoid eye contact as a means of showing respect rather than as a sign white people may interpret as discomfort, depression, or rudeness (Swartz, 1998). She also noted difference in terms of body image, where an acceptable body shape for herself and African clients might be interpreted as overweight by white people.

She also struggled with being the only black psychologist and automatically viewed as an interpreter. She took umbrage at being seen as the person who would assist with language difference between staff and patient and to be the one assigned all Xhosa speaking patients. She felt the role would limit her experience as she described wanting to work with all race groups.

Her desire to work with all races notwithstanding, she describes treating white patients as a significant source of anxiety. Her being black and her relative lack of proficiency in English compared with some clients is the source of her discomfort:

> *I am quite conscious about seeing a white patient. I'm conscious about is this patient gonna accept me, how am I gonna be viewed in the room?(Thandeka)*

She recounted an occasion when a white client assigned to her initially refused to be treated by a black psychologist. She was given a choice whether she wanted to continue working with the client. She opted to continue, interpreting the situation as an opportunity to learn.

On another occasion she was in consultation with the resident psychiatrist when a white client entered the room and immediately hurled racist insults at her:

> *She was very manic and speaking a lot of things in Afrikaans then she walked into the room and I was sitting there with another doctor and she said in Afrikaans 'I vote for AWB' (Afrikaanse Weerstand Beweging- a far right wing South African political party propagating racial segregation) and I looked at her and she said "I don't speak to kaffirs" and she said to me "you black kaffir". She swore at me and walked out and I thought the doctor would engage me on that or like surprised or you know but he just kept on writing and I, I and then I sort of said "I guess she's sick", and I continued what I was doing.(Thandeka)*

A further area of challenge relates to her African name. White South African slave masters, like other slave masters in history changed names of slaves if their names were non western and perceived difficult to pronounce. As Gqola (2001) writes in *Slaves don't have opinions*, "the faces of the oppressed are 'blanked out' and the masters' history is posited as the definitive history" (p .46). The trainee described the challenges faced with regard to her name in the following manner.

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It was strange because one they couldn't pronounce my name and they didn't even try to pronounce my name, which turned me off immediately. Some people say what's your name and I say, and they say oh my God I'm not going to be able to say that name and shut out immediately. They just shut down the ideas, they're not interested and then I'm not interested either and especially with some people they make you feel like you're being impossible like you're being "oh one of THOSE" (black people) like you're trying to change the world. I find I almost have to fight for the space for my name.(Thandeka)

The challenges that the trainee above described share an overlap with that of the other trainees of colour listed below.

Coloured/Indian/Cape Malay

The experiences of the trainees identified as coloured, Cape Malay and Indian share significant overlap and are therefore grouped together.

The majority of trainees spoke of their comfort in seeing clients of colour. For many, the similarity of race offers the client the experience of safety and perception of automatically being understood by their therapists. Trainees feel they are also less likely to stereotype clients or judge the person who, for example abuses alcohol or who didn't complete school given their familiarity with family members in similar circumstances. Additionally, trainees share the opinion that being able to speak the dialect used by the clients enhances the therapeutic alliance. The dialect referred to by trainees is a particular style of Afrikaans common in the Cape Flats, a dialect of Afrikaans that according to Haupt (2001) "has stereotypically been associated with notions of the 'authentic' working-class coloured" (p. 173) whereas 'proper' Afrikaans is historically associated with being white:

Most of the people that we see are coloured people and black even though I hadn't actually seen black clients so that being coloured for me has been important because often when I speak to people they would say things like, "You know how the white people are, (implying common racial stereotypes) the white people are like this or that," and I'd have an understanding of where they're coming from.(Deidre)

And

At first also they would try and speak properly. Usually the person try and speak proper Afrikaans and I would start and I would be comfortable with just speaking and afterwards they'll feel comfortable because I think the language is part of being coloured.(Sharon)

And

I think it will still be easier for me to work with a black (African) person because there is the initial potential for understanding where they come from and why certain problems like their economic problems prevail and alcohol abuse and things like that mostly prevalent amongst our two racial groups so there would be that initial understanding.(Thandeka)

In general, trainees reported greater comfort, free from concerns of racial stereotyping, when working with clients of colour. Working with white clients, on the otherhand, reportedly evokes notable discomfort. Trainees believed that racial stereotyping informs the process. The discomfort they described included feeling intimidated by the client, feeling inferior, anxious, feeling scrutinized and assessed for competencies.

Of their working relationships with white clients trainees had the following to say:

I felt very intimidated, she used these BIG BIG English words, I felt inferior to her. It was quite intense I always wondered whether she trusts me. The stereotypes were tested unconsciously but we could never speak about it, towards the end I think a relationship was established the client gave me a gift at the end of therapy called Madam and Eve[3]; we never spoke about the gift.(Shona)

I would expect when working with whites it will be uncomfortable. I wouldn't expect them to be similar even though I had the experience much of that experience where I'd be shocked. I'd expect most of them to have that because they had that initial boost. I suppose if I should see someone like that, like now a stereotypical white person that I have in my mind, I WOULD expect that person for myself to feel a bit questioning my competence. Will this person, will this person, come back? I mean, initially, I mean even some of my own family still TODAY prefer to go to a white doctor still take their child to a white doctor (medical) so I wouldn't suppose them to think differently.(Sharon)

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[3] *Madam and Eve* is a popular South African comic strip focusing on the relationship between a white employer and an African domestic worker. Much of the humour concerns racial stereotyping.

I had a white client and that was strange for me because me having the idea most of the white people that I've come in contact with are middle-class and sophisticated and more sophisticated than coloured in our community or my own coloured members that I know but this woman that I saw she finished matric (grade 12) but she was living with someone renting a room having been a maid yah even being a prostitute. Issues they had were so HUGE: father being in prison for attempted murder, things that, I, OK, you hear on the TV and stuff, about the boeremag those that have a certain cause but you don't often hear of the white person murdering someone and most times, in MY experience you heard of the black person or coloured person and this woman came with all this COLOURED, NON-WHITE issues. (Sharon)

Oh I think initially I would not be wary but anxious, ehrm, that I would think I'll be going on the old fear of judging myself as not worthy to be there with a white family that I'm not superior enough, are they [white family] going to view me as competent, are they going to view me as worthy enough, how do they view me? I'm HOPING I'd be able to set my fears aside an see them as I would any one of the other families or individuals coming into the room and putting the colour of their skin aside, that is something I HOPE I'll be able to do.(Yogas)

One trainee described ways in which she copes with the tension felt in relationships with white people,

In the presence of white people I become quiet. That's how I deal with difficult situations, by withdrawing. I usually get on well with white staff at the institutions I worked, but you feel you're in a different domain, that you are being seen along racial lines.(Shamalah)

In contrast to the above, the trainee of colour who reported stronger identification with his religious as opposed to his racial identity specified that he feels greater comfort working with white clients as opposed to clients of similar race. Additionally, the trainee pointed to having considerable difficulties in dealing with clients who present challenges to his religious doctrines, for example dealing with homosexuality or sexually promiscuous Muslim clients. None of these issues, according to him, was addressed during his training:

I think most of the non-white clients that come here (to the hospital) are not professional people and maybe being a professional makes me quite selfconscious of the fact, because

you know how it is customary for a non-white person coming out of the gutter so to speak,
and my accent as well, when I'm sitting with a non-white client. I'm very aware of my
white accent. What are they going to think of me speaking like a white person? I think the
difference between myself and another non-white person who does have those feelings
(intimidated and inferior) is that they most likely did not grow up in the environment that
I did. I think why it's easier for me to be with white people because even though they're
not my people I'm a lot, more comfortable because their way of life is something I'm a lot
more familiar with given my background. I never grew up in a non-white
community.(Salie)

The above trainee had been the only person of colour with white classmates during his two- year programme. Describing some of his interactions in class discussion he talked of having felt quite disillusioned when class discussions "caused a lot of arguments" which resulted in him "keeping quiet" when he differed in the approach taken with a particular community intervention. He was of the opinion that the community members lived in abject poverty as a result of "the political mess" and that psychological intervention offered no value in that situation.

The interviewee also felt that there was little or no space allowed for religious understanding or theorising of psychological phenomena. The dominant role that religion assumes in his life, a position that he felt separates him from his colleagues, thus resulted in his limited participation in class discussions:

It really makes me extremely uncomfortable. I found that the way we think about cases, I
find that we actually forget the role of God that there is a Knower greater than all of us
and that Knower has the power and will ultimately decide what you do with your life. I
find that is a reality that is completely ignored. I can understand why my peers ignored
that, I can understand because it is not relevant to THEM, so it's difficult for me to bring
it up. Religion has been discredited time and time again and that situation has not
improved so personally I feel awkward to bring religious issues even in supervision
because I can already know the reception it will get.(Salie)

Another trainee who reported religious challenges spoke of the difficulties in negotiating the therapeutic norms that relate to inquiring and addressing very personal details like the sexual and/or financial life of clients. She also spoke of her understanding of religious/cultural norms

that determine and prescribe the role of a young unmarried Muslim women in relationships with older and married people. These norms are violated when the unmarried woman is in the psychologist's role. In dealing with those situations she said:

> *I prep myself the night before so that I don't come across as too intrusive or too blunt that I'd rather do it the long way round than ask directly and hope and pray that it comes from them that I don't have to ask about it.(Yogas)*

Whites

Many trainees pointed to the complexities of race in the therapeutic relationships. Mostly, white trainees reported difficulties in working with clients of colour, in relation to racial as well as class differences. Some white trainees suggested difficulties in working with white clients who are perceived to manifest behaviours deemed stereotypical of racist whites. One trainee in particular reported difficulty in working with white Afrikaner males. This she saw as the result of unresolved feelings in relation to her estranged Afrikaner father. Some felt race played no role in the therapeutic encounters.

Here are their accounts:

> *I tried to ignore the racial difference between me and my (black/African) client because I didn't want to make an issue of it. It was just like any other (white) client. And I realized after a year I'm still seemingly unwillingly doing that. I was actually not looking at some of the prejudices that I hold. So I was robbing myself of an opportunity to really look at what the difference meant. I was saying that there is no difference but there is a difference. In South Africa there is a difference and we have to look at the difference.(Rene)*

> *I remember starting the M1 year (first year of the master's course) thinking I'm tired of having this guilt about being white especially because I've been away and I've come back I'm sick of this I've had this all my life. I'm so sick of feeling guilty I just want to be free of it.(Karin)*

> *Phew, it impact in, I guess in my, if I meet a family for the first time and they're all white I will have certain ideas and assumptions and if they're coloured I'll have different assumptions and if they're black I'll have different assumption".(Simone)*

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I'm ALWAYS aware of my whiteness what are they thinking about ME and if I'm white and they're not white does that mean that they think I can understand them less.(Simone)

I wonder if it's more race or is it class that I'm worried about because what I have noticed this year I mean what I realised is the unemployment but I had no idea the ABSOLUTE poverty so I think that is the thing that struck me and also people don't have access, one women in one of the previous wards, and her child had been shot in front of her by a stray bullet from one of the gangs and she had the most severe post-traumatic stress disorder and coming here was so excruciating for her because she used to go home on the weekends and come back on a Monday and there is no food in the house. Her level of guilt of having two meals a day (in hospital) and there was nothing for her children so I think that's... and then, I suppose it's almost kind of that I'm white and even times when I had no money in my life there had been people around me who had... who could bail me out and just, I suppose, that what's surprised me that some people have nothing and they can't get from anywhere.(Maria)

It is challenging because one cannot help stereotyping people along racial lines, for example, wondering how psychoanalytic therapy will work with clients of colour from low socio-economic background with little or no education.(Peter)

The above trainee's experiences in relation to clients of colour were corroborated by another trainee who had seen a client of colour after the client refused to be seen by a therapist of colour. Having had no prior knowledge of the trainee's abilities, the client remarked on his preference for her, which she interpreted as having no basis other than her whiteness:

"The other psychologist was completely incompetent and you look like you know what you're doing".- I felt very uncomfortable, erhm, with that statement and I was actually quite angry with him for saying that and I'm afraid it played out I openly started challenging him (on the presenting problems). He is patriarchal and sexist, and erhm, I think the fact that I was white was actually diminished some of the power imbalance for him a little bit.(Karin)

And

I'm not that comfortable with it, but on the other hand I don't know. I think with some people.. but I get the sense that people feel they getting a better deal or they're getting

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something of value because I'm white, and maybe the people who have been oppressed-I don't know how it works- maybe someone who's been oppressed may think, "Someone is listening to me, I am being taken seriously", and another person may think, "What does she know?" I don't know.(Karin)

The challenges in working with clients with racial and class differences presented trainees with ongoing difficulties with little reassurance offered by their psychological expertise and access.

I've been told there's a problem with being an activist, you lose a lot of your psychological skills you bring to bear, and I thought about that and I'm not, I can see that we are trained to do something particular, but I still think that then alliances need to be made as well so that you're not just sort of whistling into the breeze or wind…I come from that generation who believes that the only way you going to achieve things if you bring everybody in on that grassroots level and you all work in the same direction.(Daniella)

Working with white clients deemed unconsciously racist or feeling entitled also presented some trainees with different sets of challenges. One told of his feelings of anger felt when "white clients draw me (therapist) in as co-conspirator when discussing issues related to race". He also reported feeling "extreme discomfort with the Cavendish housewife"[4]. Another said:

I think what concerns me most is that I know I'm very empathetic with women, erhm, much more than with men, and especially if they are white Afrikaners (laughs) I won't take shit (laughs). I won't give them the same space and, yah, it definitely will impact on my style of therapy and everything. I would just be much more confrontational and challenging.(David)

I think one thing that has come up for me that has made me slightly cringe has- not working directly- but on the ward we have a climate meeting where people give feedback on what the conditions are on the ward and often it is the white people that would say, "Can't we get MNet?" (private paid television channel) or "Can't we get better food?" and, I want to cringe. And, oh God, there's some people who don't get three meals a day,

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[4] These are perceived as privileged white women who are politically unaware and unconsciously racist-Cavendish square is an expensive shopping mall.

and here you are. "Why can't we get goddamm MNet ?" I often cringe being a white
person, spoilt, and I think don't do that!(Karin)

Of note the trainee who identified as Chinese reported feeling considerably more comfortable with patients of colour as opposed to white clients. This she adds is:

Strange because it's not like I went, I mean I went to a Chinese, I mean white school and
a white university.(Michelle)

She reports to having been very anxious seeing white clients. She reports that the "race thing was much more present, like an extra layer around me". Regarding a client she said:

Because it was how she was going to perceive me, what kind of assumptions would she
have of me, will people think I'm competent, based on me being Chinese. I don't think I
really worried as much about I look young, are they're going to think I'm young, as much
as will they see me as Chinese and think that I won't be able to understand
them.(Michelle)

And

I think to a large extent people of the coloured population and the black population had
felt marginalised, and they are aware that there were apartheid laws against Chinese
people as well, that they would feel in some ways that we must have been marginalised
too and that being different, not being of the white majority that, I will also understand
some of the things that they had been through. So when I say comfortable I feel less
intimidated, I don't need to prove myself.(Michelle)

In contrast, trainees that perceived race not to have made any difference share interchanges that in some instances may be interpreted as race in fact making a difference to their clients:

I can't say I've experienced that it impact I think that when you're really doing therapy
and its really just two people but sometimes people do assume that I know less people do
want to spell things to me, to explain to me that I do know but I think I mean I also think
that that's maybe hopefully less to do with me and more to do with their experience of not
being understood in the past or whatever you know but I've tended not to be offended by
that.(Rose)

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From age twelve, I never had to speak Afrikaans. I was told by the programme coordinator don't worry about it, don't let anybody freak you out, you'll be fine. I think language more than race is very huge and it does isolate you. I think for some of the patients it's very frustrating for them. They feel I've got more to say but I can't say it or that they don't really understand what's going on because I can't explain it.(Rose)

I feel that a sense of the person to person interaction is so strong that I experienced that the cultural or racial differences tend to fall away almost. Really, I have never had patients, erhm, bringing so far, really, erhm, their religion into it or the racial aspect into it at all. That has really felt to me as being quite a, erhm, human to human interaction.(Nathan)

He added, though, that being revered on the basis of his race happened in the group/clinic setting:

I definitely felt in that context (clinic setting) that well sometimes people (of colour) were just calling me doctor and obviously, the question is, how do they know if I am a doctor, and, erhm, it seemed that the fact that I was white, erhm, was considered or meant a lot to them that I was a doctor or somebody professional. And their language, both in mannerisms and verbal, partly language, almost kind of a very, erhm, sometimes even seemingly almost reclusive, erhm, submissive almost, sometimes from what it seemed, erhm, also you know, "Yes Doctor, Yes Doctor, Yes Doctor".(Nathan)

The trainee whose white race she expressed as secondary to the primacy of her dis/ability status illustrated that her body not her race is the first aspect clients notice when they see her for therapy:

When people come see me OBVIOUSLY they don't EXPECT to see someone like me.(Justine)

And rather than reflect on her whiteness and its associated privilege, she says that clients are more inclined to project sympathy into her person as demonstrated below:

"This (session) had been so motivational coming to see you, and I really think now that all this nonsense I've been talking about, I really have to sort myself, out look what YOU'VE had to deal with".(Justine)

Another client (an older Afrikaans speaking coloured woman) responded to her disability by hugging and kissing her at then end of a session and telling her in a reassuring tone that she (the patient) loves her (the therapist) and that Jesus loves her.

Her work in a centre for people with alcohol problems garnered positive feedback, as clients reported having had powerful experiences working with a therapist who, like them, was imperfect and also was perceived to have difficult personal issues that she was dealing with.

Finally the interviewee who reports to not seeing the race of the clients and asserting thus that race does not play any role in the therapeutic relationship, appears to regularly engage with race though in an unproblematized manner in working with clients. In reflecting on his work as a therapist the trainee shared his views on the perceived constraints the socio-economic status (SES) of the clients places on the therapeutic process, however SES is only a considered a constraining factor when the client is black.

> *I'm less inclined to invest in what socio-economic status means for this case [black client] and what it means in terms of the barriers that I'm faced with, and what it means in terms of what I can do for this person. (Peter)*

> *I think a lot of the time my white clients have got more understanding and the value that it might have for them, how it can help them, than my black clients have had.(Peter)*

> *Although I do often, I think I do often think that for instance white people, I stereotype white people as not knowing, not understanding, not willing to engage with other racial groups. But the difference between a black and a white person because I have one or two white... I mean in this setting obviously I have many white clients that are... that have a similar experience, but I won't think about... I won't think about that as much as I will, I won't think about my inabilities or my erhm the barriers that I am faced with.(Peter)*

> *I mean I think its, it challenges most of my... my cases always are for me, but I kind of... So I'll kind of look at mood and look at you know, the way in which this person is thinking about their situation. And trying to change that with the hope that, that will then influence how they respond to the situation, and what they do about it. Which I think a lot of the time, my white clients, have got more understanding and the value that it might have for them than my black clients have had. Here I am, someone has been referred to me, and they are depressed, erhm, according to the diagnosis, that has been made. And they are*

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coming to me, because they think I can help them: maybe to get a disability grant, maybe to help them to find employment, erhm maybe to help them sort out the practical things in their lives so that they don't have to feel this way because that's why they feel this way. And I think while a part of psychology will always say well, it's about the way in which you think about your circumstances that will determine how you respond to them and how you feel about them. I think a lot of the time black people who I have seen or the very few that I have seen, I think that their circumstances and the things that they are faced with, I think will always will, will there is such a kind of primitive needs that they need to have met, that psychological wellness and you know, if helping them to feel better is, it's a concept that's almost intangible at that stage in their experience from, yah, that's my experience of their experience. And that's my experience too.(Peter)

I think the stereotype that I also do have about a lot of black people especially in this setting is that they have traditional views and they have very little exposure to the western way of thinking, the human psyche what it's about and how it can be understood and how it can be treated. I immediately start questioning whether or not the intervention is going to be worth my time and effort, should they rather be prescribed anti-depressants if they are depressed, how difficult is it gonna be to work with them.(Peter)

With regard to clients' possible projection onto him because of his skin colour he said:

I am the therapist and my patient comes from a totally different background privileged, and because of that I don't understand. I have had an experience like that but I don't think it had anything to do with race. I don't know. I think, I mean it's difficult for me to answer from their perspective for instance. erhm, I think as a psychologist you are put in a certain position, erhm and you are, you're definitely idealised. I think maybe I don't know if it would be accurate in saying maybe more by the coloured population than by the whites. I'm not sure. It's difficult for me to say.(Peter)

With the many challenges that trainees faced with regard to the very complex issues raised, concerning race in particular, but also religion, disability, language and social class we now look at their responses that reflect on the extent to which they felt supported by their institutions of study with regards their challenges.

The universities and their role in facilitating multiracial competence

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The trainees studying at the three arguably very different tertiary institutions were unanimous in their response to the question of whether the universities had facilitated multiracial competence. The answer was no. Some indicated that whilst issues of poverty, social class, sexuality and gender, in particular, were addressed, no deliberate attempt was made to address race. Issues such as religion and disability were also not on the academic agenda:

> *We had a two-hour workshop on identity at the end of the year which was way too short and right at the end anyway.(Deidre)*

> *I don't think given my training that I've been well prepared for the challenges-particularly the racial challenges- because I think race is an EXTREMELY important discourse in this country and I find in the course it was quite uncomfortable and unsettling to explore race and, to be honest, about the seriousness of it and I find that people actually prefer to look the other way.(David)*

> *Nope. They've ensured a class of diverse people, different racial identities and huge cultural differences but it was never spoken about. It came up as an issue in our support group but never from the course content or the lecturers.(Rene))*

> *No, it wasn't actually. I don't think it was addressed. We were a multiracial group but it was strange for me to go and see those who came now to a black university, I mean it was a black university and still so difficult for me , it was difficult for me as a coloured. I applied at Stellenbosch I wasn't accepted there, TWICE I went to Pretoria and wasn't accepted there either, and you always feel, I don't know if it makes you feel better, it's because you not WHITE therefore you can't get in and deciding I'm going to go to UWC and apply there and then getting accepted and seeing, well, about half of the class is white. Race and how we deal with it was NEVER addressed even where we had things we, WE never initiated it either but certainly not from the course either. It was, there was, not that discussions- that issue wasn't addressed. Other issues were addressed working in a group, working in a school, working in a community, not working in a Black community, a Coloured community.(Sharon)*

> *No. Part of the curriculum during the first-year master's programme candidates were expected to working within a marginalised community setting offering psychological services. There I realised that the psychology we learn in here doesn't it can't work in*

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broadest Africa. I kept thinking how I can help this woman, we are worlds apart. She's got no concept of therapy of how to use therapy. I had a whole lot of prejudices and at the end she just kept saying 'this has been so helpful, you cannot believe how helpful this has been'. So it does work, I think. Maybe. I expected less from her and in that way I just listened so I didn't put any pressure, whereas I suppose if it was a white woman, the same case, maybe I would've expected more emotion as a person. I think that the traditional African world is so scary to me, this dark scary place.(Marie)

No, to be honest- 98% of the lecturers we had last year were white, most of the supervisors were white and maybe it would have been helpful to think a little bit what it might have been like to be a black client with a white therapist it might have helped to think about it before the time than in the room with the client. I think there are quite a lot of gaps one realises I mean I do think this course is in a sense like Jack of all trades and master of none.(Simone)

No, the university is still very segregated. There is not enough academic input addressing issues of difference. The university offered a diversity workshop and it was supposed to continue but it never did, suggesting that the university is not serious about addressing the issue. There was only one person of colour doing the same course and he raised issues of race.(Peter)

We were lectured by mainly white people. It's not necessarily a problem but its potential a problem because it's a white person, from my own experience.(Thandeka)

It's easy to ignore something if it's not directly a problem for you, like I remember there was one person who felt the lecturer was a bit racist and I never actually noticed it but then one day she made a comment about Portuguese people and BOY did I notice it, and I thought, you know, I notice what affects me, and racism from white people towards people of another colour I suppose, I don't suppose, it doesn't hit a nerve, in the same way that racism toward white people hits a nerve so in that way I'm not that sensitive to it, so in the same way I think lecturers or people teaching might not be as aware.(Simone)

In conclusion the trainee reflects on her disappointment with the course with regards to race. She believes the university had raised false expectations with regard to this issue. She states that certain expectations had been raised in the process of the selection of trainees. At the interviews,

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she was asked to state her reasons for wanting to become a psychologist, and in particular, what she perceived the role of psychologists in South Africa to be. The inference she drew from that line of questioning was that the course was designed to prepare candidates to position themselves as psychologists in South Africa with its challenging political landscape:

> *I kept thinking it would happen this year (internship) that there'd be some sort of preparation about how to deal with community issues and advocacy and what our roles are, because we were all told, why do you want to be a psychologist and what do you think the role is of psychologists in South Africa, and my understanding from that was that they are asking us to be committed to what's going to happen. So it was a big surprise that there wasn't built into the course, that it seemed to be a kind of complete requirement.(Daniella)*

The trainees were also asked about their experiences with supervisors with the view to seeing whether they had been able to address some of their challenges in the supervisory alliance.

Supervision

With regard to the role of the supervisor in relation to challenges experienced, two trainees indicated that race was spoken about in supervision. For both trainees, their supervisors played an important role in facilitating a space to talk about race, often challenging trainees to reflect on their experiences. Some trainees, however, reported that they used their personal therapies to deal with the difficulties experienced with clients:

> *Yes race issues are addressed as about half the stuff we talk about is my feelings my real feelings, about my clients and invariably that part of when I try to hold a sense of my client's identity, race is very important somehow. It is difficult to talk about white on white prejudice. I think I'd like to tell you that I am (comfortable) but that would not be true, I think. I wish I can explain it in more precise terms, but I think it still speaks to my own anxiety about my own position. I just want to pretend that something don't exist, that I recently I'm a lot more willing to talk about it because I've been feeling an INCREDIBLE amount of irritation. I feel angry when I'm brought in as co-conspirator, that makes me very angry.(David)*

The thing is race has never been brought up in any of my supervision groups ever. I never felt comfortable, I never knew that what I was feeling was valid or is my stuff really, or is it actually valid and should it be brought to supervision. Should I be the one to bring it up or should the supervisor be the one? And that it was never brought up and if there was something there, it was never spoken about, and it was very hard for me.(Yogas)

The race of the supervisors also reportedly impacted on trainees' experience and use of supervision. The potential challenges with cross-racial supervisory dyads and reflections of racial fit between supervisor and supervisee were not addressed.

A white trainee recalls having had an altercation with a black/African supervisor which she concluded may have had elements of racial prejudice. Her supervisor had given feedback that reflected her having a negative attitude toward work. According to the interviewee, her supervisor had totally misinterpreted earlier requests for early time off from work, which he understood as a negative attitude toward being at work. The matter was not resolved. For another:

My supervisor is black- that raised questions about my racial stereotyping. I was concerned whether he'd be good enough whether I'd get adequate supervision. Lots of anxieties around, would I be able to understand him. He's actually very good.(Shona)

For another trainee of colour who received supervision from both a white supervisor and a supervisor of colour, the impact of race was apparent. She reportedly felt anxious in supervision with the white supervisor, feelings that were absent in the other supervisory dyad, which was racially matched. Of the two supervisory relationships she declared the following:

I'm checking my files continuously wanting to over-excel wanting to impress wanting to be seen as competent, as everything good that goes along with seeing the white supervisor. My ward supervisor is an Indian female and yes I do want to show that I am competent in the area, but there's more ease that I'm not as on my toes that I'm not as nervous as I am in the other setting.(Yogas)

The white supervisor has reportedly picked up on her supervisee's anxiety but had not ascribed it to the race dynamics nor has the interviewee raised the flag.

Other trainees spoke of other issues like religion and disability that were not addressed, and arguably, like race, remained relatively unprocessed, despite their training fast drawing to a close.

One such experience that is worth mentioning in some detail is that of religion and the impact of not speaking about it on one of the trainee's professional competence. He describes his worldview as being increasingly shaped by "theo-centric" (religious) principles, and he says that the absence of focus on religion during his training made it difficult to talk to anyone about areas of conflict, the areas where his religious values were at odds with what he was taught in psychology training:

> *It's very difficult, sometimes for instance I found myself with clients engaging in deviant sexual practices, premarital sex that goes against my religious beliefs. Fortunately it's never a life and death situation. It's not a case of if I don't do something the client will die. I apply what I've been taught through secular practices and trust there's a supreme being that will ultimately decide the outcome. You can say it's a bit of a cop-out. It's very difficult but you can't do two things at the same time. It's difficult, I sometimes am concerned that I may be condoning certain lifestyles but I'm aware I can't prescribe to people.(Salie)*

And

> *I see a lot of kids sometimes they tend not to revere their parents in a manner that I've been taught, that's not to say the client is the problem at all, that the child is the problem. Sometimes I find that the manner in which they relate to their parents even though their parents are the problem is not the way I believe. You know for me you respect your parents till the very last, no matter what the problem between the two.(Salie)*

An area of particular concern to the interviewee is seeing clients who are in same sex relationships:

> *There's a particular type of client that I haven't seen as yet that is the one where the conflict between my religious beliefs and therapeutic beliefs are the strongest and that is homosexual clients. I did see a homosexual client last year but that was at the university and that tension was particularly difficult for me.(Salie)*

In response to the question of how he imagine he'd respond to clients who practised homosexuality, the trainee responded, "I honestly don't know".

I don't have a problem with homosexual feelings. I think that's something quite natural like if a guy sees another guy and think wow, that's cool, same for a woman. What I DO have a problem with is when people act on those feelings that's when there's a problem.(Salie)

A further difficulty experienced is when he sees clients that share his religious background:

I first identify with being a Muslim and see my client as a brother in Islam so it's difficult to distance myself. It's difficult to be a therapist and a Muslim. It's difficult to maintain that hierarchy in the situation even though I know I should for the client's sake and I also find that Muslim clients are a lot more familiar, they relate to me almost as if I'm not really their therapist and just a Muslim so maybe the brotherhood relevant in Islam overpowers the traditional hierarchical stance of western tradition.(Salie)

When asked to elaborate on the difference between being a fellow Muslim and a therapist in the therapeutic setting he replied:

I think the danger is that I can become judgmental very easily. I would say, no you can't do that it's not allowed. You can't say to a person you're better off fasting or you better make sure you go to mosque, for heaven's sake. I won't say that but it's in the content. I find that I become more judgmental, it's kind of like if a child sits with a parent, the parent is judgmental and yet the parent will be closer to the child because they are familiar. I find that being a fellow Muslim, it gives me automatically the right to comment on rather than just to reflect.(Salie)

Given that he did not address these complex issues during training I then asked how he deals with these areas in his work. He concluded:

It's not easy, not easy at all but I guess the way I try to, because I have to face the fact that I can't prescribe to people how they should live their life, the way I get around it is to consciously remember these are behaviours and not a reflection of the state of the person's soul. I try to remember that we are all actually struggling Muslims and non-Muslims alike. We all have the Divine inside us. I try to bear in mind that we're all from Allah.(Salie)

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In summary, there was a wide range of thoughtful and emotive reponses to the questions asked.

The discussion of the findings will be explored in the next chapter

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

In keeping with the format of this thesis I again opt to start with my experiences as these remain central to my interpretations and the thesis process. I undertook this thesis as the result of my personal challenges during my training as a clinical psychologist. I had concerns about the awareness of the centrality of my race and questioned whether my classmates had similar experiences. As a group we were mostly silent about race despite the awareness that our lived experiences spoke loudly to race. In retrospect, it is ironical that I and many others who had been psychologically affected by apartheid, had at that time been registered at an institution renowned for its contribution to political emancipation, indeed in the department which was ostensibly positioned as a home for liberators of psychological shackles. Since then, I had embarked on journeys that had facilitated much clarity and contributed to my readiness to take on this project whilst feeling confident that I could control for any undue influencing on process.

My confidence and relative experience, however, did not entirely protect me from the process, and during those times I had to work harder at keeping my subjective position from influencing the work in a negative way. I, for example, had to continue to respectfully engage one of the white participants who, despite having had a great deal of inter-racial, contact shared personal views that to me seemed deeply problematic and indeed racist. His sweeping generalisations about black clients as not being suited to psychotherapy and his regular recommendations for medication as preferred treatment suggested views deeply lodged in racist thinking. This discussion was one of the many areas in which I had to contain my feelings of alarm and be aware of not unduly influencing the telling of his worldviews. The recommended reflexive stance of engagement with qualitative research has significantly contributed to my awareness of separating feelings that belonged to me and from those which belonged to participants. On one occasion, however, I had unconsciously disengaged from the writing process for a protracted period. In retrospect the period of disengagement happened during the time when my family and I searched the property market with the view of purchasing residential property, and the story of this period in my life is not irrelevant to this thesis.

As a consequence of apartheid, all the better residential areas, where there are significantly larger houses and land in tree lined suburbs, were reserved for whites. After 1994 it has become common for many people of colour who are able to afford to do so to move into historically

white neighbourhoods. The demand for properties surged as people of colour who had the means vied for homes in significantly improved suburbs. Many white people took advantage of their good fortune brought on this time by the new dispensation, as many significantly hiked the prices of their properties to sell to eager buyers of colour. The extent of the price hikes were in many areas quite astronomical, putting many properties out of economic reach for many persons of colour. At the time, social discourse was pregnant with theories of racism, that white people were strategically inflating property prices to maintain the areas for white use. The view of racism on the part of white property owners was further reinforced when large numbers of white people emigrated.

In searching for a home I became aware that whilst education, as Nelson, Englar-Carlson, Tierney and Hau (2006) say "is undoubtedly one of the primary avenues by which upward mobility is made possible" (p. 1), this education was not enough to level the playing field for people of colour in South Africa. I was livid. The injustice of it all felt overwhelming, and for a while I felt despondent. I realise this was partly because I could not get the relatively modest house in the tree lined suburb I had so desired but more because it felt at the time as if the long awaited democracy had made no real material difference to people of colour – if anything, it had seemingly ironically been to the significant financial benefit of whites. I stopped the property search, contained my anger and continued functioning in spaces alongside white people, an experience that people of colour routinely manage lest we be accused of having a "chip on our shoulders", attesting to Du Bois' notion of dual consciousness (cited in Dennis, 2003). I refocused my attention on this thesis (albeit many months later) and became more resolute to tell the stories of the trainee clinical psychologists.

My experiences during the process of this thesis are in accord with the fluidity of different racial identity statuses that we are seen to inhabit (Helms & Cook, 1999). The notion that one can occupy multiple statuses, and depending on the context, can occupy earlier, less evolved identity statuses, resonate with my lived experiences. Retrospectively, I am able to recognise the evolution of my racial identity. Early experiences, particularly during high school that coincided with the State of Emergency in the 1980s, had largely been dominated by experiences that probably fit in with the Immersion-emersion status (Helms & Cook). I had been aware of the need to reframe the negative associations with being black, and collective protest actions further facilitated as positive group identity. At the time the positive group associations was primarily

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defined by the "struggle". The courage and selflessness of the group identity was highlighted, and celebrated. However, whilst being immersed in pro-black experiences, there had always been a part of me that idealised whiteness for its association with all that was positive. The desire for whiteness often manifested in rejection of whiteness, as part, of course, of a psychoanalytic defensive structure labelled "reaction formation", called upon to protect the psyche from unacceptable impulses. My subsequent experiences which include pursuing academic studies, increased interaction with people from different races at work, and of course, the maturation process that accompanies getting older.

The dominant status that resonates with my current functioning appears to be closer aligned with the Internalisation or Integrative awareness status. Key to this status is the more mature capacity to integrate different aspects of one's identity, essentially seen as multiple. In the integrative status one has a more balanced view of the different races, experience positive association with one's group identity and a commitment to the eradication of discrimination. The person in this advance status, does not rely on racial stereotyping and as a result does not draw on essentialist thinking. This is the point of departure from the Integrative status. In my experience, given my socio-political history, the two positions are not mutually exclusive, they simultaneously inhabit me and has become as Posel (2001) says, "a habit of thought". The apparent contradictions inherent in occupying a position that admire as much as it detests, perhaps has to do with there having been no deliberate attempt or intervention at healing the scars of apartheid. I intuit that the contradictory occupation in my racial identity reflects and is in response to the contradictions in South African society, reinforced globally. My internal experience mirrors living in a land of contradictions, where principles of democracy occupy spaces alongside the apparent, daily perpetuation of injustices and racism. Perhaps the dominant racial identity status I occupy needs reformulating to fit the specifics of the South African context.

My subject positioning, inclusive of the loosely defined racial identity status, provides the context of this research. Throughout this research I had been mindful of the risks to stereotyping and the importance of what Weingarten (1995) describes as "radical listening". According to the author: "most voices and stories are authentic only when and where they are authenticated by respectful, accepting, listening –an authentic stance is a welcoming one, it is non-judgemental (Weingarten, p. 17)".

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These represent some of the very practical consideration I needed to give, in an effort to make this an ethical and valid study, whilst simultaneously making a contribution to social change. I have provided the reader with "thick descriptions" to allow for transparency of researcher's interpretation. I'm in agreement with the hermeneutic approach that suggests that one only has access to an approximation of the truth and that speakers fashion their narratives to the audience (Dilthey, 1976), further supporting the need for detailed descriptions of participant responses.

Further to the hermeneutic stance I shall now revisit the criteria noted at the start of this thesis (Table 1), with the view to lending further support to validity of findings.

The criteria by Holt (2003, p. 12) are presented in Table 7

Table 7

Criteria for Validity

Substantive contribution	Does the piece contribute to our understanding of social life?
Aesthetic merit	Does this piece succeed aesthetically? Is the text artistically shaped, satisfyingly complex, and not boring?
Reflexivity.	How did the author come to write this text? How has the author's subjectivity been both a producer and a product of this text?
Impactfullness	Does this affect me emotionally and/or intellectually? Does it generate new questions or move me to action?
Express a reality	Does this text embody a fleshed out sense of lived experience?

In my opinion this piece has contributed to a further understanding of social life. This view was supported by some of the responses by participants, often suggesting that the interviews had facilitated an awareness of matters that they had not previously given any attention. This piece potentially aims to contribute to facilitating further understanding by educators and trainers supporting claims to impact on social change.

With regard to reflexivity, I have demonstrated the reflexive stance undertaken in this study. I believe the reflexive stance facilitated the rich, deep, painful and meaningful conversations participants felt safe enough to share with me. This allowed participants to engage with the many challenges they face with regard race seemingly without the need to offer socially desirable

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responses. Whilst participants often invoked speech that suggested an identification with myself as researcher, it reflected experiences that suggested having things in common, as opposed to 'the same'. Whilst the commonly referred to "you know what they are like" was used by participants, irrespective of race, to reflect common understanding of experiences, participants did not appear deterred from expressing perceived points of difference from the researcher. For example, white participants were able to share with the coloured researcher their awareness of racist thinking. Whilst some were visibly uncomfortable when I asked them to share some of the racial stereotypes they have, they nevertheless courageously shared them without needing to protect me or themselves. Participants of colour also engaged authentically with some sharing their disconnection from politics, a position scorned upon in many socio-political circles. Whilst others shared their complex experiences with regards to their racial identities, that, at times, vacillate between desiring whiteness with its perceived positive attributions and feelings of a strong sense of pride in being persons of colour All of which added to the depth of social experiences shared, with regard to race.

I continue to benefit from the impact of this research on my person. The findings have given support to my experiences and confirmed that my challenges with race are a common experience and does not reflect "a chip on the shoulder". A follow-up to the initial interviews would be necessary to determine the impact on participants; however, many indicated shifts in their thinking which I can only assume is lasting.

With regard to expressing a reality, the findings suggest significant overlap in experiences, lending support to this thesis expressing a common reality.

Evaluation of the aesthetic merit, I leave to the reader, being mindful of the dictum that states, "beauty lies in the eye of the beholder".

To conclude this section, I wish to draw attention to the desirability of the advanced statuses of the racial identity statuses and experiences as put forward, amongst others, by Helms's (1999) theories on the racial identity of white people and people of colour, and Steyn's (2001) narratives on white racial identity. The advanced stages free from racism and incorporating multiracial inclusivity as suggested by the theories, I would argue, is what we should aspire to. In particular those are statuses that I recommend trainers facilitate for students of psychology, which suggests not only that psychology's boundaries be expanded to social/political activism but that the view

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of people, include the whole person. Implicit in the recommendations, of course, is the understanding that trainers, educators, supervisors and policy makers in the field of psychology, themselves embark on this journey. For how else can they be expected to facilitate those changes in their trainees?

The section below will delineate and detail the experiences of trainees.

The self reported meanings of trainees' racial identities.

The results suggest that all participants identified themselves in terms of race. The question posed had been leading, in that participants had been asked how, if at all, they defined themselves in terms of race. The underlying assumption had been that participants who did not view themselves in racial terms would be free to indicate alternatives. The other concern had been that of 'social desirability" that participants would tell me what they thought I wanted to hear; however I was sufficiently satisfied as three participants initially indicated that they do not see themselves in terms of race whilst others had been able to share, with incredible discomfort, the extent to which they still use racial stereotypes popularised during apartheid.

The findings of this study of South African clinical psychology trainees during their final year masters course at the universities of the Western Cape, Stellenbosch and Cape Town at least seven years post the first democratic elections are in agreement with extensive literature that argues that race is central for everyone. Furthermore, the data support the view that people who share a strong identification with their ethnic and/or religious identity view their racial identity as secondary although race remains central to their lived experiences and the way others are seen. Similar to people with strong affiliation to their ethnic and religious identities, people with physical disabilities that significantly shape there life experience also view race secondary to their dis/ability status. Moreover, the findings suggest that racial identity in the South African sample is intrinsically associated with apartheid's racial politics.

All trainees who indicated their racial identity as white shared their awareness of the white race being intertwined with atrocities of domination and oppression of people of colour. The association with apartheid is what trainees described as their difficulty in identifying themselves as white. One trainees articulated her difficulty with regard to her racial identity as white in the following manner;

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> *I would much rather not be white - there's a lot of shame attached to it and it's shame and resentment I suppose because I do feel that this is my home and I am attached because of my skin colour to the history of the country so that's really what it is.*

Only one white trainee indicated a racial identity that is ambiguously positioned between awareness of his racial identity as white and being colour blind. In response to defining his racial identity the trainee had this to say:

> *Colour of skin white sometimes pink. I don't see the colour.*

Some have argued that when white identity is unmarked or experienced as colour blind then it leaves no room for deconstructing or problematising white identity (McDermott & Samson, 2005). Unexamined white identity thus conceals the unearned privileges and power (Green & Sonn, 2006; Holdstock, 2000; Swartz, 1998). Small (1999) argues that colour blind perspectives which may even be presented as unbiased, impartial and even anti-racist often deny the real evidence of racial discrimination, and are in effect discriminatory. Unexamined whiteness therefore increases the likelihood of re-enacting oppressive behaviours based on race. Relative to other trainees, the trainee with the colour blind view of race noted above, appeared more predisposed to racial stereotyping shaping his work with patients but more about that later.

The general awareness of themselves as being white, as expressed by trainees, challenge the commonly held views advanced that white people generally do not see themselves as belonging to a race. However the findings suggest agreement with views of whites being wounded. There are feelings of shame and guilt about being white, with specific reference to the historical association with politics of oppression and discrimination (Clark, 2001; Helms, 1994; Steyn, 2001). These findings also support that of Gallagher's (cited in McDermot & Samson, 2005) study asserting that college students display high levels of racial consciousness.

At a glance most of the white trainees would be considered as operating within Helms's (1994) Pseudo-Independence status and in Steyn's (2001) Narrative 5, sub category, I Don't Wanna Be White No More. The Pseudo-Independence status and I Don't Wanna Be White narrative are marked by critical self reflection and significant discomfort with issues relating to race. The discomfort experienced is linked to the awareness of the complicity of white with racism. The negative feelings associated with whiteness also culminate in a distancing from the white race, leaving many, according Helms and Cook, (1999), without a racial home. White persons

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operating in this Pseudo-Independence status are considered at risk of being isolated from some in their white racial community whilst also not necessarily readily embraced by the black community. For Helms, white persons sufficiently committed to personal ideals of non-racialism continue along the trajectory of racial exploration advancing to the Immersion-Emersion status (Helms & Cook). In this South African sample none of the white trainees articulated experiences that would suggest operating in the Immersion-Emersion status. On examining the data, I agree with Helms that commitment on the part of the white individual is necessary as a basis for change, though commitment is clearly not a sufficient requirement. The socio-political climate in South Africa appears a significant determinant of what is possible with regards to racial exploration as captured by the following trainee:

> *There's a part of my history that I would like to go back to find out more about but it's always complicated because I do feel I'm an African, a South African that is my primary identification but I am also white and I do have a tribe and I came from another country and I'm curious. If I'm doings that am I saying that my identification is not primarily as a South African.*

The self-articulation of racial identity as noted above highlights the burden of shame and pain associated with white racial identity for the trainees in this study. The negative feelings associated with their self-articulated racial identity appears inextricably linked to apartheid and present-day racism. For many the discomfort felt results in a distancing or dissociation from identifying as white. This, in turn, results in further complexities as white trainees report feeling cut-off from other sources of cultural heritage that is not linked to racism. The absence of public directives from influential political and/or social bodies facilitating a safe milieu in which to traverse the complex contextual racial identity configurations appears to constrain those white persons ready but afraid to actively engage with their racial identity and moving beyond the futility of guilt and shame.

In stark contrast to the dissociation of white trainees from their racial identity is the strong identification the black African trainee has with her racial identity. The only black/African trainee in the sample strongly identified with self articulated black identity. Her racial identity as black was powerfully tied with South Africa's historical racial politics that positioned black people at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. Her racial identity as black was also associated with

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an expression of the non-western identity that emphasises the collective ideals above that of the individual interests.

Whilst the black/African trainee expressed feelings of insecurity that suggest her having internalised negative messages about black people being inadequate, she also exhibits a high degree of confidence. She reported her involvement in the political struggle whilst in attendance at a school that prided itself in its active involvement in politics, as well as her successes in the advertising industry, which at the time was considered a white-dominated field, with much enthusiasm and confidence. Her social circle is also reported to include people from different races as suggestive of her comfort with both being black and sharing spaces with other races, particularly white people implying that she doesn't have a problem with race.

On the other hand, she reported being challenged during the training by a white peer who would joke about her pronunciation of certain English words. She acknowledged that whilst English was not her first language and the taunting not perceived as malicious, she still struggled with not getting it right as an African. In the example cited, whilst language or more specifically the enunciation of the spoken word was being contested, both parties were engaging racial inscriptions as members of the dominant and subordinate groups that determined who the custodians of certain practices are in relation to the other (Gilroy, 1987). The dominant and subordinate racial groups are then defined and given meaning through their relationship with the other. This view is further extended with coloured identities whose meaning is fashioned by the in-between status, being position between the dominant white group and the subordinate African black identity (Erasmus, 2001).

The trainees who identified as coloured expressed an awareness of the relationship of coloured identity with racial politics that precariously positioned and privileged coloureds above blacks but neither above nor equal to whites (Erasmus, 2001).

The coloured trainees articulated views concordant with the implicit belief that coloured identity is lacking worth relative to white identity. The trainees also expressed multiple representations of coloured identities that are in keeping with Erasmus's (2001) view that coloured identity is not a fixed category. Coloured trainees gave expression to identities that are "linked to feelings of shame (Wicomb, cited in Erasmus, p. 17) and discomfort"; they expressed pride associated with cultural values and practices, that whilst they acknowledged it not being unique to coloured

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people, are considered as prominent features of coloured families, they also shared contradictions of within-group bias based on for example degrees of darkness and relative sleekness of hair. The trainees' articulations of their coloured identities fit well with Erasmus's (2001) assertions that coloured identities have multiple configurations that stem from varied sources whose design is perceived of as fluid and not simply white imposed.

The shame attached to coloured identity had been quite overwhelming for one trainee as she described distancing herself during her teens from perceptions of the vileness associated with being coloured. The above trainee's more obvious distancing from her identity as coloured persisted into adulthood. After our interview, she reported experiencing "a reversion- a return to the point of entanglement, the point of difficulty" (Glissant, cited in Erasmus, 2001, p. 24) following her attendance a few years ago at a presentation at which I had spoken about my experiences of being a professional woman of colour. Whilst no longer desiring whiteness she reports to at times still being challenged by historical complexities and contradictions in her experiences of being coloured. An interesting though not surprising observation had been the similarity of sequences of disconnection and reversion shared with trainees who identified as Indian, shown below.

Trainees who self-identified as Indian also struggled to identify with their racial identity. Those trainees reported particular difficulty with the negative associations with being Indian and the perceived ridicule by white people as well as all other non-Indians. As in the case of coloured trainees, the negative perceptions centred on being less than white, but also included reference to Indian culture, including dress code that is viewed as backward, dirty. Indian men are perceived as only interested in money and as a result un-trustworthy, females subservient to men and "barefoot and pregnant", as captured by a trainee.

In order to escape from her identity as Indian, one of the trainees reported having assimilated into the coloured culture. She socialised primarily with coloured friends, having worked very hard at keeping her racial identity separate. This process of disconnection required elaborate attempts at keeping any reference to being Indian off limits to her coloured friends. This meant that she did not invite friends home and when on the rare occasion friends came to visit she would be acutely aware and remove any reference that might be interpreted as stereotypically Indian. For example,

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her mother was asked not to dress in traditional Indian dress and no Indian music was allowed during the visits.

As with many post-apartheid identities, many have reverted (Erasmus, 2001) to historical racial identities. The Indian trainees thus reflect on the multiple representations of being Indian, the considerable within-group differences, the fluidity and the constructiveness (Reddy, 2001) of their identities.

> *It's been a complex process having shifted from awareness of Indian to not coloured to black and back to Indian.*

The accounts provided by trainees identified as black, coloured and Indian, in other words, all trainees of colour, appear to corroborate Manganyi's (1973) argument that blacks as an oppressed collective have internalised feelings associated with inferiority and shame projected onto their beings by a political system that systematically rejected and disparaged all associations with being black in this world. The findings also suggest, however, that internalised racism is not the only subject position occupied by people of colour. This echoes with Bhavnani and Haraway's (1994) expressed concern that the view that internalised racism is all that defines people of colour contributes to their being pathologised.

The coloured and Indian trainees collectively put forward identity positions that may well be considered as being in the latter part of Immersion-emersions status in Helms's model of racial identity development for people of colour. People in the latter part of the Immersion-emersion status are believed to have a greater consciousness of the socio-political impact and design of racial identities, and less dependent on racial stereotyping in valuing associations of everything black and devaluing of whiteness. However, the Immersion-emersion status suggests that the developmental tasks of persons in that status is incomplete, as the final status namely the Internalisation-commitment of Integrative awareness, as it is known, for people of colour still needs to be achieved. The Internalisation-commitment status signals the successful attainment of a healthy, fully integrated racial identity with unbiased views of all racial categories.

Next we will look at categories of identities such as ethnic, religious and ability/disability that in instances eclipsed race as primary markers in the labelling and self awareness of some trainees.

The trainee who self identified as Chinese when asked for her racial identity had difficulty with the question. Whilst Chinese have been accorded honorary white status in South Africa's

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apartheid's arbitrary classification system, the trainee did not identify as white, a position within whiteness, that Burman, cited in Mercer (1992), describes as the notion of "different degrees of othering" (p. 161). She shared her awareness as shared by her grandparents of initial discrimination suffered at the hands of the apartheid government. She exhibited experiences that suggested feelings of perceived inferiority relative to perceived white standards as well as negative associations such as all Chinese people are good at martial arts, maths and love money. She also acknowledged the constitutive nature of Chinese identities as well as the tendency of many Chinese people to hold racist views.

The Jewish trainee had great difficulty in identifying himself in racial terms. He supported his primary signifier as Jewish by offering an articulate, relatively comprehensive account of his religious affiliation. He demonstrated a thoroughly intertwined relationship between his religion and his daily routine activities. However as he reconsidered the question, he directed his attention to race and appeared significantly less articulate and less comfortable.

Similar to that of the Jewish trainee, the trainee that self-identified as Cape Malay and the trainee with a physical disability both indicated that their race was secondary to religion and bodily status respectively.

The trainee born with significant bodily impairment described her life experience being dominated by her body. This places her in a category that is strikingly different from the numerical majority able-bodied persons. Her sustained consciousness of her body as different and the constant negotiating of her body in a world predominantly designed and biased towards able-bodied persons reportedly results in her feeling marginalised. This marginal position, she reports, makes it hard to identify with associations of white privilege and power. She initially struggled to define herself racially and deliberated on the difference between the labels "white" and "European", eventually choosing white to describe her racial identity.

As noted by the Jewish trainee, further reflections on the lived experiences of trainees noted above suggest encounters that are also indisputably raced. Next I reflect on the trainees' account of significant events and/or people throughout their lives that have shaped their awareness of race and informed their racial identities.

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Experiences that shaped trainees' racial identities

Whilst the historical accounts are always retrospective, relying on memories of events, the confluence of trainees' accounts provide reasonable satisfaction as to the accuracy of accounts. Dilthey (1976), an ardent campaigner for the acceptance of the truth value of such accounts argued, that all accounts, in any event, are always approximations of the truth.

The accounts given by all trainees irrespective of race suggest that their awareness of race and factors that shaped their racial identities are multifaceted, having occurred throughout their life and are on-going. The findings provide agreement with research that positions the family as the primary source of influence. Research suggests multiple influences including the media, books, and film. A further influence that contributed in shaping racial awareness for some had been the public participation in political protests, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. Many school students participated in protest actions drawing attention to and raising issues of oppression. It was however, primarily children and adults of colour who took part in the resistance movements, with strikingly fewer white people actively positioning themselves in anti-apartheid campaigns for example. This skewed racial representation in organised resistances against apartheid possibly fuelled assumptions that racial matters were only of concern to people of colour, that white people were not affected by race. The accounts provided highlight the active involvement, albeit to different degrees, by trainees of colour and the peripheral awareness for some and conscious engagement for others, differentially shaping their racial identities.

The impact of their racial identity on their work with clients

The contextual nature of race notwithstanding, the political nature of race continues to challenge many in contemporary South Africa. New constructions of racial identities have added further nuances to an already complex experience of being raced. The relatively cosmopolitan status of democratic South Africa has had a limited effect on racial integration. Some have even argued that racial integration may in fact fuel racial disquiet as the inequities between the historically dominant and oppressed groups may be more visible given their closer proximity (Small, 1999). Race, racism/s and their political inscriptions continue to be read from the colour of people's skins. The literature is replete with the psychological woundedness of people of colour and later wounds experienced by white persons (Helms & Carter, 1991).

Many of the trainees were emphatic and in agreement with the literature suggesting that racial identities play a significant role in the relationships with clients. For some trainees of colour, the impact is felt often even before seeing the clients, as when they were referred white clients. The colour of the clients' white skin reportedly has the potential of emotionally destabilising the trainee and may affect therapeutic competence. The internalised racism associated with being of colour is elicited in some cross-racial dyads, resulting in feelings of intimidation, fear, low self worth, anger, critical self consciousness and questionable expertise. In contrast, according to trainees, when they see clients of the same race, their racial identity facilitates feelings of comfort, rapport and safety for both client and therapist.

For white trainees their race at times facilitates the working alliance as some clients of colour appear to respond well to being taken care of by a white professional. This probably has its genesis in the meaning of race relations in South Africa that has elevated white people and attaches all positive attributions to white people. On the other hand, the deleterious race relations and power imbalance leave trainees who identify as white, hamstrung by guilt in working with clients of colour. Trainees have reportedly avoided dealing with issues of race, fearing for themselves and their clients.

White racial identity also impacts on work with white clients. Some trainees have reported on their unresolved feelings in relation to clients who are perceived to be racist, racially oblivious or those expressing feelings suggestive of entitlement.

The universities, supervision and their roles in facilitating multiracial competence

Trainees categorically asserted that their institutions of study did not adequately prepare them for working in multi racial contexts. Institutions were criticised for questioning during the selection process that implied their commitment to dealing with issues of race and social justice and then not delivering on this commitment. Responses by trainees also suggested that the three institutions embodied South African racial politics. The university that was historically for the exclusive use of white Afrikaner students and relative to the other, had stronger ties to political figures of the apartheid era, appeared to attract more criticism of association with continued racist practices. The other historically white university appeared to be viewed in more liberal terms, partly in response to the perception of a significant enrolment increase of students of colour.

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However both universities were equally criticised for their perceived slow responses to racial transformation. The trainees researched reflected their discontent with academic teachings that were described as Eurocentric and illustrating little relevance to South African society. Issues of racial and class differences in particular, and to a lesser extent gender issues were raised as causing particular difficulties as trainees felt hamstrung by for example their inability to operationalise psychodynamic theories taught. Trainees were equally critical of the continued predominantly white staff profile, perceived as reflecting poorly on commitment to racial transformation.

The university historically designed to cater for the academic needs of people of colour who were denied access to white universities, and which was instrumental in liberatory politics also came under fire. Trainees were critical of the university's perceived lack of emphasis on race. Similar to those at historically white universities, trainees were critical of the perceived lack of relevance to the South African context of academic teachings. Trainees were also disparaging of the university's selection of proportionately large numbers of white students for training in the face of established disproportionate ratios of psychologists to populations. Trainees felt aggrieved that the historically black university did not privilege trainees of colour for selection, and, similar to historically white universities, the university stands accused of not having committed to advancing the interest of the politically marginal.

All three universities were perceived of as having made some attempt at preparing students to work with racial diversity. The trainees reported having done some of their training with historically marginalised communities. However, when trainers discussed the work, they reportedly did not discuss race. Similarly, trainees perceived the relatively mixed racial profiling of the class as deliberate attempts by some universities to offer experiences that speak to diversity; however, overt discussions with regards to trainee racial differences were not facilitated. Race, as reported by trainees, did not form part of open discussions at all three universities and as a result trainees primarily reported having avoided dealing with racial matters with clients. The silence around race also reportedly extended into other training areas like supervision.

Supervision is widely regarded as central to professional identity development. The significance of the role of the supervisor in contributing to trainees' knowledge, awareness and skills

development in working with diversity is without question. However, adequate preparation of trainees specifically working with racial diversity requires supervisors that fulfil certain training requirements. Amongst the requirements suggested as essential for satisfaction of training needs are supervisors who invite an openness to learn. The racial identity statuses occupied by supervisees are also considered critical in determining complementarity in the supervisory dyad, a criterion that surpasses simple racial matching (Helms & Cook, 1999). Trainees reported uncertainty with regarding whose responsibility it is to raise race related matters. Helms argued that the power differentials within the supervisory dyad coupled with racial differences most decidedly puts the trainee on the back-foot. The power differential may make it difficult for trainees to raise matters they may perceive as controversial or even embarrassing.

Supervision was described as helpful in dealing with racial matters by only two trainees. The larger majority, irrespective of race or institution of study, found the process unhelpful, with some uncertain, as to whether race must be raised and who should initiate the discussion, in supervision. Race as it pertains to the identity of the client, trainee or supervisor was reportedly overlooked in supervisory sessions. Likewise, other major issues such as religion and disability were also sidestepped, forcing the responsibility for considering these issues in the hand of trainee incumbents, leaving training gaps that some trainees continue to struggle with. One can reasonably assume that the restricted discussion of diversity in supervision as reported by trainees would have limited trainees' professional development generally and with regards working with racial diversity specifically.

Professional development of trainees has been described as a rite of passage with trainees moving from being anxious neophytes to reasonably confident professionals having traversed and conquered many developmental challenges in between (Kottler & Swartz, 2004). The results of this thesis confirm the master's course as challenging, rigorous and demanding. It shows furthermore, that trainees enter the masters course with varying degrees of previously acquired occupational competencies. One can reasonably assume, that, at the time of entering the course, following stringent selection processes, trainees come reasonably equipped to take on the challenges inherent in a course at master's level. However, given the range of specialist, professional competencies that trainees are expected to acquire by the end of (only) a year, after which they are tasked with the serious responsibility of treating psychiatric patients on a significantly larger scale, it may also be reasonable to assume that the anxieties perceived, may

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be contextually driven, rather than necessarily justified as rites of passage. In general conversations about their work, trainees expressed anxieties about coping with the volume of academic work, patient load as well as their need to complete their theses during the same period. In addition to the training demands, which, according to one trainee, "makes you a Jack of all trades, but a master of none", trainees also, independently, grappled with serious challenges brought on by racial, religious and disability issues. This raises questions as to the basis on which trainers determine professional competence and whether the assessments are in alignment with trainees' lived experiences. I would argue that, given the stringent requirements for acceptance in the master's programme, and (here I am stating the obvious) trainees 'proven' capacity's to cope with academic rigour,- all having, at a minimum, two university degrees,- that coping with a master's degree, in the main, is a given. Further, it is important to note that like identity, professional competency is multilayered. If, as in the case of this thesis, the trainer's lens is on multiracial competence, then the results reflect poorly on trainees and their respective institutions.

The shift in professional foci of mental health professionals from viewing psychological health as simply the absence of mental illness but expanding professional responsibilities to facilitate empowerment that increases the likelihood of sustained good mental health necessarily creates new training imperatives. Additionally, the increased advocacy of seeing the client as a whole person- that is considering the multidimensionality of people when assessing, diagnosing and treating and/or applying assessment tools- automatically expands the boundaries for best practice and therefore has training implications. Implicit in the shift in professional focus is the awareness of new demands being placed on the person of the psychologist. The injunction to psychologists to 'know thyself' as suggested by the APA (2003) has been propelled to essential status, as psychologists are now expected to be more mindful and reflective of themselves and the many contexts of their work. Psychologists are also expected to be comfortable with having open honest discussions about race. It has also become essential for psychologists to become aware of their internalised racism/s both for personal processing as well as controlling for potential unconscious re-enactments of discriminatory practices against white clients as well as clients of colour. The demands placed on therapists reflect the changing socio-political context. Psychologists are ideally suited to respond to the changing demands given their/our accessibility to a range of professional skills necessary for such undertakings. Responsiveness to the new

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professional demands, potentially holds significant professional benefits for psychologists as well as for civil society.

The conclusion, limitations of this study and recommendations will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

South Africa's political history has as elsewhere been shaped by global politics. Colonialism and subsequently apartheid form an indelible part of our political history.

Both political systems were responsible for serious atrocities towards people, using primarily skin colour for the justification of innumerable injustices against persons of colour. Biblical inscriptions were used to support the State in determining, protecting and sustaining white interests. Familial and cultural reinforcement largely backed political injunctions of the time.

South African apartheid politics required sustained resistance from liberation movements and individuals before it was possible for the country to become democratic. Though our democracy is young, we have policies and processes of transformation, including a very progressive constitution, which have given the country the image as a global flagship in terms of transformation and the establishment of a human rights culture. The challenge that remains here and elsewhere, however, is that of repairing the damage of the old world; the everyday reality of life for many South Africans is of a divided and dangerous society. Given that psychology as a discipline claims some expertise and, indeed, bears some responsibility, to deal with the current legacies of past hurts, and with the reproduction of pain and oppression, it is at this point of transition that the concerns of this thesis intersect centrally with political issues.

Psychology, understandably a vestige of colonialism and more recently apartheid, is caught in the interface between the new and the old political order. Less understandable is the slow growth in transformative practices and processes by a profession which prides itself as having transformation as a key performance area. "Going where angels fear to tread" is what psychologists often say about their own courage in addressing issues that would not be considered by the fainthearted. Psychologists pride themselves, indeed, in being able to speak of difficult things. Despite psychologists' courage shown in many areas, courage that contributes to making psychology a very noble profession, the field has far too few professionals who tread the murky waters of race.

The findings of this thesis attest to some of the challenges facing the profession in contemporary South Africa in attending to the needs of all South Africans. Moreover, this thesis highlights the needs (training and personal) of trainee clinical psychologists who also form part of the political tapestry of South Africa.

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The findings suggest that race remains a hugely contested issue in democratic South Africa. Trainees all report to being hugely challenged by their racialised identities and having little if any safe spaces to address issues of race. Furthermore, they report that having conversations about race is rarely considered, including conversations with clients. Trainees further indicated that they believed that their racial identities impacted, albeit to differing degrees, on their work with clients, and they felt ill-prepared to work with racially diverse groups. The perceived lack of competence in dealing with racial diversity they ascribed to their universities whose coursework, supervision and staff were reportedly not geared towards generating professionals skilled in racial diversity. Dealing with contentious issues that were perceived as being outside the range of what staff was comfortable talking about was primarily the responsibility of the trainees, many of whom used their personal therapies to address some of the issues.

An important limitation of this study is that only perceptions of trainees were recorded. It is possible, for example, that trainees were mistaken about the degree to which issues of diversity, and racial diversity in particular, were addressed in their courses. Two points can be made in response to this possibility. First, the unanimity amongst trainees with regard to the lack of attention to these issues in their training suggests that it is unlikely that they are all uniformly mistaken. Second, even if from the training institutions' point of view something is being done to address racial matters, it seems clear from the trainees' point of view that this is experienced as insufficient. This raises the further important question as to what might be perceived to be sufficient – when might trainees indeed begin to report themselves to be adequately prepared to deal with racial diversity in their work? The answer to this question is beyond the scope of this thesis itself, but the question is an important one. Recommendations and suggestions made here must be considered within the context of the very clear limitations of what this study has been able to achieve.

The recommendations broadly focus on aligning clinical psychology teaching and training with the changing socio-political contexts globally and more specifically in South Africa and the importance of monitoring and evaluating initiatives taken. It must be stressed again that some of these procedures may very well already be in place – but it is key that they are seen to be in place, and adequately monitored.

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The specific focus of the recommendations as with this thesis is on racial diversity; however it must be noted that racial diversity intersects with other types or classes of marginalization. Issues regarding race, therefore, can quite easily be augmented with a focus on other forms or classes of diversity.

Some practical suggestions

Firstly, suggestions for professional bodies will be reported on, followed by those for universities, concluding with suggestions for trainees. Much of what is suggested is not new, but the issues bear emphasising given the findings of this study.

Professional bodies – and especially the Professional Board for Psychology

The power and authority that the professional and accreditations bodies assume within the contexts of psychological training would make those an important starting place. Moreover research has shown that when projects are endorsed by senior bodies/management the success rate of implementing and sustaining such projects are significantly increased.

Professional bodies should consider the following:

1) Mandating multiracial competence as an outcome of professional training.

2) Consulting with stakeholders with regards to recommended designs of suitable training models.

3) Incorporating multiracial training requirements as part of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) for both trainees and university departments.

4) Monitoring institutional adherence to mandates.

Universities

Universities should consider implementing or revisiting the following:

1) The institutional values and mission statements to explicitly indicate the future direction and commitment to social/political action.

2) Engage strategies that will facilitate the permeation of values and mission into all sectors of the institution reworking the racialised embodiment of apartheid history.

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3)   Collaborate with professional bodies and other stakeholders, including trainees with regards to multiracial training mandates for clinical psychology professional development.

4)   Staff training imperatives with regards to multiracial competence.

5)   Training to include supervision of trainees that enhances multiracial competence.

6)   Staff profile to reflect racial diversity.

7)   Facilitate the working through of staff's internalised political racial inscriptions.

8)   Trainees' profile to reflect racial diversity.

9)   Integrate multiracial training strategies into coursework as separate short courses have been shown to have negligible impacts.

10)   Provide mechanisms to support both staff and trainees as complimentary to training initiatives.

11)   Review theoretical models used and adapt for suitability to South African contexts.

12)   Integrate alternative theoretical models that raise trainees' awareness, build knowledge and develop skills.

13)   Expand professional boundaries to include social activism.

14)   Encourage diagnostic and treatment approaches inclusive of racial implications.

15)   Create safe spaces and invite trainees to have honest open conversations about race.

16)   Encourage reflexive practices and be conscious of the penchant to privilege whiteness albeit unknowingly.

17)   Encourage and create and support opportunities for research in the field of race.

18)   Routinely monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of training initiatives and adjust where necessary.

Trainees

Trainees should consider the following:

1)   Taking responsibility for their contribution to multiracial professional development.

2)   Taking responsibility and working through the aspects related to internalised politicised racial inscriptions

3)   Engaging trainers in conversation about training needs.

4)   Increasing research activities in the area of race.

5)   Practising reflexively.

Limitations of scope, and suggestions for further studies

This study restricted the sample to a small group of clinical psychology trainees in one South African province. Comparative data on trainees elsewhere in the country and in other categories of psychology (for example, counselling and educational psychology) would be helpful. The qualitative data collected in this study could usefully be augmented by broader and more representative survey-type data.

The exclusive focus on trainees, though allowing for in-depth information, produced a picture which needs to be balanced by eliciting the views of trainers and practitioners.

There is some irony, given the widespread disquiet in South African psychology about the predominance of European and North American models of practice, and the concerns of this thesis with the local applicability of psychological theory and practice, that I look again to the USA in formulating my recommendation. The APA has drawn up a comprehensive and explicit set of guidelines regarding what they term multicultural competence (APA, May 2003). The literature suggests that the APA recommendations were concluded after extensive collaboration with many front-runners in the field. The comprehensive guidelines also detail multiple aspects of multicultural development and could serve as a model for South African psychology to move forward to developing our own local guidelines. I am not advocating the non- reflective use of the guidelines in the same way. It has been widely argued, South African psychology has relied too heavily on psychological theories that privilege Euro/American traditions. Instead, I suggest that the APA document be used as an entry point for the further development of content, specific to the South African context. There has been much thinking about issues of race and diversity in South African psychology (Ahmed & Pillay, 2004; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Foster, 2005; Kleintjes & Swartz, 1996; Kottler & Swartz, 2004; Macleod, 2004; Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004; Ratele, 2004; Stevens, Duncan, & Bowman, 2006; Swartz, 1998; Swartz, 2007; Swartz, et

al., 2002), and this thesis forms part of that process of thinking. Perhaps it is a question now of having the confidence to develop guidelines along the APA model. This process requires not only confidence but also an optimal level of comfort with being explicit about racial issues, a comfort level which, according to the participants in this study, we have not yet reached. The process forward, therefore, is not simply programmatic but also speaks to the emotional and personal investments we need to make in ongoing change.

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