

**A MULTISEMIOTIC DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF RACE IN
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF SANDRA LAING**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor Philosophiae in the Department of Linguistics,
University of the Western Cape**



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2015

A Multisemiotic Discourse Analysis of Race in Apartheid South Africa: The case of Sandra Laing

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Key Words

Afrikaans

Apartheid

Communication

Community

Discourse

Language

Multisemioticity

Race

Racism

Resemiotisation

Semiotic chains

Semiotic Remediation

South Africa



ABSTRACT

A Multisemiotic Analysis of Race in Apartheid South Africa: The Case of Sandra Laing

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In this thesis I investigate the reconstruction of the life history of Sandra Laing and the recreation of the apartheid context by analyzing two artefacts. These main artefact for investigation is the movie *Skin*, by Anthony Fabian which is based on the book “When She Was White: A Family Divided By Race” by Judith Stone, which is the second artefact for investigation. The latter artefact is based on the life of Sandra Laing. Sandra Laing was born to white parents in the apartheid era, but she did not ascribe to the physical description of a person who was classified ‘white’ in accordance with legal and social framing thereof in apartheid South Africa. This posed many legal, social and political difficulties for her family. I was particularly interested in the composition of information sources and how semiotic resources are re-enacted, reused and repurposed in the movie ‘Skin.’ The study is more theoretical than applied in that it seeks to answer the question posed by Prior and Grusin (2010: 1): “How do we understand semiotics/multimodality theoretically and investigate it methodologically?” In the study I develop Prior and Grusin’s (2010) thesis by working with notion of semiotic remediation as a focus on semioticity helps me to focus on the signs across modes, media, channels and genres. Therefore, the book on Sandra Laing and the movie are used as databases from which to extract semiotic resources in the exploration and extension of multimodality theory through multisemiotic analysis using semiotic remediation as ‘repurposing’ in particular. In the process, the notion of semiotic remediation becomes the tool for extending theory of multimodality, by demonstrating the *repurposing* of semiotic material from the book, such as apartheid artefacts, racialised discourses, dressing, racialised bodies and bible verses, for example, into the recreation of apartheid in the movie ‘Skin.’

I employed a multisemiotic discourse analysis to analyse the data, which is multimodal, and because I was interested in the complexity of the meaning making process involving multiple modes of representation. This framework was useful in analyzing the complex interaction between the various modes for meaning making. I used resemiotisation and remediation as conceptual tools to trace the translation of events across artefacts and how the material and generic traces are reframed and repurposed within its new contexts for new meanings in the movie 'Skin'.

This study makes important contributions to research on the race debate in South Africa in particular. Although apartheid laws have been repealed and new democratic order is in place, the issue of race has flared in the media and South African society generally. The recurrent debates on lack of transformation in former whites only universities, the #FeeMustFall Movement and recent debates in parliament about revisiting the land redistribution issue all have racial undertones – the continued disempowerment of the non-white South Africans. The focus on the recapturing of the complexities surrounding the race debates and the implications of the racialised society, particularly how they are conceptualized and re-materialized within the semiotic limitations of book and a film contributes to a novel understanding of the making and lifestyles of inequality in apartheid South Africa. From a theoretical and analytical perspective, the study feeds on and extends the notion of multimodality to multisemioticity using the extension, semiotic remediation, not in the ordinary sense of mediating a new, but on the notion of the reframing and particularly repurposing of a particular social, political, cultural and historical semiotic material in new contexts in the recreated new worlds in the film and book. In this regard, the study provides interesting insights into the remediated reconstructions of race and racial inequalities, and the remodeling of artefacts and semiosis that are used in this reformation of the apartheid material cultures and contexts. In analysing the remaking of the apartheid culture in the film and the book, I

therefore make a unique contribution in identifying the semiotic materials that are indicative of the flawed nature of biological arguments for racial classification and race-based social structuring. I discuss the implications of this by analysing the remediation of the body as a racial scape, and the apartheid material culture as providing the semiotic landscape on which meanings are produced and consumed. The study thus contributes to research on recent developments in multimodality through its extension of semiotic remediation, which is designed to uncover the intricate interaction between semiotic resources in various media as well as their translation and repurposing across artefacts. In this regard, the study adds to extending the theoretical framing of multimodality thus: resemiotization accounts for the circulations of texts from mode to mode or one context to another, while semiotic remediation accounts for the *repurposing* of semiotic resources for different purposes and for their multiple meaning potentials.



DECLARATION

I declare that *A multisemiotic analysis of race in Apartheid South Africa: The case of Sandra Laing* is my own work. It has not been submitted for any examination or degree at any other institution. All sources that I have used are indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Signed

Fiona Ferris



Supervisor

.....

Professor Felix Banda

November 2015

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Felix Banda, for his exceptional academic guidance and mentoring, which materialised in the completion of this thesis. His professional insights have made great contributions to this academic journey and the completion thereof. I am forever grateful for his continuous motivation and belief in me.

To the staff in the Department of Linguistics and the CMDR, I am indebted for the academic support they lend to me during my enrollment as a student. The rich discussions, frequent academic seminars and conferences contributed greatly to my academic knowledge base. I want to especially thank Dr. Zannie Bock, Professor Christopher Stroud, Mrs. Berneshia February, Mrs. Heather Williams (ex-secretary) and Mrs. Avril Grovers (ex-secretary) for their continued support and interest in my progress.

It would be a great injustice not to thank Professor Brigitta Bush for the interest that she has shown in my work. She served as an excellent reminder of the academic journey being an interesting, exciting and fulfilling one.

The Faculty of Arts and the Division for Postgraduate Studies provided me with a research space to finalise my thesis. I am truly thankful.

Dr. Gift Mheta assisted with the editing of my thesis. For that I am very grateful.

My family has been a great beacon of support throughout this journey. They stood by me through trying times and were always ready to motivate me. To them I say, you were a fountain of inspiration that encouraged me to persevere in challenging times. Mom, Dad, Fernando, Faeza and Feroze - this is for you! I would also like to thank my extended family for their continued support, especially my grandmothers, Quinton, Azhar, Fatima, Kevin, my

uncles and aunts, and the kids. The children's interest in the progress of "my book" was another reminder of all the support from my family.

To the late Mrs Ragel Williams, thank you for nurturing my desire to learn; you were a beacon of support until my final year. For your academic guidance, personal support and great mentorship, thank you! I would also like to thank Mrs Letitia Permall and Ms Raylene Nathan for their continued support and mentoring.

To my friends, Montinique, Letitia, Danille, Jade and Landie, thank you for remembering me during this period. Your friendship has brought many smiles during the lonely hours of writing my thesis. A special thanks to Akram, Christo and Joe for your continuous support and guidance, which I appreciate greatly.

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

Through the Grace of God I have come this far. The period of writing this thesis bears testimony that "He will not lead me where He will not follow". I owe all thanks to Him.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CDA : Critical discourse Analysis

MDA: Multimodal discourse Analysis



CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

1.0 Introduction

A number of studies have been conducted on race. Van Dijk (1991: 25) highlights that such studies are important because race is not a mere political or rhetorical entity, but is a real social construction with real social consequences (Van Dijk, 1991: 25). He further asserts that racism does not cease to exist because Europeans no longer assume their “superiority”, but because the social constructions of race may be expressed in other terms (Van Dijk, 1991: 25). Due to the transformative nature of race as well as its complexity, race is still a very important factor in the social, economic and political structure of many societies, and therefore remains important for study. More than twenty years after apartheid, which was a system employed by the government in South Africa from 1948-1994 to structure society in terms of racial divides, issues such as affirmative/redressive action, land reformation and newspaper reports that are loaded with racial discourse do not only signify the long lasting effects of apartheid, but also indicate how, through these traces, issues on race are still important in the daily lives of South African citizens.

The majority of studies on race and prejudice have used discourse analysis to analyse the reproduction of power, class and lifestyles (see Wodak 2000, Van Dijk 1991 and Bourdieu, 1973/1977/1979/1983/1984/1990/1991/1992/2013). This thesis explores the reconstruction of race, racial discourse and racial identities by drawing on multimodality and notions of resemiotisation and semiotic remediation. Rather than applied, the study is rather theoretical in that it extends multimodality to multisemiotic discourse analysis. In this regard, the study transcends multimodality, with its focus on mode, to multisemioticity through

remediation by showing how semiotic material (including historical material as social semiotic) related to the life history of Sandra Laing, a woman who sparked international interest because she was born to white parents in 1955, and has the appearance of a black person, is remediated ‘repurposed’ in the book and ultimately in the movie ‘Skin.’

The researcher was particularly interested in investigating how the narrative of Sandra Laing as well as the apartheid context is reconstructed in the movie, *Skin*, which was produced in 2009 by Anthony Fabian, and the book, *When she was white: a family divided by race*, by Judith Stone, published in 2007. The study also particularly interested in “chains of media and chains of mediation in social practices, including Bolter and Grusin’s (1999) notion of remediation [as] (transformations across media)” (Prior and Hengst 2010: 1).



1.0.1 Research design and methodology

The researcher used multisemiotic discourse analysis to analyse data, with resemiotisation and remediation as conceptual tools. In the context of this study, resemiotisation means how semiotic material is transformed from one modality or context to another; and remediation refers to how these same material are not only recontextualised, but repurposed in different contexts (Banda and Jimaima, 2015). As a result of the salience of power in the context of apartheid and in the reconstruction of the life history of Sandra Laing, Bourdieu’s theories on practice, class and lifestyle are drawn on (Bourdieu, 1973/1977/1979/1983/1984/1990/1991/1992/2013). Some tenants of critical discourse analysis, especially its focus on power, also inform this study (Wodak, 2008).

The data analysed consists of the two modalities previously mentioned, the movie, *Skin*, by Anthony Fabian, and the book, *When She Was White: A*

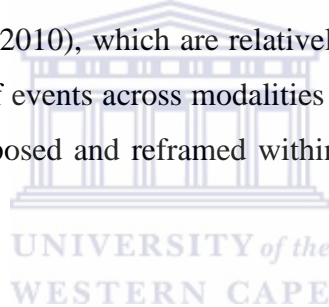
Family Divided by Race, by Judith Stone. These modalities were purchased and analysed to evaluate the different events that are presented, as well as to evaluate what is captured and left out in each genre. The different modalities were therefore juxtaposed in the analysis. The researcher was also interested in how the modes affect and restrict the kinds of information, as well as how the different multimodal elements (songs, visuals, etc.) shape and restrict the kinds of messages produced on the life of Sandra Laing.

1.0.2 Justification for research

There is a dearth in research which aim to extend the theories of multimodality. Kress (2010) argues for the need to develop tools to extend multimodality by looking at multimodality from a multisemioticity or social semiotic perspective (Kress, 2010: 7). This study aims to offer remediation and resemiotisation as tools for extending the theory on multimodality. Remediation and resemiotisation as theoretical concepts are fairly new and are under-researched (Prior and Hengst, 2010). Prior and Hengst (2010) also lament the lack of research on semiotic material other than language, as well as on how the social semiotics are transformed and interpreted. This shortfall in research is particularly evident amidst the fact that the reworking of all semiotic material is evident across modalities and contexts for ages. The researcher therefore used a multisemiotic approach using resemiotisation and remediation. In this study the researcher does not only account for the semiotic material at hand but looks at how they function in new context for the purpose of creativity and authorial agency. Thus, the problem is not on the representation of the life of Sandra Laing and the apartheid context per se, but on how material are reworked to construct something new, for example, from book to a movie. The researcher's interest is in how written material in a book are turned in mobile and interactive mutlmodal/multisemiotic semiotic material, sound, bodies, artifacts, etc. in the movie. The focus is therefore not merely on resemiotization in the sense of transformation of semiotic material from context to context or one practice to another (Iedema 2003) but more so

on semiotic remediation as repurposing in which semiotic material made to do new things. Semiotic resources are therefore not only repeated or serve as a mere representation, but account for the creativity and agency of producers/writers which arise as a result of the semiotic choices and reworking of the semiotic resources.

The focus of the study is therefore on how racialised semiotic resources are reframed, recycled and repurposed in the reconstruction of race and racialised discourses across the book and the movie 'Skin.' A multisemiotic discourse analysis or social semiotic approach is employed to analyse the data. The qualitative multisemiotic approach is useful because of the focus on the complexity of the meaning making process involving multiple modes and semiosis. Resemiotisation and semiotic remediation in particular (Iedema, 2003; Prior and Hengst, 2010), which are relatively new constructs, are used to trace the translation of events across modalities and how the material and generic traces are repurposed and reframed within the new contexts of the book and the movie.



Evidently, this study is theoretical and provides methodological/analytical insights into investigating multimodality theoretically. The researcher offers multisemioticity and theoretical extensions resemiotization and especially semiotic remediation, in which semiosis are seen as circulating and recontextualised for multiple meanings in situated practices, modes, media, channels, genres, etc. In this theoretical formulation signs are never neutral or monoglossic so that they cannot be said to 'represent' a specific reality.

1.0.3 A brief introduction to the research subject: Sandra Laing

Sandra Laing was born in 1955 in Piet Retief, in the midst of apartheid, with tanned skin and short curly hair, to white parents. In an era with no DNA or

paternity tests, Sandra's appearance opened the possibility of an affair on the part of her mother.

Sandra Laing grew up in a rural community, where she could be her father's 'little white girl'. When she went to school, her dark skin and short, tight, curly hair marked her as different, which led to her being ostracised at a school where she 'did not belong' (Stone, 2007). At the age of ten, on drawing immense criticism and mockery, parents withdrawing their children from the school, many interventions from the principal, the school governing body, teachers, and parents, Sandra was expelled from school and sent home with accompanying police officers because she was reclassified as "coloured" by the then ruling Apartheid government (Stone, 2007).

Sandra's parents, Abraham and Sannie Laing, were staunch supporters of the National Party, the ruling Apartheid government (Stone, 2007). They noticed that something was different about Sandra, and therefore kept her out of the sun¹. They were loving parents, and fought for eighteen months after which the Supreme Court re-classified their daughter "white" after the government reclassified her "coloured". The argument they made was that Sandra was their biological child, a "white" child. Sandra's father did a blood test willingly, which signalled him as a possible father, and both parents to Sandra signed an affidavit swearing that they were her biological parents. After this, the laws were soon changed and stated that if the biological parents of children are "white" then they will be classified "white". Sandra's family received correspondence from the minister of Home Affairs soon after this change in policy, stating that she was white again. Sandra's expulsion from school led to her staying at home for two years. She schooled at home but still fell behind in her schoolwork. Even when she was officially "white" again, many "white" schools rejected her. She was finally accepted at a convent school run by Irish nuns where she started Grade 3 instead of Grade 5, like other students whom she started school with.

¹<http://movies.nytimes.com/2009/10/30/movies/30skin.html>

When Sandra was a teenager, she fell in love with Petrus Zwane, a black man from Driefontein, who used to be a vegetable seller. At the age of 15, she ran away from home with Petrus to Swaziland. She was brought back to South Africa by the police where she was locked up for two months for breaking the apartheid laws and having relations across colour lines. Her parents disowned her because of this. She had two children with Petrus, and lost the third child by him. She reclassified herself “coloured” to avoid being locked up again and losing her children. After losing the third child from him, Petrus started to be abusive towards Sandra. This eventually forced Sandra to move away from Petrus to Johannesburg with her remaining children, Henry and Elsie (Stone, 2007). Sandra was never reunited with her father, and her two brothers refuse to see her². She was reunited with her mother in 2000, just before she passed away, after 27 years of estrangement (Stone, 2007).

Because of her life history, Sandra Laing became the subject of an award winning movie called *Skin*, as well as a book called *When she was black: a story of a family divided by race* by Judith Stone. These artefacts tells her story as a victim of gender abuse, emotional abuse, poverty, and racial discrimination.

The historic events in the life of Sandra Laing and how it is retold informed this study. This story is not only important in terms of its ‘scarcity’, or of interest because of her emotional strides, but also because of the important emerging questions on race, an already debatable concept. Regardless of the importance of this case, limited academic articles focus on it.

²<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1093674/The-tragic-story-white-girl-born-black-tore-family-apart.html>

1.0.4 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

In this section, the aims, objectives and research questions are outlined.

1.0.4.1 Aims of this study

This study aimed to investigate secondary data that is based on the life history of Sandra Laing, to evaluate the composition of information sources and how semiotic resources are re-enacted, reused and repurposed to perform new meanings in contexts. In addition, this study aimed to ascertain how the story of Sandra Laing has been retold and reframed in the two artefacts under investigation.

1.0.4.2 Specific objectives

The following objectives were formulated to meet the above aims:

- a) To ascertain what semiotic material have informed different discourses on Sandra Laing (e.g. Apartheid ideologies in apartheid laws; apartheid laws and ideologies in the movie, *Skin*, etc).
- b) To trace the sociohistorical trajectory in time and space of Sandra Laing's story across different artefacts.
- c) To examine how the "story" of Sandra Laing is transformed (resemiotised) in the two modalities.
- d) To evaluate the dialogicality in the different semiotic material relating to Sandra Laing's story across artefacts.
- e) To evaluate the kinds of restrictions the different artefacts have imposed on the rematerialisation of the story of Sandra Laing.
- f) To evaluate the remediation that takes place as the story is transformed and repurposed across genres.

1.1 Chapter Outline

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter One presents an overview of the study in terms of the research area, methods and framework used. It offers information on the context in which the study has been undertaken, which includes an overview on research which focussed on race, the subject on which the artefacts under investigation has been created as well as the a brief overview on the historical, political and social context in which her story unfolded. The gaps in the research have been highlighted, which created the niche for this study. The research aims and objectives as well as an overview of the various chapters have also been presented in chapter one.

Chapter Two sketches the social, political and historical context in which the study is situated. It is firstly presented in terms of an overview of apartheid South Africa; how apartheid became the operating system in South Africa, why apartheid laws were created, in what forms it materialised as well as its implications for the different racial groups identified under the apartheid regime. Literature has also been reviewed and presented on ‘race’ as a construct, its origins, development and subsequent divergent views on it. Lastly, a few studies that focus on race as a concept in the area of social studies are reviewed.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework and analytical tools. Multisemiotic discourse analysis is presented as the conceptual framework with remediation and resemiotisation as conceptual tools. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are also presented as conceptual tools. Bourdieu’s theories on class, lifestyles and power are also explored in this chapter and supplemented with critical discourse analysis for the analysis of power.

Chapter Four outlines the research process as well as the methodology of the research. It presents the research design, data collection and analysis as well as some ethical considerations.

Chapter Five is the first of three analysis chapters. It consists of an analysis on the remediation of Christianity and the apartheid laws in the recreation of the apartheid context and life history of Sandra Laing in the two artefacts.

In **Chapter Six**, the body is presented as a racial scape in the apartheid context. It focuses on how the body is used as a semiotic resource to create racialised roles and identities.

In **Chapter Seven**, linguistic choices, language dress and dance are presented as semiotic resources for the creation of apartheid identities and relations.

Chapter Eight presents the conclusions and recommendations in accordance with the research aims, objectives and research questions. Some of these have been combined in the conclusion. It also presents recommendations for further studies.

1.2 Summary

In this chapter, the research background and research problem have been outlined. Methods used as well as the conceptual and analytical framework have been introduced. The research aims, objectives, as well as research questions have been stated. Finally, the chapter outline is presented.

The literature review is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

SETTING THE SCENE: ‘RACE’ IN THE APARTHEID CONTEXT

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the research is situated within its historical and conceptual context. It is presented in terms of discussing ‘race’ as a concept, its origins, the different approaches to it and the body as a racial scape. It then situates race within the South African context by providing an overview of the rise of apartheid as well as the laws which ensured racial and physical segregation in South Africa. This context is important for the understanding and analysis of the data.

2.1 Origins of the “race” concept

According to Wodak and Riesgl (1999: 177), the meaning of “race was related to aristotic descend and membership to particular ruling classes.”. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, “race” became associated with the classification of people according to phenotype features, which was then linked to Darwin’s theory of evolution, which specified that the fittest ‘races’ would and have the right to survival (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 177). The concept “race” also emerged “as a social classification that reflected this greatly expanded sense of human separateness and differences” (Smedley, 1998: 694). The racial distinctions made, often included hierarchical undertones (e.g. Wells’ (1931) description of the Bantu and Bushmen feet among others).

Because the words “race” and “racism” are widely used, they have attained many connotations. Essed (1991) writes that “racism must be understood as

ideology, structure and process in which inequalities inherent in the wider social structure are related, in a deterministic way, to biological and cultural factors attributed to those who are seen as a different “race” or “ethnic group” (Essed, 1991: 43). “Race”, as an ideology, structured social, political and economical inequality; and was developed by the Europeans as a means to rationalise the defeat and atrocious treatment of the retention of slaves as well as the treatment of the natives (Smedley, 1998: 694). Based on the works of Allen (1997), Smedley (1998) argues that it was in the interest of the colonial leaders to create a division amongst the poor masses (African servants), who suffered the consequences of policies that destituted them to servitude, to disable their further collaboration against the governmental authorities (Smedley, 1998: 694 and Morgan, 1975). In the South African context, colonial leaders purposefully formulated policies to separate poor “whites” from “Indian”, “coloured”, and “black” people by implementing policies which enabled them to have different economic, political and social stances; with the “whites” having the most privileges, followed by the “coloureds” and “Indians”, and lastly the “blacks”, who were discriminated against the most. The high status identity afforded to the “white” race allowed them access to more power, wealth, privilege and opportunity (Smedley, 1998: 694).

This “racial ideology” directly contrasted movements towards the promotion of equality, freedom, democracy, and human rights, and was based on the exaggeration of the physical differences of groups of people. It also suggests that there is a hierarchy of people based on these differences (Smedley, 1998: 694). In modern literature, however, the concept “race” has been largely contested. Its hierarchical presentation has also been questioned. Consequently, its use and tone has declined over the years.

Lieberman, Kirk and Littlefield (2003) found that the usage of the concept “race” in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* declined accordingly: the percentage of articles dealing with race in 1931 is 78%,

opposed to 36% in 1965 and 28% in 1996 (2003: 111). This study also indicates that in 1985, 41% of physical anthropologists argued that there were no biological races in the species *Homo Sapiens*. This number increased in 1999 to 69%. Of all the cultural anthropologists taking part in the study, 53% of the respondents believed there were no biological races in the species of *Homo Sapiens*, which increased to 80% in 1999 (Lieberman *et al.*, 2003: 111-112). These results indicate that the racial paradigm's survival is in doubt (Lieberman *et al.*, 2003: 111-112).

Martin and Yeung (2003) also examined the use of race as an explanatory factor in Sociology by scrutinising papers between 1973 and 1999 in the *American Sociological Review*. Their findings suggest a dramatic increase in the probability that sociologists will take race into account. They also suggest that methodological innovations are to blame for creating a context where analysts in many fields will “control for race” (Martin and Yeung, 2003: 521). These findings are largely influenced by the respondents, particularly their social, cultural, and political backgrounds.

2.2 Different stances towards the “race” concept

People who are pro racial taxonomy argue that race is one way of expressing the generally recognised fact that the genetic differences between human beings correlate with geography (Cartmill, 1998: 652). However, they also acknowledge that this differentiation can be used as a means to discriminate against people. Nevertheless, they further argue, significantly, that because these classifications reflect “facts” of human biology, racial differentiation can be used positively and fairly in other circumstances, e.g. for medical purposes (Cartmill, 1998: 652). These scholars, who firmly believe in the concept of “race” and what it entails, are often influenced by their own “race”, social status and cultural background (see study conducted by Lieberman and Reynolds, 1978/1996).

Most researchers attribute the biophysical differences between people as a result of the environmental conditions, such as prominence of dark skinned people as a result of the exposure to hot sun (Smedley, 1998). However, this notion of race based on geographical phenotype distribution has been criticised due to the fact that people are not delimited to a specific geographical location. For instance, Cartmill (1998: 651) is of the view that if people were characterized by regional phenotypes, “then human races do not exist now and have not existed for centuries”.

Scholars who are against the “race” concept do acknowledge that there are hereditary, genetic and physical differences between people; but they also add that these differences do not serve as intellectual support for the race concept or racial stratification based on membership to an ethnic-group (Cartmill, 1998: 651). In recent years, many scholars argue that “race” is nonsensical and oversimplified and that racial categories “are biologically incoherent and heuristically misleading” (Cartmill, 1998: 651-2).

Biological arguments are no longer tenable to justify discrimination or violence (Amin, 2010: 2). This breakthrough is largely as result of scientific findings that suggest that DNA sequence variations are greater within than between human groups (Amin, 2010: 2). Racial distinction can thus not be scientifically justified. As a social construct, though, it is still alive in the discourse of South Africans.

2.3 Race: the construction and perception of identity

In societies where “race” functions to stratify social systems (e.g. South Africa during the apartheid era), “race” becomes an important aspect of identity (Smedley, 1998). Racial ideology directly affects the way individuals construct their identities and the myths contained in the racial worldview include the idea that biology has an intrinsic link to culture. This fictitious assumption, according to Smedley (1998: 697), complicates matters more and

this contributes towards the fact that people are not recognising the similarities between various racial groups. As soon as these ideas about the differences between people are accepted, then people often behave in line with the stereotypes accompanying the notion of difference, increasing the gap between the various groups. Once these discourses which stress differences between people become naturalised, and internalised, it leads to animosity between individuals from differently assigned groups. Stressing the “differences” between people often leads to brutality and discrimination against those perceived as different from the “in-group”. In many cases, these stressed differences lead to interethnic wars (for instance in Rwanda, Germany and South Africa).

In his article titled “*“Race” and the Construction of Human Identity*”, Smedley (1998) explores how race became a part of the consciousness and culture of society. He argues that researchers should focus on how “race” outdated and eroded other forms of human identity and move towards disconnecting cultural characteristics of identity with biological traits (Smedley, 1998: 690). He went further to identify two broad categories of problems that arise when discussing race and identity. The first has to do with how the different groupings of people get along with each other, and the second has to do with how each group perceive who they are (the identity dimension) (Smedley, 1998: 691). It is therefore just as imperative to consider how members associating with a particular racial group consider the “other”, because this, in turn, affects the interaction between the “different” groups as well as how they perceive each other.

When discussing the United States and how the biophysical features of people became markers of social identities and accepted as avenues for individual and group identities, Smedley (1998) notes that although slavery ended after the Civil war, the racial ideology did not only remain, but it also strengthened (1998: 694). This racial identity was often stressed above all other identities in societies at particular times. This posed grave concerns for

the “races” that were regarded as lesser forms because they did not only have to be discriminated against, but they also bore the brunt of the portrayals of inferiority to the extent where they were conditioned to believe the stereotypes attached to the respective racial groupings. This in turn created a dilemma for the low-status “races” in terms of constructing a positive identity for themselves in the face of the racial identity that was imposed on them (Smedley, 1998: 395). The notion of “whiteness” becomes important when discussing racial hierarchy.

2.4 “Whiteness” as a construction

A number of scholars have focused on the notion of “whiteness” and what it signifies in societies where racial identities are foregrounded (Steyn and Foster, 2008; Leonard, 2002; Ignatiev, 1997; Swain and Nielie, 2003; Ratcliffe, 2004; Hooks, 1989 and so forth). These studies have mostly focused on the nature of “whiteness” and the characteristics thereof.

It might be useful to follow Leonard (2002: 31) and distinguish between “white people” and “whiteness”. The former usually refers to a socially constructed identity based on skin color whereas the latter is a racial discourse and social concept (Leonard, 2002: 32).

Many theorists view “whiteness” as a social construct and performative (Gillmore, 2013). These approaches highlight the constructed identities and the performative nature of whiteness. The performative approach focuses on actions, therefore making a clear distinction between ‘white people’ and “whiteness” (Gillborn, 2013: 498). Gillmore (2013) asserts that this performative nature of whiteness lends it its invisible, deep-rooted status. Bonnet (1997) also adds that it is unstable and not clear-cut in nature.

Giroux (1997: 102) asserts that “whiteness” is both “used and invented to mask its power and privilege”. This corroborates Ignatiev’s description of

“whiteness” as a ‘strategy for securing to some an advantage in a competitive society’ (Ignatiev, 1997: 1). It has developed as a result of experiences ordered around varying sets of supremacist assumptions (Bonnet, 1997: 188). At the heart of “whiteness” is the idea of “white supremacy”, where non-whites are marked as inferior and denied the privileges of “whiteness” (Bonnet, 1997: 188).

Leonard (2000: 32) highlights some of the characteristics of “whiteness”. These include an “unwillingness to name the contours of racism” as well as distancing oneself from a racial group and racial experience, which is facilitated through “othering”, the very idea of ethnicity and operating from a basis where white becomes the norm against which others are judged. This is made possible through the process of naturalisation, because privilege and white supremacy and the privileges thereof are naturalised (Gillborn, 2013: 488). Another key characteristic of whiteness identified by Leonard is the minimisation of the racist legacy.

Gillborn (2013: 489) asserts that one of most concerning aspects of “whiteness” is that many white people do not have an awareness of “whiteness” as a construction, as well as their role in supporting and performing the injustices at the heart of “whiteness”. This is largely due to its performative nature and the taken-for-granted privileges bestowed on some white supremacist as a result of the naturalisation of “whiteness”. Due to the Afrikaner white colonial past, it is imperative to investigate this racial discourse and its manifestations.

2.5 “Racial” mixing as a dilemma

As has been mentioned before, the racial ideology is created on the basis of assumed difference, fostering separation and the breed of “distinct” populations. From this perspective, the idea of people born to parents from different “racial” groups is seen, maybe even more tragic, as a “dilemma”.

The racial ideology simply did not cater for a “mixed race”; the latter was therefore heavily frowned upon and viewed as an immoral product of two species (Smedley, 1998: 696). This is largely because the notion of race does not acknowledge the variation in population; and in accordance with the racial ideology, “race” is biological, permanent and unchallengeable; and the essence of one’s true identity (Smedley, 1998: 969). The case below, from Mackenzie (1989: 1) illustrates the above ideologies:

I was born on the 6th of July in the Pietermaritzburg Mental hospital in South Africa. The reason for my peculiar birthplace was that my mother was white and she had acquired me from a black man. She was judged insane and committed to the mental hospital while pregnant, [as a Coloured child was considered the product of an immoral alliance between black and white] (in Mackenzie, 1989: 1).

The “Coloured” people in South Africa are believed to be of mixed “race” origin. The commission of Inquiry regarding Cape Coloured Population in South Africa was established to investigate their social, economic and political stance. This commission was set up to collect information and report on the social and economic position of the Cape Coloured people in South Africa in 1937. When defining the Cape Coloured, they wrote that the Cape Coloured are “racially mixed of stock” who are to “a large extent ...descendants of slaves brought to the Cape during the 17th and 18th centuries... consisting partly of Negroes from the mainland of East Africa and Madagascar, and partly of Malays and various other races from the mainland and islands of Southern Asia, all of whom intermingled racially at the Cape” and are also mixed with the Hotentots, who are also mixed, and used to be classified as natives (refer to the Liquor act of 1928, section 179). Slaves often intermarried with the Hottentots, who lost their economic independence and came to the service of Europeans according to the commission (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 7).

One other important constituent of the “Cape Coloured” highlighted in the report is the European stream. The report notes that:

“the European did not in the early days of the settlement and for some time after object to racial intermixture of Europeans with people of colour as such, the emphasis being rather on the difference of religion, on the distinction between “Christian” and the “heathen”...Simultaneously with the racial admixture between Europeans and those belonging to the slave and Hottentot groups, the relative scarcity of European women playing an important part in the process” (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 8).

According to this document, individuals who formed part of the Cape Coloured group ranged from those who resemble the pure Europeans to the extent where they could “pass” as such to those who clearly have little or no European blood. In a more distant past, the admixture led to litigation cases (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 8). This finding of the commission that suggests that this “Cape Coloured” group is not homogeneous and hints towards ambiguity in the racial classification system, is very important to this study.

Not only slaves, Hottentot and Europeans gave rise to the “Cape Coloured”, but also the “Bantu”; giving rise to a further borderline type, which consisted of members who do not fall inside or outside the “Cape Coloured” group, but are sometimes classified merely as “Coloured” as distinct from the Cape Coloured, or grouped with Natives according to style of living or habit (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 8).

The term “Coloured” was often used in a wide sense. In section 3 of the Base Minerals Act of 1908, a “Coloured” person is defined as “any Native or Asiatic or any other person who is manifestly a Coloured person”

(Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 9). The Natives Act (No 12 of 1936), in turn, defines a Coloured person as “a person who is one-fourth of Bantu descent” (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 9). Coloured people were also defined in terms of where they lived, through exclusion from other groups, conditions they lived in, their language usage as well as their associations (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 9). These definitions are very broad and therefore problematic.

To illustrate the above, section 175 of the Liquor Act of 1928 defined the “Coloured” as “a person, who is neither a European, nor Asiatic, nor a Native, but includes the class or race commonly known as Cape Malay”. The Native Urban Areas Act, No 21 of 1923 defines “Coloured” as “any person of mixed European and Native descent, and includes only persons belonging to the class known as Cape Malay” (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 9), which is based on exclusion. These type definitions, with their operational premises being inclusion or exclusion, pose problems when being applied in practice, especially in borderline cases (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 9-10).

The commission experienced difficulties in clearly delineating between “Coloureds” and “Cape Coloureds” and therefore concluded that these terms should be used in a broad sense; including people under “Malays”, “Cape Coloured”, and all people of mixed Bantu or Asiatic descent (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 10). Due to these constraints, the commission reported an inaccuracy in the census figures for 1911, 1921 and 1936 (Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured, 1937: 10). The “Coloured” population also increased over the years, which suggested intermarriages between various groups of people.

2.6 Race and the media

The media plays an enormous role in promoting racially determined cultural stereotypes and the view that all kinds of human behaviour are hereditary.

Van Dijk (1991/ 1987/1997/ 2010) has extensively looked at race in the media. In one of his studies, he investigated the role media and news play in the reproduction of ethnic and “racial” inequalities in societies (van Dijk, 2010). He particularly looked at how the press and the media contribute to what is called “new racism” by using a discourse analytical approach. Van Dijk (2010) asserts that contemporary forms of racism are distinct from “old” racism (van Dijk, 2010: 33). “New” racism, according to van Dijk is “democratic” and “respectable” in the sense that minorities are not viewed as biologically inferior, but “different”. It is also evident in numerous discursive forms instead of physical segregation and open violence (van Dijk, 2010: 34). “Real” racism, is therefore believed to be a caricature of the extreme right (van Dijk, 2010: 34). This suggests a transformation in the discourse on racism.

Dunning (2010) looks at the weight of three kinds of identities (racial, class and linguistic) as shaping factors in the preference of voters by having conducted an experiment whereby he analysed the responses from diverse participants on videotaped political speeches of actors posing as political candidates. These actors are from various linguistic, racial and social backgrounds. One of his findings suggests strong race effects for ‘whites’ but none for ‘blacks’ (2010: 2).

Smedley (1998) is of the view that the media portrays a popular perception of race as if the interaction between different racial groups is novice and that the various racial groups are operating fairly autonomously from each other. He further argues that scholars in the social sciences discipline often treat “multiethnicity” as a modern and novel condition; and considers it as creating

potential hostilities and problems (Smedley, 1998: 691). This, consequently, exacerbates the racial dilemma.

As is indicated previously, many scholars are moving towards discussing the concept “race” as a social construction, which fails in terms of its biological premises because there is an arbitrary relationship between “race” and physical variations, which is often regarded as problematic and misleading in terms of its application to society (Martin and Yeung, 2003: 521; Weber 1978: 385-393 and Smedley, 1998: 698). Van Dijk also asserts that the discourses on racism belong to the social dimension because these discourses are social practices (van Dijk, 2010: 36). This dimension also caters for the cognitive dimension which includes racist ideologies, beliefs, prejudices and so forth which often explains why people engage in racist practices (van Dijk, 2010: 36).

The numerous attempts to be reclassified during the apartheid era in South Africa is evidence of the fact that “race” is subjective, misleading and problematic. Race, however, does reflect important social meanings that are associated with the variations amongst people. More importantly, the discourse on race is still evident in the media, in society and in official documentation, disregarding human biological diversity, especially in the light of centuries of genetic mixing between people of different origins.

2.7 Linguistic approaches to the study of race

There are many approaches to the study of race. Some of these are the critical race theory (Gillborn, 2013) and critical pedagogy (Leonard, 2002). In this section, some approaches to the study of race within the field of humanities are explored.

The discourse analytical approach to racism views racism as a social construct, a “social practice as an ideology, [which] manifests itself

discursively (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 175). In this way, racist ideologies are embedded in, and reproduced through discourse. Discourse therefore serves as a means for discriminatory practices to be prepared, disseminated and legitimated. Secondly, discourse also serves to “criticise, deligitimate, and argue against racist opinions and practices, i.e., to pursue antiracist strategies” (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 176). When discussing a discourse analytical approach to racism, one is able to highlight and reconstruct the discursive production as reproduction of racism as well as counteracting racism through discourse practices (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 176).

The discourse analytical approach to racism consists of various approaches, which include the socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 1984) and the discourse historical approach to racism.

The socio-cognitive approach is based on the sociopsychological considerations and focuses on the justification as well as rationalisation of discriminatory acts against minority groups. In this approach, prejudice is not only seen as a caricature of an individual’s beliefs about others, but is viewed as a “shared form of social representation in group members”, which are acquired during processes of transformed and enacted social communication and interaction as well as socialisation. Ethnic attitudes have social functions from this perspective, which are reflected through the cognitive structures and strategies used by the group members (van Dijk, 1984: 13). Van Dijk (1991, 1993, 1997) used this approach to study “elite racism”, by focusing on ideologies in newspaper editorials, schoolbooks, academic discourse and interviews with managers.

Race, as a social construction, can also be studied from a social functional point of view (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 176). In this way, it was employed as an ideological tool “to suppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material and cultural resources, work, welfare services,

housing, political rights, etc. On the other hand, these affected groups have accepted the idea of race” (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 176).

The discourse-historical approach, in turn, is an extension of van Dijk’s socio-cognitive modal and attempts to incorporate the historical, affective and political levels; as well as the incorporation of all the background knowledge in the understanding of texts (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 186).

I will use a multisemiotic approach, which will be expanded on in the next chapter.

2.8 The body as a racial scape

As a result of the important role the body played in racialising people and delineating relationships of power in apartheid South Africa, it becomes essential to review studies on corporeality. There are a few theorists who did research on corporeal activity (Young, 1990/ 2000, Coole, 2007, Merleau-Ponty, 1962, De Beauvoir, 1953, Coole and Frost, 2010, Butler, 1997, Alcoff, 1999, Asad, 2003 and so forth). The focus of these studies range from the body as a preceptor/evaluator and that which is perceived, inter-corporeal communication, corporeal gestures in the process of including or “othering”, the body as knowing and habitual, the body as a representation, corporeal politics and the body’s agentic capacities, symbolic acts of name-calling acquiring lived embodiment and how racial oppression and identity are lived in the body. The body has also received research attention in terms of pitch, intonation, bodily adornments and senses in relation to power. The studies which considered the experienced body as well as the body as a semiotic resource will be discussed in this section.

In both Sociology and Poststructuralist research (with reference to feminism, Marxism and so forth) the importance of the corporeality is acknowledged;

but from a phenomenological and existential perspective the exploration of the body in terms of how it influences or is influenced by concrete situations, or how it is perceived viscerally by their protagonists, lacks (Coole, 2007: 417). In addition, the body's presence has been neglected [in political domain] making it the most visible and invisible component (Coole, 2007: 413). To tend to this shortfall, Coole (2007) highlights the body's experiential and structural aspects when studying the relationship between the body and power. Of key interest to her is the positioning and expression of specific categories of the body in concrete situations (Coole, 2007: 413-416). She asserts that it is only as "embodied agents that interlocutors assume their place and practice their discursive artistry in public arenas" (2007: 413).

Coole was interested in the somatic processes that embody power in democratic situations (Coole, 2007: 413). She asserts that for one to appreciate the role of the body in situations of power, it is necessary to elicit the first-person experience as well as the third person observations and structures (Coole, 2007: 417). She is of the view that power is exercised through corporeal interventions (Coole, 2007: 413). Whereas Foucault's focus was on the operation of power by the passive construction and restriction of bodies, she focuses on the phenomenological exhibition of agency through the experience of subjects' own corporeal modes of power, especially in the understanding of exclusion in democratic contexts. She makes a distinction between the body as an object and the phenomenal, lived body (Coole, 2007: 413-415). Through using this perspective, she indicates the inescapable "efficacy and enduring vulnerability of bodies in political situations" (Coole, 2007: 414). In this research, I am interested in how power is negotiated through corporeality in the two artefacts under investigation.

De Beauvoir (1972) and Bourdieu (1990) also highlight the importance of the body in their work. De Beauvoir writes that to be present in the "world implies

strictly that there exists a body which is once a material thing in the world and a point of view towards this world” (de Beauvoir, 1972: 39). In his practice theory, Bourdieu (1990), asserts that ‘the body is a social world, but the social world is also in the body’ (Bourdieu, 1990: 190). Coole (2007) captures the importance of the body as a semiotic resource in the following passage:

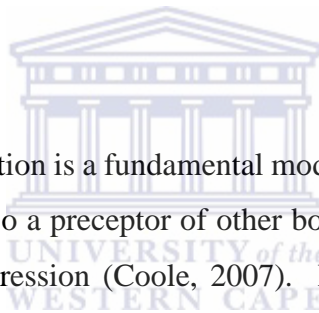
“If it is used instrumentally as a rhetorical prop or dramatic prosthesis to add colour to discursive performances, it also exerts power in its own right and according to its own visceral talents and experiences. It extemporises and plays; it is unruly or recalcitrant; it has a life of its own. It interprets, negotiates, communicates; it wields and responds to myriad signs. Its acts become lodged in an inter-subjective field where they are learned and disseminated as memories and habits of the flesh; sedimented and reproduced as the corporeal equivalent of ideology (Bourdieu’s *habitus*). But the flesh also rebels and enacts its own mode of refusal or innovation.” (Coole, 2007: 416.)

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Coole and Frost (2010) show how doing a concrete material analysis on corporeality reveals the materiality of agentic properties. They also explore the manner in which living matter and its definitions are discursively and materially transformed (Coole and Frost, 2010: 21). In this work, they signal the importance of corporeal communications in determining power relations (Coole and Frost, 2010: 20). In examining the role of the body in politics, with the interest or human and moral agency, they assert that all bodies have capacities for agency (Coole and Frost, 2010). They are particularly interested in the way bodies communicate with each other through the use of gestures and conduct to arouse instinctive responses and spontaneous forms of judgment (Coole and Frost, 2010). They highlight Foucault’s work on ethics and agency, and his interest in the geneology of the human body; which focuses on the “material intricacies of existence and the way bodies are constituted as productive but docile matter through which disciplining,

enhancing and redirecting their visceral capacities...[which aids in] understanding a more general field or economy of power relations in which bodily capacities are rendered determinate” (Coole and Frost, 2010: 32).

Coole (2007) also focuses on the intersubjective and communicative aspects of the body, particularly on the senses, where she asserts that sensations affect both the spatial and communicative dynamics of speakers who gather in confined spaces (Coole, 2007: 419-420). She asserts that the body is not a passive transmitter of messages, but active in generating perceptual meaning (Coole, 2005: 128). She noted the political significance of agents’ embodiment, highlighting that the body situates them in time and space underlines the passionate, particular and perspectival nature of all claims (Coole, 2005: 129).



For Coole (2007), perception is a fundamental mode of expression. The body is not only a sign, but also a preceptor of other bodies; perception being the most basic forms of expression (Coole, 2007). Merleau-Ponty and Grosz assert that for the intentional body, “the material world is alive with signs; it both elicits and helps to form meanings that inhabit the sensible before intellectual judgements begin” (Merleau-Ponty 1962 and Grosz 1999 in Coole, 2007: 415). The corpus of signs, which are practically motivated, constantly weaves novel meanings in the course of its existence; while its own capacities and forms “materialise contingently through its interactions with its world” (Coole, 2007: 415). Coole (2007: 417) view the body as a subject that is both situated in space and time, but also temporalises and spatialises-“it is dramatic and performative”; (Coole, 2007: 415) it is both passive as well as active in that it can both be a canvas for interpretation as well as the vehicle of interpretation. In this way, the body is not only a sign, it is also a preceptor of other bodies and signs.

“When we see others, we recognise the material performances that accompany their speech acts. Sexual (or racial or generational) identity is an irreducible component of this recognition, conveyed as much by gestures, performative styles and adornments of the flesh as by more superficial and inert signs of difference (breasts, skin pigmentation or wrinkling).” (Coole, 2007: 421).

She also noted the importance of appearance of people, and how this contributes to what they say and to judgements regarding their right to be taken seriously and the contributions they are allowed to make; since communicative encounters appears in flesh. John Berger (1979) highlights the complex politics of vision that accompanies discourse when he draws attention to this reversibility of sight. He insists that the ‘reciprocal nature of vision is more fundamental than that of spoken dialogue’ (Berger 1972, 7–9). This knowledge of being perceived can lead to feelings of self-consciousness, especially if participants feel themselves being objectified and judged. Foucault (1979) was also interested in the surveillance of others, particularly how people are normalised by this process of surveillance. Peoples’ experiences of their own bodies and of others can lead to group exclusion that occurs through trivial and subtle but significant and apparent modes of power (Coole, 2007: 423).

Coole (2007) argues that “visceral experience is a crucial dimension of power relations” especially in face-to-face encounters, where bodies communicate messages to others in a range manners to either excluding or welcoming others (Coole, 2007: 430). In her earlier work, she asserts that “power is etched onto the body and communication takes place through a mute yet eloquent corporeal syntax” (Coole, 2005).

In their investigation on race, Roth-Gordon (2012) takes the body as a point of departure and analyse the transformation of bodies through aesthetics, language and consumption and investigate the persistent racial ideologies

privileging “whiteness” and degrading “non-whiteness”. She argues that bodies are not just racialised or experienced racially, but are also racially malleable in that they constantly shift away from and towards “whiteness” through everyday practices that alter the racial perception of bodies (Roth-Gordon-, 2012),

In this work, I focus on the materiality of the body itself and indicate that it serves as a semiotic landscape and also a preceptor thereof in the apartheid context, which is discussed below, where racial nuances are highlighted and largely dependent on bodily perceptions.

2.9 Apartheid South Africa: A historical background

South Africa is rich in natural and mineral resources. This abundance provoked foreign interest and led to its colonisation by the English and Dutch people in the seventeenth century. The English dominated the Dutch descendants, who resultantly formed the colonies of Transvaal and Orange Free State. Around 1900, diamonds were discovered in this area, which led to the English invasion and consequently the Boer War (1899-1902).

The Anglo Boer War, commonly known as the South African war, increased the number of poor white people in South Africa. White poverty attracted attention and social concern since the 1880s and 1890s. The South African war caused many white people to be disposed of their land in South Africa, and drove them to become wage laborers, resembling that of African wage laborers, whom they started to live with side by side³. “White poverty” stood against notions of racial superiority (Fourie, 2007: 2; Kareithi, 2001), thus gaining popularity in the scientific fields.

³http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carnegie_Commission_of_Investigation_on_the_Poor_White_Question_in_South_Africa

The Carnegie Commission was established to report on poverty amongst the white people in South Africa. The report was written against the concern with the “maintenance of existing racial boundaries” as well as to investigate the causes, consequences and corrective measures of the “poor white” phenomenon in South Africa in 1932. The report consisted of five parts, focusing on the economic, educational, psychological, health and social facets of the poor white people in South Africa.

The Carnegie Commission found that 17% of the white South African population, which consists of about 300 000 people, were poor (Grosskopf *et. al.*, 1932). Recommendations of the report produced includes establishing “employment sanctuaries” for poor white workers, and that these workers substitute “native” black workers in most skilled aspects of the economy (Grosskopf *et. al.*, 1932). The report also suggested that should the above not be implemented, or rather if poor whites are not assisted, racial deterioration and the mixing of racial groupings would result. The commission also expressed fears of losing white racial pride (Grosskopf *et. al.*, 1932).

Estimates provided by Terreblanche (2002: 323) suggest that poverty amongst black people was much more intense than amongst white people in South Africa in the 1900s, but was not catered for in terms of scientific research. Black people’s wages were, however, increased in the 1970s, but most black families still lived below the poverty line in the 1990s (Fourie, 2007: 5). The research conducted by the Carnegie commission thus served as justification for segregation and discrimination on a physical, economic and social dimension.

The relationship between the Dutch and English was uneasy as a result of shared power until the 1940’s. The *Herenigde Nasionale Party* (Reunited National Party), led by DF Malan, was a political party that is internationally known for its strategic creation of apartheid to maintain economic and social

control as part of the election campaign (Guelke, 2005; Dubow, 1989). After merging with the Afrikaner Party, it became known as The National Party.

The National Party won the elections in 1948 on their promise to legalise apartheid. Apartheid was therefore the legal system employed by the ruling party in South Africa from 1948 to 1994 with its core function to segregate and discriminate against people according to their race and to ensure the superiority of the Afrikaner in South Africa (Duckitt and Mphuting, 1998: 810 and Mhlahlo, 2002:11).

Before the apartheid system was implemented in South Africa, various legislations already existed to enforce discrimination and separation between people. Two of these laws were 'The Native Land Act No 27' of 1913, which ensured that black people were given sole right to occupy some rainfall areas, which contained the potential for farming, but were severely underdeveloped. This act also stipulated that it was unlawful for black people to lease or purchase land from white people; this did not include reserves (Houghton, 1957; Boddy-Evans, 2001). In addition, this law restricted the black majority to occupy less than 8% of South Africa's land. 'The Native (Urban Areas) Act No 21' of 1923 also called for the residential separation in urban areas (Boddy-Evans, 2001).

Poverty led to the immigration of a number of black people to the more industrial and commercial economy of South Africa (Houghton, 1957: 13). This influx of African people in the cities caused a lot of friction. Bantus also absorbed in the general economy increasingly at the time of the Apartheid government's victory (Houghton, 1957:13).

The introduction of the apartheid system created the following demands outlined by Houghton (1957:14):

(a) the possibility of developing the Bantu Areas so that they would be

capable of supporting the whole African population;

(b) the question whether the general economy of the country could survive if the African labour force were withdrawn or severely curtailed; and

(c) the willingness of both White and Black to accept "apartheid" and their readiness to make the sacrifices which it would inevitably involve. (Houghton, 1957: 14).

The above demands led to the appointment of the Tomlinson Commission in 1959 by the Apartheid Government, to determine the state of social and economic conditions in the African areas; and to propose measures for people's development (Jeffrey, Rotberg & Adams, 1977 and Houghton, 1957). The task of this commission was to devise a "comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native⁴ and based upon effective socio-economic planning." (Houghton, 1957: 14).

In 1954, the Tomlinson Commission recommended that the areas set aside for Africans would only be able to support no more than two-thirds of the African population, even under the most favorable conditions, therefore more land should be allocated to the reserves. The government dismissed this recommendation and began removing Africans from white areas to ensure separate development⁵.

Territorial segregation was high on the agenda of the apartheid regime. One of the reasons for this was to redefine African identities and to create self-governing Bantustans, who, although they constituted more than 80% of the entire population at the time, were subjected to a mere 13 % of the terrain of the country and inevitably denied political rights as well as permanent residential rights in South Africa as is indicated above (Duckitt and Mphuting,

⁴ The term "native", as well as "Bantu" is vehemently resisted in post-apartheid South Africa because it is often associated with the oppressive apartheid regime.

⁵ <http://countrystudies.us/south-africa/25.htm>

1998: 810). This served to maintain white domination and to extend racial segregation. These functions were enabled through what was known as Apartheid laws. Racial discrimination was thus institutionalised with the passing of the apartheid laws in 1948⁶. These laws form part of the literature for the proposed study and also serve as secondary data to be analysed. Some of these apartheid laws are discussed below.

2.10 The implementation of apartheid in South Africa

Early forms of segregation in South Africa were in terms of religion and class, as the Dutch colonists deemed the Hottentots and Bushmen inferior because they were seen as “non-Christian” (Ehrlich, 2006). In the later years, religion and alignment with God was used as a vehicle to justify racial segregation - in particular the racial and separatist ideologies of the apartheid architects. The “Grand Apartheid”, which was aimed towards comprehensive racial segregation, was executed in the 1960’s and it included police repression and territorial segregation⁷. This was made possible through the legalisation of apartheid policies.

As mentioned, apartheid was implemented in South Africa in 1948 with the victory of the National Party. Although it received notoreity in 1948 in South Africa, the word “apartheid” was already visible in print as early as 1929 (Guelke, 2005: 3). It has attained many connotations over the years. The New Oxford English Dictionary defines apartheid as such: “historical (in South Africa) a policy or system of segregation or discrimination on the grounds of race. Origins 1940s from Afrikaans literary ‘separateness’, from Dutch *apart* ‘separate’ + *-heid*” (New Oxford English Dictionary, 1998: 75). The United Nations General Assembly labelled it a crime against humanity in 1966 (Guelke, 2005: 1). It is also described as a system that was driven by the

⁶<http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~scale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html>

⁷<http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~scale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html>

desires for land and cheap labour (Peires, 2008: 3). Today, questions still arise on whether apartheid was motivated by economic exploitation or the purist notions of race or rather “preservation of the white race”, culture and ethnicity. All the given definitions focus on apartheid as a system, a policy and a crime. On a much more grassroots level, however, apartheid might have meant and could still mean much more to the people who were affected by the apartheid system.

Seekings (2008: 3) asserts that the apartheid project had three main objectives, which required the implementation of racial classification. The first one was ideological: to preserve racial “purity” by preventing the ‘dilution’ or ‘mixing of ‘white blood’ (Seekings, 2008: 3). The second was to protect the white minority’s privileged economic position (Seekings, 2008: 4). The third was to maintain the white minority’s supremacy and more advantaged political stance (Seekings, 2008: 4). The latter goal was achieved through the creation of laws such as the Separate Representation of Voters Act No 46 of 1951, which ensured the removal of Coloured people from the common voters’ roll (Boddy-Evans, 2001).

One of the main laws created to ensure the racial segregation of people in South Africa was the Population Registration Act, Act 30 of 1950 (Seekings, 2008: 3 and Mhlahlo, 2002:11). This act required that a national register be kept in which every person’s race was recorded as either white; black (African) or colored (mixed descent, usually subgroups of Indians and Asians). These classifications were made on the basis of appearance, descent and social acceptance⁸. For a person to be “white/black” he/she had to look “white/black” and generally be accepted as “white/black”. A colored person was someone who did not look “black” or “white” and who is generally accepted as not forming part of those two groups⁹. The Department of Home Affairs was tasked with the classification of citizens, and the Race

⁸ <http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html>

⁹ <http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html>

Classification Board, who had the final say in the classification of people, handled disputed cases (Seekings, 2008: 3). In the event of a “mistake” made in a previous classification, The Director of Census, who was appointed by the Minister of Interior, had the right to assign the particular person a new race (Stone, 2007: 69). The following is an extract from the Population Registration Act:

Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950)

"A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white – and not generally accepted as Coloured – or who is generally accepted as White – and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu..."

"A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa..."

"A Coloured is a person who is not a White person or a Bantu..."

This racial classification of people in apartheid was reflected in South African's identity numbers (Seekings, 2008: 3). The Act was typified by humiliating tests, which determined race through aspects such as linguistic and/or physical characteristics, association, practices and social acceptance. The wording of the Act was imprecise, but was applied with great enthusiasm. It could lead to members of an extended family being classified as belonging to different races, e.g. parents White, children Coloured (Mhlahlo, 2002: 11 and Stone, 2007). This act was repealed by the Population Registration Act Repeal Act No 114 of 1991.

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No 55 of 1949 and the Immorality Amendment Act No 21 of 1950 (amended in 1957) functioned to prohibit interracial sexual relations and marriages (Mhlahlo, 2002: 12).

Residential segregation was also ensured through legislation. The Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 ensured that separate residential areas were created to enforced physical separation between races (Mhlahlo, 2002: 11). This involved the forceful and violent removal of ‘black’, ‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’ people who were living in areas designated for white people. Almost one million people, most of these ‘coloured’, were forcefully removed from areas because of this act (Seekings, 2008: 4). Black people were forced to carry identification (pass) obtained from local authorities. This pass was required when confronted by police. Without it black people could not enter urban areas. The carrying of identification by black people was as a result of the Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No 67 of 1952, commonly known as the Pass Laws.

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No 46 of 1959 led to the classification of black people in eight different ethnic groups. This involved having a Commissioner General for each of these groups who functioned to develop a homeland for them. Each group governed itself independently without the intervention of white people.

The Bantu Authorities Act No 68 of 1951 resulted in the creation of Bantustans and a basis for ethnic government in the African “homelands”.¹⁰ The government assigned different states to the African “groups” according to their ‘origin’. This act was created so that these particular people would be citizens of the designated homelands and lose their South African citizenship, and the accompanying right to any involvement to the South African Parliament. This act also forced Africans to obtain passports to enter South Africa, a country they once belonged to¹¹. The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (National States Citizenship Act) No 26 of 1970 forced all black people to become citizens of the homeland of their ethnic groups. This

¹⁰ <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheidlaws/tp/SALawsRevised.htm>, <http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html>

¹¹ <http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html>

act did not regard whether the particular people lived there before and made way with the concerned people's South African citizenship.

The Black/Native Laws Amendment Act No 54 of 1952 in turn restricted the definition of blacks who had the right to have permanent residence in urban areas. It stipulated that black people can only live in urban areas when they were born there, were living/ employed there continuously for 15 or more years, or who had worked for ten years and more continuously for the same employer.

Public areas were also racially demarcated. This was made possible by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953. This act forced racial segregation in all public areas (buildings, transport, recreational areas, etc.) to eliminate contact between white people and people ascribed to other races. This act involved signs that were put on various premises demarcating its use for the various races. In their paper published in 2005, more than ten years after the demise of apartheid, Durrheim and Dixon indicated that informal segregation on local beaches in South Africa is still the norm. The segregation of public spaces in South Africa during apartheid is illustrated in the pictures below.

Institutions of learning were also racially segregated and served as ideological instruments for Afrikaner nationalism. This was made possible by the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act 45 of 1959 (Mhlahlo, 2002: 12). The Minister of Native Affairs at the time, Hendrik Verwoerd, compiled the Bantu Education Act that included the establishment of a Black Education Department with a curriculum for black people. Its main purpose was to disable black people from aspiring to positions not deemed eligible for them in society. This education system prepared the black community to work in laboring positions under whites or prepared them with skills to serve other black people in their homelands.



Segregated Toilets -- 1979 © Hulton Archive / Getty Images

Figure 2. 1: "Whites Only" sign - 1979¹²



Apartheid Beach -- 1979 © Hulton Archive / Getty Images

Figure 2. 2: Sign on Cape Town Beach - 1979¹³



Figure 2. 3: Notice on Beach in Cape Town - 1976¹⁴



Figure 2. 4: Sign on Wellington Railway Station - 1955¹⁵

¹² <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/ig/Apartheid-Signs-Image-Gallery/Segregated-Toilets.htm>

¹³ <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/ig/Apartheid-Signs-Image-Gallery/Apartheid-Beach.htm>

¹⁴ <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/ig/Apartheid-Signs-Image-Gallery/White-Area.htm>

¹⁵ <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/ig/Apartheid-Signs>

The Bantu Building Workers Act No 27 of 1951 act enabled black people to be trained as artisans in the building trade (was previously allowed for white people only) provided that they worked only in areas designated for black people. It would therefore be a criminal offence to do any skilled work in areas not designated for black people. The Extension of University Education Act also ensured segregation in the education sector and stipulated that black people were not allowed to attend white universities anymore and led to the creation of separate tertiary institutions for different racial groups.

These were some of the laws created to legalise racial segregation in South Africa. Besides the segregationist policies, language also played a defining role in the segregation of people as well as establishing relations of power in Apartheid South Africa.

2.11 The role of religion in the creation and justification of the apartheid project



The manipulation in the translation of the Bible to Afrikaans in 1933 and 1953 played a major role in the apartheid project and caused for the racial ideology to become a theological one (Ehrlich, 2006). Religious indoctrination of separatist ideologies was stressed from birth - in society and homes as well as in institutions such as the church and the schooling system for white children.

The Bible, as a modality, was also sourced and manipulated to justify apartheid ideologies and to legalise apartheid laws. To justify segregation, for example, the translation of Genesis 1: 11 is one of the examples used “And trees which, according to their sort, bear fruit”- this framing emphasises differentiation in that the word “sort” is strategically used in the translation and not “nature”. Genesis 1: 28 was also used as justification to create different nations with different cultures. Other scriptures such as “Man may not join together that which God has separated”, God’s order at the Tower of

Babel, and the separation of nations by God were used as justification for the separation of people into different racial and cultural groups. In addition, punctuation was strategically used in the translated versions of the Afrikaans Bible to place emphasis on certain ideas that are foregrounded. These punctuation devices were not evident in the original Hebrew version that it is translated from. An example of this is from Exodus 33: 15-16 “Do not tie a bond with the inhabitants of the land! ...” (Ehrlich, 2006).

In this thesis, I look at how these ideas are materialised in the two artefacts.

2.12 The role of language in apartheid South Africa

In the writings on apartheid, the main ideological prism through which realities has been depicted is “race”, although factors such as language also played a major role in the way society was regulated during this period and beyond (Alexander, 2007). The importance of the role of language in the apartheid era was most notably seen in the Soweto Uprising of 1976, which was sparked by the implementation of Afrikaans as the language of teaching and learning at the disadvantage of those who did not speak Afrikaans as a first language. The Soweto Uprising was one of the main contributors to the demise of the apartheid regime.

Afrikaans played a central role in the rise of an Afrikaner elite and was largely spoken by the Afrikaans white majority. It is for this reason that it is often referred to as the “language of the oppressor” by racial groups who did not benefit from the status of Afrikaans in terms of higher functions. According to Alexander (2007), language policies are often designed for the benefit of the interest of elite groups in society, as was the case in apartheid South Africa. Because of this, a close relationship between language, power and prestige within societies can be inferred (Alexander, 2007: 3).

One of the sources of power of language, according to Alexander (2007:3), is its ability to transmit “culture” as well as its role in the transformation of social as well as individual identities. This is what is referred to as cultural capital by Bourdieu, which is elaborated on in chapter 5. Theorists working in the field of critical discourse analysis also realise the role of language in the regulation and structuring of society. This theory is also elaborated on in chapter 5.

The National Party used intersects of ‘race’, language and ‘culture’ as deliberate strategies to divide Africa (Busch, Busch and Press, 2014: 218). In chapter 9, I am particularly interested in language as a prism through which racialised identities are portrayed in the two artefacts.

2.13 The notion of “others”

As a result of the racial classification and its strict implementation in the apartheid era, it becomes pertinent to define the “other”. The “other” in this regard would be the people who were discriminated against because of their racial category; the people who were rejected because of this racial system (Peires, 2008: 10). For the racial laws to be implemented, it was important to understand who formed part of the “in-group” and “out-group” (Peires, 2008: 10). For this to happen, the various racial groups had to be defined.

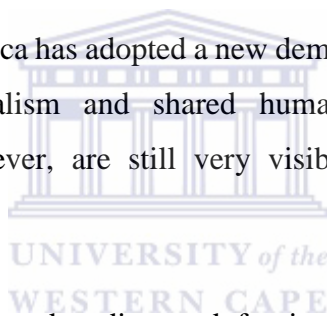
These notions of “others” were not only emphasised in the laws passed, but also on notices demarcating the use of public resources according to the different racial groups as is discussed above. This caused a lot of tragedy for the affected family members because they could not share public facilities like hospitals, toilets, schools, etc. In the case of Sandra Laing, her appearance caused her to be re-classified on one occasion as “coloured”, which was different to that of her parents and siblings (who were classified as “white”), causing a lot of humiliation, financial loss and emotional suffering for herself

and her family. This difference in classification was heavily frowned upon because of the laws passed that prohibited interracial marriages.

Although apartheid was a domestic legislation, it received international condemnation after the Soweto uprising in 1976, which led to an economic decline in South Africa (Guelke, 2005). As a result of apartheid, South Africa became renowned for its gross racism and inequalities. It is often compared to the Nazi regime in Germany (Peires, 2008), both deciding on the hierarchy of people and preserving the “purity” of the advantaged group and ensuring white supremacy. As is seen in this chapter, the apartheid history is not only projected through the ideological prism of race, but also through other semiotics such as language (Alexander, 2007).

Post apartheid South Africa has adopted a new democratic constitution that is committed to non-racialism and shared human rights (Posel, 2001), apartheid’s traces, however, are still very visible in the South African landscape.

Notions of separateness and a disregard for interaction amongst various people over centuries still occur (e.g. “intermarriages”, sharing of cultural knowledge, etc), assuming that there is no interaction between people of different origins and “racial groupings”. The absence of the racial designations of people in the ancient literature, with only a few references to physical attributes such as skin colour, suggests that people interacted with each other for centuries, disregarding “racial” differences (Smedley, 1998); which in turn raises questions about the notion of “race”. In the remainder of this chapter, I particularly focus on race as a concept, its origins and the different approaches to this concept.



2.14 Summary

In South Africa, studies have shown that there is still a lot of distrust between the “different” racial groups. This is partly as a result of the lack of mobility between the different previously categorised racial groups. Twenty years post democracy, there is still “white areas” and “townships” and the economic realities of people still set them apart. A case in point is the cases of violence against black workers in areas such as Constantia in Cape Town, where they are beaten up on sight, the reason being that they are prostitutes, without a chance of explanation (see also Sowetan Live, August 25 2010). There is still evidence of segregation between and within schools, where students are divided along racial lines, sometimes under the pretence of language differences (refer to case of Curro School - News24, June 18 2015 and others). Racial issues are also not foreign to countries outside of South Africa (refer to recent case of Rachel Dolezal¹⁶). The constant occurrence of issues of race and its effects in societies remains important for investigation.

As a result of the context in which the study is embedded, it was important to elaborate on the historical context and review the concept “race” and how it has been studied. It was also essential to review studies on the body, its role in relations of power, as it is one of the most important contributors to the creation of racial ideologies and racial classification, particularly in the South African context.

In the next chapter, the framework and conceptual tools are outlined.

¹⁶ Rachel Dolezal is an American civil rights activist who made headlines in 2015 after her “racial identity transformation” caused her to be marked as a “race faker”. Over the course of a few years she changed her physical features such as her hair to identify as a “black” American, hiding her “former identity” as a “white” American.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL TOOLS

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the theoretical framework and conceptual tools are described. The main analytical framework for this research is multisemiotic discourse analysis, an offshoot of systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003; Prior and Hengst, 2010), an element of multimodal discourse analysis, semiotic remediation (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, Prior & Hengst, 2010, Thurlow and Jaworski, 2014 and Banda and Jimaima, 2015), and intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Kress, 2010; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; Prior and Hengst, 2010) are used as conceptual tools to analyse the data. The chapter starts off with signs as social semiotics, then proceeds to explain multisemiotic discourse analysis, intertextuality, interdiscursivity, resemitisation and remediation as conceptual tools.

As a result of the focus on the apartheid context and the relationships between participants in the recreation of the story of Sandra Laing, issues of power become central. Because of the role the relations of power between the different participants play in this recreation, some aspects of critical discourse analysis, which focus on concepts such as ideology, power and domination (Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravini, Krzyzanowski, McEnery and Wodak, 2008), and Bourdieu's theory on practice, particularly his conceptualisations of class and lifestyles were drawn on (Bourdieu, 1973/1977/1979/1983/1984/1990/1991/1992/2013; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In combination, these theories assist in the understanding of the ideological workings of the different semiotics as well as the relations of power between the participants and therefore is discussed in the remainder of the chapter.

3.1 Signs as social semiotics

Traditionally, the focus of linguistics was on language as the only representational mode. This approach disregarded other modes of representation as well as the contexts in which meaning is made. During this period, researchers were both interested in how languages developed over time as well as the structural aspects thereof. After the more structuralist approach to language, scholars started to focus on language in context because they have realised that context is an important shaping factor of interactions. It therefore becomes imperative to consider context in which the data is shaped.

3.2 Signs in context

The link between language use and context is stressed in SFL. According to this model, the interaction between contexts and texts is the manner in which reader constructs meaning (Clerehan, Buchbinder, Moodie, 2005: 338). When using SFL, one firstly considers the social context in which language occurs, and then how language is shaped by this context (Egins, 1994; Oketch, 2006, Halliday & Hasan, 1985/1989; Halliday, 1989).

Based on the works of Mallinowski (1923), Halliday (1989) introduces his theory on context. This theory arose because he viewed texts as a social process between participants in an actual environment (Halliday, 1989).

Context, according to Halliday (1989), operates both on the linguistic, situational and cultural levels. On the linguistic level, one regards the textual context, or surrounding text in any interaction. In this regard, one considers the textual environment of any text as a unit. In terms of the situational context, a text can give insights into the situation in which it occurs; this situation also largely shape the kinds of interactions and activities that arise. Lastly, the cultural context refers to the larger context in which an interaction

unfolds. This context includes the norms and social discourses that are drawn on in the interaction. It determines the kind of activities that the participants engage in as well as the relations between the participants and provides insights on the larger cultural context and ideologies that frame interactions.

According to this particular approach to studying language, all languages have three semantic functions or metafunctions, which include the experiential/ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction that is realised in the context of situation. According to Halliday and Hasan (1989: 5), context of situation refers to the “total environment in which the text unfolds”, the immediate environment in which the interaction takes place. It includes the register variables, field, tenor and mode (Zequan, 2002).

The field, which expresses the experiential meaning, and is the language used to talk about our experiences, can be sketched by describing the subject matter: what is said, to whom, where the interaction is occurring, when the interaction is taking place and why it is taking place (Halliday and Hasan, 1989).

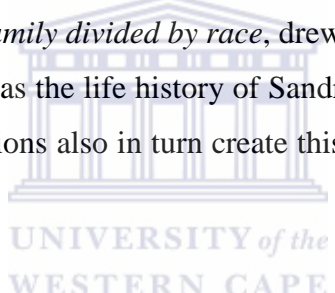
The tenor, in turn realises the interpersonal metafunction. It particularly refers to the grammatical resources used to indicate the relationships between communicators in terms of modality, person, mood, key, intensity and comment. These are all aspects which determine the role relationships in a communicative situation (Eggin and Martin, 1997: 238).

The mode expresses the textual meanings in an interaction and focuses on the role of language (e.g. the construction of the message, role of language in this construction, whether the discourse is spontaneous, spoken, written, planned, in/formal, verbal, non-verbal, etc.) (Halliday and Hasan, 1989).

The context of culture in turn is described in terms of the overall genre (Zequan, 2002). This includes the broader cultural context (norms, social

discourses, ideologies, etc.). Because participants draw on their whole cultural history as well as social discourses and ideologies in their interactions, it is pertinent to understand the context of culture of interactions. The cultural context also determines the kinds of relationships between participants and the kinds of interactions they get involved in (Halliday, 1989).

Our knowledge of context is used when making appropriate linguistic choices and interpreting all kinds of interactions. Our interactions therefore create the context of interpretation as well as being informed by it (Fairclough, 1995). This is often described as the mediating and dialectical relationship between context and text (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Meyer, 2001, Scollon, 2001). In this way the creators of the movie, *SKIN*, as well as the writer of the book, *When she was white: a family divided by race*, drew on contextual cues from the apartheid era as well as the life history of Sandra Laing in the recreation of her story. Their selections also in turn create this context, which makes it pertinent for analysis.



This theory of context is illustrated in the model below:

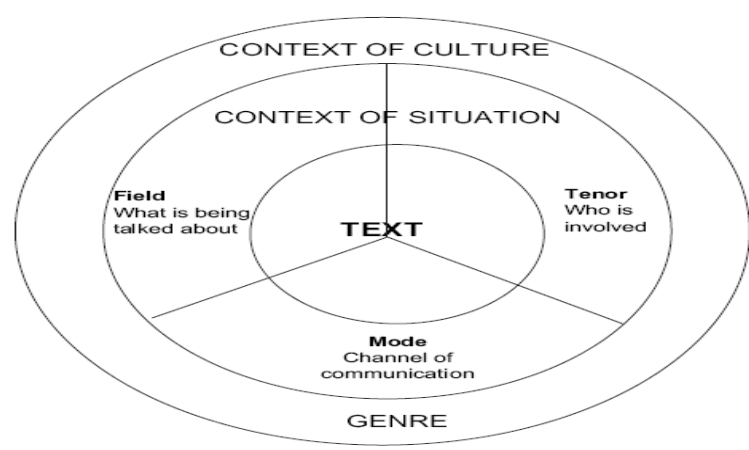


Fig. 1. Text and context.

Figure 3. 1: Theory of Context
(Clerehan; Bachbinder; Moodie, 2005: 335)

This theorisation of contexts largely neglected modes of representation besides language. In their expansion of the theory on context, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) indicated that this theory can be applied to analyse visual semiotics. In doing this, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) substituted the terms ‘representational’ for ‘ideational’, ‘interactive’ for ‘interpersonal’ and ‘compositional’ for ‘textual’ (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001; Banda and Oketch, 2011). Banda and Oketch (2011) used this tri-functional conceptualisation of meaning when investigating HIV and AIDS texts.

3.3 The social semiotic turn

With the prominence and rise of research on sociolinguistics in the 1980’s, research on the interaction between language and society became prominent. Various intersections with language such as race, class, culture, power and gender thus became pertinent topics for sociolinguistic study. With this change, the focus on language as the most important semiotic resource also changed. The social semiotic turn arose because of the idea that meaning is created through “complex semiotic interactions” (van Leeuwen, 2005: ix). This work on context (Halliday, 1989) had a great influence on the social semiotic turn.

Saussure had interest in semiology, in the “life of signs in society”. Saussure, 1983/1974 (in Chandler, 2005: 1) defines semiotics as the “study of signs as part of social life”. Both non-verbal (for instance, colour, sound, image, gestures and so forth) as well as verbal (language) signs are considered for analysis.

A development from this view of semiotics, which focused on the physical form of the sign has taken place where some researchers prefer the word “resource” to highlight the sign as being part of a social process or social practice in the study of social semiotics (van Leeuwen, 2005). The reason for this, according to van Leeuwen (2005:3), is that it avoids the idea that what a

sign signifies or represents is not affected by its use, but is somehow pre-given. This social semiotic view thus regards the sign as an integral part of forms of social intercourse, which cannot be divorced from it (Hodge and Kress, 1988: 18).

As mentioned before, language was essentially seen as the most important resource for making meaning, or social semiotic. Halliday, for example, defined the grammar of language as a “resource for making meaning” (Halliday, 1978: 192). He realised the ‘meaning potential’ of language and the need for it to be studied in its social context. In line with this view, Hodge and Kress (1993) define languages as “systems of categories and rules [both social and grammatical] based on fundamental principles and assumptions about the world” (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 5). Drawing on the works of Whorf, they go on to say “such assumptions are embodied in language, learnt through language, and reinforced in language use” (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 5-6). These partial systems that consist of choices and rules are involved in the storing of thoughts and perceptions and are part of social meaning (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 5/209). They also add that it is important to assess who uses the regulators or rules and under what circumstances it is used when analysing language choices. The grammar of language, according to Hodge and Kress (1993:7), is thus its theory of reality. It is ideological and involves “the systematic distortion in the service of class interest” (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 6). Fairclough also asserts that discourse reflects social structures and social conditions determine properties of discourse (Fairclough, 1989/ 2014). Reality is thus constructed through relations between participants and their use of language. Berger and Luckman also share these ideas about language when they write, “Everyday knowledge, “reciprocal knowledge”, is knowledge objectified and accumulated in linguistic categories and “typificatory schemes” (Berger and Luckman, 1966 in Kelly: 1983: 50). Language, as a semiotic system, was thus seen as a primary reference to everyday life an essential for the understanding thereof (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). These ideas and their stress on context have been integral to the Critical Discourse

Analysis approach, which foregrounds the mediating role between texts and society (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996/2001).

With global developments in the way we communicate, and with the increased dependency on technology in the process of communication, contemporary researchers have increasingly realised the meaning potential of multiple semiotics in the process of meaning making. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) extended this notion of ‘grammar’ in their book *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* to the analysis of visuals. By grammar, they do not refer to the rules of language but a set of socially constructed resources for the construction of meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). In his work on critical discourse analysis, Fairclough has also extended the notion of texts, which traditionally were used to refer to linguistic texts to include other semiotics (Fairclough, 1995).

Van Leeuwen (2005) also extended the use of ‘semiotic resources’ to include less obvious modes of meaning making such as food, dress and everyday objects, which according to him carry significance and cultural value (van Leeuwen, 2005: xi). In social semiotics, ‘resources’ are signifiers - actions and objects which are observable in the area of social communication (van Leeuwen, 2005: 4). These resources have semiotic potential based on their use within the social context, which in turn have their own rules on how specific resources can be used (van Leeuwen, 2005: 4). Just like language, other semiotics, such as visual images are not neutral representations of reality (Midalia, 1999: 131). It is thus important to view all semiotic resources critically. Because of the different potential of different semiotics within contexts, we can communicate meanings in different ways to signify different social and cultural meanings (van Leeuwen, 2005: 4). In van Leeuwen’s work on social semiotics he is interested in the ways in which various aspects of the modern society “combine to create meaning” (van Leeuwen, 2005: xi).

In this thesis, I follow Banda (2014) in extending the notion of semiotics, in that semiotics do not only refer to signs as resources, but also refer to the relationship between signs and movement as part of signs in this work on the life history of Sandra Laing.

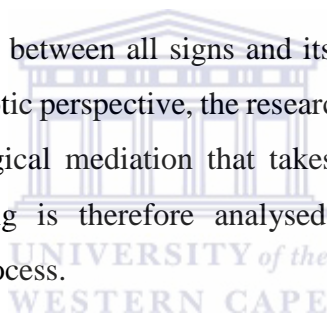
3.4. From multimodal to multisemiotic discourse analysis

The realisation of the importance of semiotics other than language, and the prominence of the use of multiple semiotics in the post-modern world (Jameson, 1991) gave rise to multimodal approaches, which focus on the interplay of different semiotic modes and how they often work together in creating meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006; Shi-Xu, 2007: 5). Multimodal discourse analysis, which follows other SFL studies that have used a text-based design (Bock, 2007; Martin & White, 2005; Eggins & Slade, 1997) is the primary instrument for data analysis. As the name suggests, semiotics is the focus of this approach.

Various theorists recognise the role of multiple semiotics in the process of meaning making, as previously mentioned. Among them is Jewitt and Kress (2003), who assert that meanings are not just made, received, distributed and redistributed in interpretation through language (whether written or spoken), but also through various communicational and representational modes (2003: 1). Kress (2010) also expands his ideas on multimodality by stating that all communication is multimodal. Banda and Oketch (2011) and Fairclough (2004) are of the view that as a result of the hybridity in multimodality, which often causes the blurring of genres, text in social contexts should be interpreted as “totalities of communicative events” instead of focussing on a single mode in isolation (Banda and Oketch, 2011 and Fairclough, 2004). It is thus important to consider the meaning potential of various semiotics as well to investigate the relationships between them when analysing multimodal texts.

Kress (2010) considers all forms of communication as multimodal. Studies on multimodality focus on the modes that are employed in communicative contexts. Modes refers to the different semiotic resources used in the process of meaning making, these can be verbal and non-verbal. These modes consist of different material. Materials only become modes when they are “shaped into something meaningful for a particular culture” (Bock, 2014: 42). A direct link between the modes and its meaning is often inferred without taking into account the meaning making process. In his new theorisation of multimodality, Kress (2010: 54) assert that signs are newly created within contexts. Semiotic resources are thus not just represented anew within a context, but also selected and reframed for particular interpretation and meaning potentials.

An arbitrary relationship between all signs and its meaning therefore exist. When using a multisemiotic perspective, the researcher is enabled to consider the social and technological mediation that takes place when meaning is created. Meaning-making is therefore analysed within its context and considered as a social process.



3.5 Framing and salience

Although widely used, the concept of framing that is popular in the field of social sciences was developed by Irvin Goffman (1974). Goffman defined a frame as “a schemata of interpretation that provides a context for understanding information and enables us to locate, perceive, identify and label” (O’Halloran, 1999: 211). Framing connects and disconnects elements in composition and involves the social construction of phenomena; especially the way societies construct, organise, perceive and talk about reality (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Through frames, schemata are activated, influencing how an individual perceives framed information and prefers particular interpretations above others (D’Angelo, 2002: 875). Frames derive power through their symbolic significance (Hertog and McLeod, 2001) and meaning

is implied through the framing of elements. Communicative events can be framed through modes such as language, colour, dress, dance, textual positioning and so forth.

Salience, in turn, refers to those elements in a text that are most noticeable (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 183). Texts become salient through the complex interaction between the various modes- both verbal (for example, auditory factors such as stress or the repetition of words) and non-verbal (pictures, colour and so forth), composition, contrast as well as the size of the elements (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). Frames create salience in texts (Entman, 1993: 52)

Elements that are framed as more salient than others are usually given prominence in the meaning making process. They allow readers to rank the importance of information within its communicative context. This is because the reading of multimodal texts usually proceeds from the most salient elements to the least salient elements (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Salience is thus central to the reading path and interpretation of messages.

This reading path is made possible through vectors, which lead the reader from one element to the next (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Vectors can both be visible or not and are often created in the form of lines, pointing fingers, objects positioned in a particular direction and so forth.

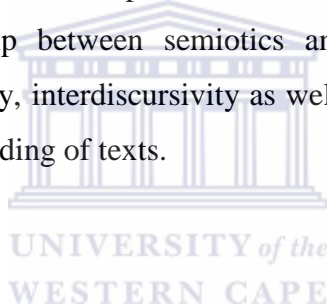
When two elements are framed together in a text, a relationship between them is implied (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011: 53). This connection can be signalled through physical vectors, colour or even proxemics.

One of the ways in which meaning is framed arises through the relationship between a camera and a subject. Camera shots can denote different kinds of relationships between participants and can also prompt particular emotions.

Readers are then positioned to respond to images with varying familiarity (www.mediaknowall.com).

Social distance is denoted through camera shots. A shot of a face or head denotes an intimate distance. This is generally referred to as “close ups” and denotes personal relations. Shot of the waist up, also referred to as “medium shots” denotes a close social distance whereas shots of entire figures or groups of people, also called “long shots” denotes far social distance and represent public relations (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006).

When messages are compiled, senders frame information to influence the reading and interpretation of texts. Texts are also informed through their relations with texts beyond the scope of its immediate co(n)text. Because of the complex relationship between semiotics and their trajectories, the concepts of intertextuality, interdiscursivity as well as mediation also prove to be important in the reading of texts.



3.6 Intertextuality, interdiscursivity and mediation

When the life history of Sandra Laing is represented through different modes in the different artefacts, these artefacts often serve as contexts for external, already existing texts. This conscious or unconscious use of prior texts within existing texts is called intertextuality (Berger, 2004). Intertextuality is defined as the way in which texts and ways of talking refer to and build on other texts and discourses; or “where a text alludes to another text” or to the replacement of other texts for experience in daily life as a reference system (Lefebvre, 1971, Kristeva, 1986).

The notion of intertextuality was first conceptualised by the poststructuralist Julia Kristeva in 1966 and is largely associated with theorists such as Bhaktin

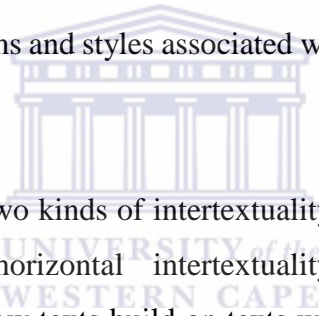
(1986/2006), Lemke (1985), Fairclough (1992), Scollon (1994), Lefebvre (1971) and Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park (2012). It refers to the relationship of texts with other texts in terms of form and content (Kristeva, 1986, Barthes, 1997, Foucault, 1974, Fairclough, 1992, Beaugrande and Dressler, 1994 and Lefebvre, 1971, Bauman and Briggs, 2003 and Sung-Yul Park, 2012, etc.) in order to build on them, refute them or to present them as well known (Bakhtin, 1999: 106).

Intertextuality occurs in a range of semiotic texts (Bloome and Egan-Robertson, 1993) and is based on the notion that no text operates in isolation and that we constantly draw on other texts in our discourses. Bakhtin attributes intertextuality to the dialogic qualities of texts; and how these often acquire their meaning in relation to other texts or how multiple voices are transformed and reused in texts (Bakhtin, 1986). Because of the interdependent quality of texts, the notion of intertextuality problematises the status of authorship (Barthes, 1997: 146 and Porter, 1986). The intertextual references are not inherent in the text, but should be interactionally acknowledged and recognised to have significance (Bloom and Egan-Robertson, 1983: 305).

Texts draw on multiple probes from the wider context in which they occur. Probes can be textual, social or cultural. Text- users assign meaning to text in relation to alternative texts in some social formation (Thibault, 1994: 1751). As a result of this social construction of intertextuality, it is possible for the reader to assign more than one connection to a text in relation to other texts, depending on his/her schemata. The intertextual references are those characteristics that are known to the reader because s/he has come across them in other texts.

Because of this relationship between texts and other texts, an element of time and meaning and context becomes essential. This is because the notion of intertextuality assumes a link between current and prior texts, therefore

drawing on shared codes which are in a different time and context (Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park, 2012: 1). The notion of recontextualisation captures this process of intertextuality because texts are taken from their previous contexts and re-contextualised for new meaning. Recontextualisation involves taking something [can be concrete such as actual words and meanings or it things such as can be ideologies, patterns of discourse and attitudes] from one discourse/text-in-context to another” (Linell, 1998: 144-145).

Feng and Wignell (2011) assert that two types of intertextual resources result from this process of recontextualisation. The first type involves current discourses quoting from existing discourses (Feng and Wignell, 2011). The second type involves current discourses that recontextualise social practices which are normally associated with other discourses, which results in the adoption of the conventions and styles associated with these discourses (Feng and Wignell, 2011)”.

This corresponds to the two kinds of intertextuality identified by Johnstone, namely vertical and horizontal intertextuality (2008). Horizontal intertextuality refers to how texts build on texts with which they are related sequentially (texts they follow or precede). In this way texts have been materially incorporated into other texts by referring back to them or preempting them. This is also referred to as the material “snatches” in texts that originates from other texts.

Vertical intertextuality, also referred to as interdiscursivity, refers to how texts build on other texts they are related to in terms their conventions. This can be represented in the shared structural forms or rhetoric organisation and conventions and practices that are associated with various genres. According to Bhatia (2007), interdiscursivity refers to the creation of “hybrid or relatively novel constructs by appropriating or exploiting established conventions or resources associated with other genres and practices.” The analysis of the interdiscursivity of texts is the analysis of the mix of genres,

styles on which they draw, and discourse (Fairclough, 1992). Intertextuality therefore leads to the mixing and often “blurring” of genres (Bhatia, 2007).

The notion of intertextuality becomes important when studying media texts and discourses in late modernity. According to Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park (2012), “it provides us with a tool for exploring the semiotic processes that underlie the way in which the media negotiate and reinscribe the complex relationships of identity that characterise late modern subjecthood” (Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park, 2012: 2). The notion of mediatisation of ideas, people and discourses (Johnson and Esslin, 2007) is also pertinent in this study. This refers to the process through which the media shapes and positions the perception of social roles and values, which in turn affects our interpretation of social identities according to Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park (2012: 1).

These authors argue that the process of mediatisation is intertextual. This is because representations in different streams are produced and reshaped from extracting speech behaviour of speakers from highly specific contexts therefore presenting a dialogic nature, for it affects the way recipients interpret the mediatised material, including ideologies, and in turn it contributes “to more enduring stereotypes and evaluations of the speakers and languages represented through those texts” (Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park, 2012: 1). Mediatised texts make connections to prior discourses because they are created with a particular audience in mind (Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park, 2012: 2).

The above is closely linked to the process of mediation, which is described as an intertextual and dialogical process whereby a range of categories are created and interpreted by interactants. This process enables interactants to engage with one another (align with, or misalign with one another) and other members of societies in the process of community formation. Furukawa (2010: 258) argues that this process of mediation reinforces both ethnic and linguistic stereotyping.

This process of engagement is also captured by Bazerman (2004). He writes that “intertextuality is not just a matter of which other texts you refer to, but how you use them, what you use them for, and ultimately how you position yourself as a writer to make your own statement” (Bazerman, 2004: 94). Lemke (1995) also observes this mediating role of intertextuality when he notes that it is “concerned with the recurrent discourse and activity patterns of the community and how they are constituted by, intanced in, and interconnected or disjoined through, particular texts” (Lemke, 1995: 86). Because of the potential of texts to obtain meaning intertextually it instantiates the context of culture (Lemke, 1995). It is in this light that Fairclough (1992) views intertextuality as a site of contestation and struggle.

3.7 Transformation of semiotic modes: Resemiotisation

In the trajectory of texts and events, semiotic systems or material meaning often transform one another, or is shifted and reordered in multimodal entextualisations across practices and contexts. When this happens, it is referred to as the process of resemitisation (Liu and Makoni, 2008: 2 and Iedema, 2003: 30; Silverstein and Urban, 1998; Mpendukana, 2009: 41). Iedema asserts that resemitisation addresses the ‘inevitably transformative dynamics of socially situated meaning-making processes’ (Iedema, 2003: 30). Resemiotisation, as an analytical tool, can be used to analyse the multimodality of texts (Liu and Makoni, 2008: 2; O’Halloran, 2011 and Iedema, 2003). An exploration of resemitisation thus follows.

The core focus of resemitisation is on how “materiality” (‘expression’) serves to realise the social, cultural and historical structures, investments and circumstances of our time. In this way, resemitisation contributes to displacing analytical attention from discourse as structured meaning towards

practice as material affordance” (Iedema, 2003: 50) and focuses on how textual meaning is reordered and shifted (Silverstein and Urban, 1998).

Iedema further explains that resemiotisation “is about how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next” (Iedema, 2003: 41). This notion of resemiotisation refers to the mobility of messages in different forms, both in terms of context and practice, and views multimodality as a multifaceted process situated in the social context (Liu and Makoni, 2008: 2). Because of this socially situatedness of texts, a study employing resemiotisation would go beyond analysing the complexity of the multimodal nature of texts and representations, but also explain how these texts or representations were formulated in the first place (Liu and Makoni, 2008: 2).

Resemiotisation does not only include shifts in ideational meaning, but also involves the privileging of different domains in human experience, particularly those that concern the salient features when reading visuals, which in turn offer different modalities of human experience (Iedema, 2003: 47-48).

3.8 Semiotic remediation as repurposing

As a result of not merely tracing the mobility of various semiotic modes and processes, but also looking at the new meanings that various semiotics acquire in their new contexts and realisations, an exploration into semiotic remediation is vital. Semiotic remediation is about the reworking of discourse using different signs and modes.

Prior (2010) states that semiotic remediation entails “re-presentation, re-purposing, re-mediation, re-cognition, re-contextualisation, re-petition, re-formulation, re-play, re-use, re-mix, co-text [and] co(n)text”. Remediation refers to “taking up the materials at hand, putting them to present use, and

thereby producing altered conditions for future action” (Prior and Hengst, 2010: 1). They further assert that semiotic remediation is the blending of intertextuality and multimodality (Prior and Hengst, 2010). They present the term as looking not only at which texts are recontextualised in different settings to create new meanings, but also at the different modes that are used to transform these prior texts and discourses.

The concepts of intertextuality, resemiotisation and remediation are important to this study as I am interested in the trajectory of semiotics and events and how these are used in the reconstruction of the life history of Sandra Laing across the two artefacts.

In this study, I use the concept semiotic rather than multimodal. Firstly, the concept multimodal is not clearly defined in the literature. Secondly, the scope of this thesis extends beyond identifying modes and their meanings, but focusses on meaning making as a social process. This focus on the social process, take into consideration both the process of meaning creation as well as interpretation. The concept remediation is important because it realises the creative potential of re-used material in different artefacts. Remediation, is thus at the heart of *sociogenises* as well as *situated discourse* as noted by Prior and Hengst (2010:1).

3.9 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

In the previous sections, some tenants of CDA have already been discussed, particularly its stress on the importance of context and the shaping role thereof. In this section, the focus is on CDA’s stress on power. As mentioned before, I follow Fairclough (2011: 134) and regard both discourse and text as referring to semiotic practices, that is, both linguistic and non-linguistic.

The main focus of critical discourse analysis is how social relations are shaped through language [and other semiotics], and the role of power as the

primary shaping factor in these relations. Theorists using CDA are of the belief that semiotic choices are ideological patternings that serve the interests of powerful groups in society. If these ideas are repeated enough, then they are accepted as inevitable, therefore becoming “naturalised”. In this way, language [as well as other semiotics] are used to exercise power, and also serve as platforms for the workings of hidden ideologies (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Fairclough also asserts that language [and other semiosis] reflects social practices (Fairclough, 2006). This implies that semiotics should be viewed as modes of action, which is both socially and historically situated and both socially shaped and socially constitutive (Fairclough, 2011: 134), as is indicated in the previous chapter.

Bourdieu’s theory of practice and theorisation of power is also important for the understanding of relations of power between people. His work is influenced by the works of a number of influential scholars. Among them Karl Marx, especially his understandings of society as the composite of objective social relations and his works on class struggle; Max Weber, his ideas on social orders, domination and symbolic systems which resulted in his theory on ‘field’; and Emile Durkheim in his beliefs that social structures tend to reproduce themselves in his works on forms of classification, an equivalent of ‘symbolic form’, and symbolic structures with some deviations, especially his stress on the role of the social agent in enacting symbolic orders through the embodiment of social structures among others (Swartz, 2012; DiMaggio, 1979 and Brubaker, 1985). In the next section, Bourdieu’s theory of practice, which will particularly be used in chapters eight and nine, is discussed.

3.10 Bourdieu's 'theory of practice' and concepts 'field', 'habitus' and 'capital'

In his "relational conception of social life" Bourdieu focuses on social relations (Wacquant, 2013: 2). He asserts that these exist in two forms. It is firstly realised in the objective positions participants occupy which influences action and perception (fields) and it is secondly embodied in mental representations of appreciation (its layered articulation formulates the 'habitus') through which we actively construct and experience the social world (Wacquant, 2013: 2).

Most of his work is built on his notions of 'field', 'habitus' and 'capital'. These notions are used to analyse the social positions and dispositions of participants and their social relations. His work incorporates a strong focus on power and domination (Guzzini, 2006: 2) that he believes should be analysed by proceeding from the micro level (Gečienė, 2002: 120).

The point of departure for this study how notions of 'field', 'habitus' and 'capital,' and power and domination are reworked into storylines and semioticised in the book and the movie.

10.2.1 'field' and 'habitus'

According to Bourdieu, the social world consists of fields (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). These are autonomous areas of society or spaces that are structured with their "own rules, legitimate options" and are defined by the peculiar field-specific mix of capitals which are relevant for defining their internal hierarchy (Guzzini, 2006: 7). Examples of these are education and economy.

His action theory is developed around his concept of 'habitus'. In this theory he aims to show that social agents are conditioned to develop strategies in

accordance with the requirements of the social world that they inhabit and their position therein (Weininger, 2005: 121). He defines 'habitus' as a system of internal dispositions developed in response to objective conditions and act on bodily logic that orient "thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions" (Bourdieu, 1990: 55). In this way, objective social structures are indoctrinated into the mental experiences of participants.

His logic of practice emphasises the importance of practices and asserts the importance of the body in that social domination and the reproduction thereof are focused on competent practices in the social world and bodily know-how (Bourdieu, 1990; Blommaert, 2015:5). Through everyday practice in various 'fields', participants develop dispositions for social action. Social agents thus act on predisposed logic and bodily dispositions. These dispositions are influenced by the participants' position on the 'field' and will be translated in the participants' understanding of the field and condition their sense of taste, movement, mannerisms and so forth. The participant thus develops a 'habitus' that is typical of his or her social position in the 'field' and the requirements placed by the social 'field' on the participant (Bourdieu, 1977: 85 and Weininger, 2005: 130). It therefore affects their social mobility.

The importance of 'habitus' is stressed in social reproduction because individuals' social conditions inform their dispositions in terms of what is possible and not in their social 'fields'. When the habitus of a person is in line with the objective organisation of the 'field', including its social forms of domination and power relations, the structures of the latter can be reproduced, legitimised and acknowledged (Coles-Ritchie, 2009; Howcroft, Trauth, 2005 and Lizardo, 2009).

According to Bourdieu (1990), "each location in social space - that is, each combination of volume and composition of capital - corresponds to a particular set of life conditions, which he terms the "class condition". As such, it is intended to specify the particular conditions within which the

habitus was formed, and in particular, the experience of material necessity” (Weininger, 2005: 132). Bourdieu asserts that these conditions, or rather dispositions can be regarded as a “generative formula”, as an “acquired system of generative schemes [which results in the possible] ... thoughts, perceptions and actions” (Bourdieu, 1990: 55).

His theory highlights the co-constructive/co-constitutive relationship between the ‘field’ and ‘habitus’ in that the ‘field’ is dependent on the dispositions of the social agents and the ‘habitus’ demonstrates its structures “and the field mediates between the habitus and practice” (Guzzini, 2006: 7-8 and Webb, 2002: 40). According to Guzzini (2006: 7), this enables one to link the macro and micro level in the analysis.

3.10.2 Capital

Bourdieu showed a keen interest in the reproduction of social hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1973). Bourdieu’s class interest included the analysis of symbolic systems in class as well as the notion of boundaries between classes (Weininger, 2005, 122). He defined class by the interactions of social actors, by its existence as well as how it is perceived.

In his theorising, class analysis can not be reduced to economic relations but also symbolic relations. He stressed the imposition of symbolic systems and cultural production in the reproduction of social structures of domination, and not only economic capital (Weininger, 2005: 122). Capital according to Bourdieu is “the set of actually usable resources and powers” (1984: 114). Bourdieu extended the concept of economic capital to social, cultural, financial and symbolic capital.

Social capital is defined in terms of accumulated past relations by Bourdieu as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to

possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu, 1983: 249).

Cultural capital, in turn, refers to culturally specific 'competence' in the form of qualifications, skills and competencies and can both be in the form of material objects "objectified" or can be in an "institutionalised" form (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital depends on "total, early, imperceptible learning, performed within the family from earliest days of life" (Bourdieu, 2013: 55). It is therefore at the forefront of establishing differences between classes. Bourdieu asserts that in highly structured societies, the social agencies that are responsible for "inculcating" cultural capital are the school and the family system (Weininger, 2005: 126). As a result of its embodiment, its acquisition requires an investment of time (Bourdieu, 1986: 224-226 and Weininger, 2005: 126); and its foremost characteristic is heritability, which enables it to make "substantial contribution to inter-generational reproduction of the distribution of individuals across class locations" (Bourdieu, 1986: 245 in Weininger, 2005: 126).

Cultural capital enables social actors "to mobilise cultural authority and can also be a source of misrecognition and symbolic violence", which is the capacity to ensure the legitimacy and justification of existing social structures and to present it as natural to social agents with his or her complicity for self-interest (Weininger, 2005: 122 and Jenkins, 1992: 147).

The concept of symbolic violence deals with the imposition of ideas upon social agents that are dominated, who resultantly views these social structures as right (Connolly and Healy, 2004: 16). The powers that can be conferred by symbolic capital can be used against another person who holds less symbolic capital to influence his or her actions (Weber, 2009 and Sindorf, 2013).

When discussing the symbolic struggle, Bourdieu (1994) asserts “the ideological stances adopted by the dominant are strategies of reproduction which tend to reinforce both within and outside the class the belief in the legitimacy of the dominance of that class” (Bourdieu, 1994: 167).

Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as a “degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*)” (Bourdieu, 1993: 7) and as “the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability (Bourdieu, 1984: 291). As can be seen from the above, symbolic capital can be a sight of power according to Bourdieu (1992).

Symbolic power in turn is “a power of constructing reality” (Bourdieu, 1991: 161). It is “invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it” (Bourdieu, 1994: 164). The power possessed by agents is in relation to their symbolic capital, in other words, “in proportion to the recognition they receive from a group” (Bourdieu, 1994: 164). The ideological stances that are adopted by the dominant tend to reinforce beliefs in the legitimacy of its dominance. It therefore serves as strategies of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1994: 167). He further asserts that the symbolic struggle arise because of the imposition of the “social world [by the dominant] that is best suited to their interests” (Bourdieu, 1994: 167).

Bourdieu is of the view that classificatory schemes, which are naturalised and embedded in the ‘field’, can “empower certain capitals and hence positions within the field and it ‘empowers’ or disempowers’ such positions” (Guzzini, 2006: 10) through the act of self-sensorship, in which participants, consciously or unconscious, conform to expectations of their social position in their ‘field’ (Bourdieu, 1982: 76 in Guzzini, 2006: 11).

From his theorisation, it is evident that people are not only defined in terms of their social class membership, but through the various kinds of capital that can be expressed through social relations. Inequalities can be reproduced through the values of these kinds of capitals in social networks. These capitals are sources of power and can give rise to class differences (Gečienė, 2002, Guzzini, 2006: 10 and Weininger, 2005).

3.10.3 Class distinctions

As is noted above, Bourdieu stressed the importance of studying social practices and asserted that differences in lifestyles (status) and consumption patterns are manifestations of social class differences and that among members of a dominant class, “a unitary lifestyle emerges around what he calls “the sense of distinction” (Wright, 2005: 93). This is evident in people’s strides to achieve cultural self-betterment and the variations in their asset structures and their aesthetic preferences in accordance with their lifestyles (Weininger, 2005, 134-135). When discussing the differences in lifestyle, Bourdieu stated that “the very lifestyle of the holders of power contributes to the power that makes it possible, because its true conditions of possibility remain unrecognised...” (Bourdieu, 1990: 139).

This work stems from his assertion that sociology’s primary question should be “that of existence... and mode of existence of collectives” rather than theoretical inference (Weininger, 2005: 124). He asserts that consumption is the premises on which social collectives are formed in that different practices and preferences “are clustered in different sectors of social space” (Weininger, 2005: 133 and Bourdieu, 1998: 4). Objects and practices, according to Bourdieu (1984) carry associations with social actors and practices constitute social collectives and establish symbolic boundaries between individuals who occupy different positions in the class structure (Weininger, 2005: 125).

Class distinction and preferences, are “most marked in the ordinary choices of everyday existence, such as furniture, clothing, or cooking, which are particularly revealing of deep-rooted and long-standing dispositions because, lying outside the scope of the educational system, they have to be confronted, as it were, by naked taste” (Bourdieu, 1984: 77). These preferences are as a result of the conditioning of dispositions because social agents implement their “practical knowledge of the social world” from cognitive structures which are “internalised, ‘embodied’ social structures,” that become natural entities to individuals (Bourdieu, 1986: 468).

In his work *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1979) conceptualised theories of social stratification based on aesthetic taste. He claimed that the expression of one’s aesthetic dispositions in presenting one’s social space could be a depiction of one’s social status and position in society. These dispositions can be internalised by children from a young age, guiding them towards behaviours that are suitable for their social position and distancing them from behaviours contrary to these (Bourdieu, 1977: 78; 1990: 54, 60). Class fractions, which are determined through the varying degrees of capital that incumbents possess, thus teach these aesthetic preferences to their children (Weininger, 2005, 127).

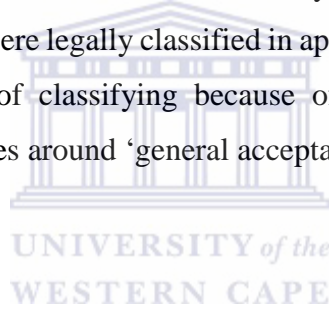
It is thus evident in Bourdieu’s conceptualisation that social origin and cultural capital are primary as both economic and social capital depends on them. The importance of social origin over accumulated capital over time is highlighted as determining factors for aesthetic dispositions (Bourdieu, 1986).

When discussing Bourdieu’s concept of field, Weininger (2005: 137) asserts that “different forms of a lifestyle element (furniture, food, etc.) stand in a hierarchical relation to one another, and as a result of this, lifestyles are themselves socially ranked. According to Bourdieu, the hierarchical ‘status’

of a lifestyle is a function of its proximity to or distance from the ‘legitimate culture’”.

Bourdieu (1990) also writes about the codification of classes. According to him, “to codify means to banish the effect of vagueness and indeterminacy boundaries which are badly drawn and divisions which are only approximate, by producing clear classes and making clear cuts establishing firm frontiers...” (Bourdieu, 1990:82). He asserts that when classes become discursive or linguistic entities they can be mobilized to take collective action for “class interests” (Bourdieu, 1991: 206-207; Weininger, 2005: 147 and Swedberg, 2003: 12). In the case of this study, racial groups were not only discursively constructed but also legally defined and categorised. Bourdieu also writes about the demarcation of collectives by law (Bourdieu 1987: 13). Although racial groups were legally classified in apartheid South Africa, each person had the power of classifying because of the arbitrary aspect of classification that revolves around ‘general acceptance’.

3.11 Summary



The theoretical, conceptual and analytical tools outlined in this chapter will enable the study of the different materials in terms of time and space trajectory. A multisemiotic discourse analysis will enable the study of the different semiosis, the relationship between them and their significance in the translation of the life history of Sandra Laing. The notion of resemiotisation provides the analytical means to trace how semiotics are translated from one mode into another as social processes unfold, as well as provide the means to question why certain semiotics are mobilised for certain functions at certain times as opposed to others (Iedema, 2003: 29) and intertextuality and remediation will provide a frame to analyse how semiotics and discourses are transformed in their new contexts for added meaning.

In this thesis, I move beyond trans-modality, semiotic mediation and resemiotisation as I am examining how semiotic resources are deployed by the author and producer for communicative effect. The meaning potential of the semiotics and the relationship between them is considered.

The selections of the semiotics and their ideological representations is analysed by drawing on tenants from critical discourse analysis (CDA). Finally, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of 'field' and 'habitus' are used to provide insights into the structures of the abstract spaces in which struggles for resources occur, relations in the social space and the social agents' dispositions that arise because of their social positioning and understandings thereof.

In the next chapter, the methods employed for conducting this research is elaborated on.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the methods employed to carry out the research are presented as well as the process undertaken. The research design, analytical approach, data collection methods as well as ethical considerations are discussed.

4.1 Research design

Research designs are usually structured according to two approaches - the quantitative and qualitative approach. An alternative approach exists, which uses aspects of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This is known as the mixed methods approach. The former approaches, which are very popular, have been used in the area of social sciences for decades, whereas the latter, less known approach is still in its developing stages (Creswell, 2003: 12). According to Creswell (2003: 3), the methods used for data collection are informed and framed by the various approaches differently.

The quantitative approach, which is the oldest and most popular approach to research, invokes positivist claims for the generation of knowledge and is often considered the more “scientific” approach (Tewksbury, 2009: 39 and Creswell, 2003: 18).

The strength of the quantitative approach lies in its emphasis on making correct predictions (Worrall, 2000: 354). Researchers using this approach use predetermined instruments that yield numerical data (Cresswell, 2003: 18).

Experiments and surveys are the most typical strategies for data collection when using the quantitative approach (Cresswell, 2003: 18).

When using a qualitative approach, the researcher is interested in making claims based on constructivist and/or participatory perspectives. This a priori approach to research, “grounded in philosophical assumptions, [and] mainly interpretive and naturalistic” (Creswell, 1998:14). Researchers using this approach are interested in the construction of meaning by people, which is historically and socially informed or issue- or change- orientated (Creswell, 2003: 18).

The qualitative method focuses on depth of understanding of phenomena (Tewksbury, 2009). It focuses on meaning, as well as characteristics of things, definitions, concepts, symbols and descriptions of things (Berg, 2007: 3).

“Qualitative methods provide a depth of understanding of issues that is not possible through the use of quantitative, statistically-based investigations. Qualitative methods are the approach that centralises and places primary value on complete understandings, and how people (the social aspect of our discipline) understand, experience and operate within milieus that are dynamic, and social in their foundation and structure.” (Tewksbury, 2009: 39).

Methods employed for data collection when using the qualitative design includes ethnographies, case studies, narratives and so forth. When collecting data, the researcher usually employs an open ended approach, for data to emerge to develop arising themes.

The qualitative approach thus enables the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon, with a few cases and a number of variables to produce detailed data (Creswell, 1998; Oketch, 2006).

The mixed methods approach, which originated in 1959 with Campbell and Fiskes “multimethod matrii” is less well-known than both quantitative and qualitative designs and involves data collection and analysis from both forms of data in a study (Creswell, 2003: 15).

Researchers using the mixed methods approach usually base knowledge claims on pragmatic grounds. Data consists both numeric and text so that the database resembles both quantitative and qualitative information (Creswell, 2003: 20). Researchers using this approach usually first explore phenomena generally to identify the variables to study. For them to be able to generalise the findings they then increase their sample. Alternatively, these researchers might interview a large sample of people using closed ended questions and then follow up with a limited number of interviewees to obtain an in-depth understanding of the findings (Creswell, 2003: 22). Researchers using this approach do this to capture the best of both qualitative and quantitative designs (Creswell, 2003: 22)

In this research, the qualitative approach is used to investigate the various discourses on Sandra Laing. This approach is useful in understanding and exploring a central phenomenon, in this case, the discourse on the life history of Sandra Laing and the reinvention. It helped the researcher analyse the information for description and arising themes. This descriptive, interpretive and explorative approach was appropriate for this research because the researcher was interested in doing an in-depth analysis.

Although reliance on the quantitative approach is minimal in this study, the multilingual instances in the two artefacts have been tallied to ascertain the prosody of the frequent occurring words. This has also been done to generalise the findings on the role of a particular language and linguistic forms in the construction of racialised identities.

A mixed approach has therefore been used in this study, with a heavy reliance on qualitative methods and some quantitative methods. This was done to cater for the shortfalls of a single method.

4.2 Data collection

Two artefacts based on the life history of Sandra Laing serve as the primary sources for data analysis. They are respectively the biography of Sandra Laing entitled, *When She Was White: The True Story of a Family Divided by Race*, written by Judith Stone and published in 2007; and the movie, “Skin”, which is based on the book and produced by Anthony Fabian. This movie was released in cinemas from 2009.

In this movie, the leading role of Sandra Laing is played by the award winning international artist Sophie Okonedo. The movie received 19 international festival awards, among them the special Amnesty International Award¹⁷. The book, in turn, was named one of the *Washington Post*'s top 100 books of 2007¹⁸.

Thus the case of Sandra Laing provides insights into issues of race in and out of South Africa; her life history has received increased literacy attention with the publication of the above-mentioned sources in recent years. Reference to the book and movie was made in film and cinema books (Rosenstone & Parvulescu, 2012) as well as publications on identity and belonging (Beardwood & O'Shea, 2011; Martin, 2013).

The two artefacts used in this study were readily available for purchase and analysis.

¹⁷ www.imdb.com/name/nm003745/awards

¹⁸ <http://www.villagehealthworks.org/who-we-are/team/advisory-board/judith-stone>

4.3 Multisemiotic discourse analysis

In investigation of multiple semiotics and how they are used to depict the life history of Sandra Laing, I used a multisemiotic discourse analysis, which is a text based approach. My interest is in the resemiotisation and particularly remediation ('repurposing') of semiotic material across the book and the movie. Thus, following Kress (2010), Prior and Hengst (2010), and Banda and Jimaima (2015), my interest goes beyond the multimodal to the *semiotic* constituting the texts.

This approach highlights the meaning potential of multiple modes in the process of meaning making. For this reason, I followed Fairclough (2003) in regarding texts as both linguistic and non-linguistic as well as interdiscursive, multifunctional characters which are viewed as a part of social events and are shaped by casual powers of social structures, social practices, as well as social agents (Fairclough, 2003).

When using this approach, it is important to identify the semiotic resources and establish their meaning potential within the context that they are used. In this thesis, some of the semiotic material which has meaning potential in the different artefacts are cultural artefacts, Afrikaans, linguistic selections, separate communities, racialised identities, apartheid signage, apartheid laws, space, dance and dress.

It is important to analyse the salience of these resources and how they are framed for interpretation within the different artefacts. Highlighting different elements as well as the framing thereof affects the realities that are shaped and the reading thereof. It also became essential to analyse the intersemiotic chains between these artefacts to analyse the limitations and potential of the modes within the two genres.

The researcher thus looks at the different remediations in the constructions on one level. On the other, she use the semiotic material to extend the theory on multimodality. These materials have thus been multisemiotically analysed within their co(n)texts to get an indepth understanding of the re-creation of the apartheid context, ideologies and the story of Sandra Laing within the two artefacts.

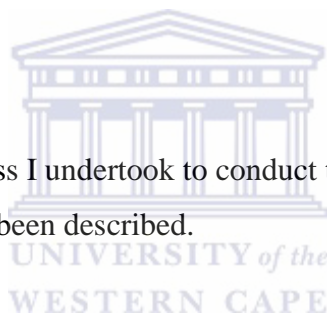
4.4 Ethical considerations

I did not directly work with participants for data collection because secondary data is used for this study. Race, however, remains a sensitive issue in South Africa. I thus treated issues of race with sensitivity to the best of my ability.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, the process I undertook to conduct the research as well as the methods employed have been described.

In the next three chapters, a discussion of the analysis and findings are presented.



CHAPTER FIVE

SEMIOTIC REMEDIATION OF THE APARTHEID CONTEXT IN DIFFERENT ARTEFACTS

5.0 Introduction

As a result of its salience in the reconstructions in both artefacts, religion and the apartheid laws serve a point of departure in this chapter. The notion of semiotic remediation (Bolter & Grusin, 1999; Prior & Hengst, 2010) is used in this chapter to analyse the recreation of apartheid South Africa in the movie, *Skin*, by Anthony Fabian (2009) and the book, *When She Was White: the True Story of a Family Divided by Race*, by Judith Stone (2007). Both artefacts focus on issues on race and segregation in South Africa during the apartheid years and are based on the life history of Sandra Laing. The chapter focuses on how social and cultural materialities are re-casted, recontextualised, remediated and framed in the reconstruction of apartheid South Africa along the generic constraints, limitations and purposes of the artefacts and present important findings in terms of the semiotisation of history as well as the appropriation and commodification semiosis for generic and communicative effect. This will involve the investigation of inter-semiotic chains and the remediation as repurposing.

5.1 Christianity as a vehicle for the justification of apartheid ideologies

The apartheid regime used anything to justify its existence- even religion. Scriptures were manipulated and translated to justify and implement the apartheid laws (Ehrlich, 2006; Loubster, 1987 & Naudé, 2005). As a result of this religious framing, racial mixing and segregation were discussed along the lines of morality in the artefacts analysed.

In the book, the author strategically selected accounts of participants and events to narrate the importance of Christianity in apartheid. Traces of the role of religion are evident in the religious context provided, background of the participants offered, religious discourse, and in evidence from the schooling system in both the book and movie. The remediation of Christianity as a significant contributor to the racialisation process of South Africa is evident in the following illustration from the book:

“But his son Abraham born in Wakkerstroom in 1916 was raised in the Dutch Reformed Church, similar to the Lutheran faith in its stern Calvinism, although more emphasis in its insistence on the depravity of all humankind, and more enthusiastic in the quest for biblical proof that blacks were inferior and that apartheid was ordained by God” (Stone, 2007: 25-26).

People are re-casted as agents who firmly believe in the apartheid ideologies in both artefacts. Abraham, Sannie, Kareen and Leon, amongst others, are created as firm believers of ideas of separation, which were part of their Christian indoctrination at church. Abraham, for example, grew up believing that the apartheid government policies represented God’s will (Stone, 2007: 92). Kareen, a friend of Sandra, also believed that black people had violent histories and was separated into tribal homelands to prevent them from killing each other - the National Party thus came to their aid. She also believed that intermarriage would lead to the end of the white population (Stone, 2007: 221).

The repurposing of race and class distinctions were also evident in the narrations of Kareen when she asserted, “South African blacks are more tribal and less experienced in politics and government than most American blacks” (Stone, 2007:221). In this case, the author drew on a media interview with

Kareen, thus enabling the narration of the story through hypermedia. The voices of the above participants were used to create immediacy, to lend credence to and indicate the support that some people had for the apartheid ideas (cf. Bolter & Grusin 1999).

In the movie, these ideas were repurposed and remodeled and re-invented as performances and embodiment of participants. In the classroom scene, for example, the separatist apartheid ideologies are re-presented and resemiotised when the pupil says, “They [black people and white people] could not live together because they were different” (08:83-08:55). In this scene, the illustration of the “primitive natives” with their spears on the board also indicates the class distinctions created by the racial system, thus remodeling apartheid ideas of separation and the hierarchical stratification of people.

5.1.1 ‘Spare the rod and spoil the child’: The narration and re-enactment of corporal punishment

The presentation of corporal punishment as an acceptable practice in school, based on the biblical principle admonition against sparing the rod is evident in both the movie and book. Dawes, kropiwnicki, Kafaar and Richter (2005) assert that corporal punishment was one of ways in which the racial, patriarchal, and authoritarian Apartheid system entrenched itself. In the book, it is rematerialised as narration of an event through the use of language (Stone, 2007: 44-45), whereas in the movie, this is overtly remade in the performances of the participants. The Bible as a modality has thus been drawn on and resemiotised differently in both the book and movie.

In the book, the author strategically narrated how Van Tonder used to hit the fingertips of Elize, a Swazi student, whom he was not very fond of because of the non-apartheid laws of Swaziland. The acceptance of corporal

punishment and the embracing of the biblical admonition against sparing the rod were explicitly stated as is seen in the extract below.

“He called the children *kaffir boeties* - literally, “*kaffir brothers*”, colloquially, “nigger lovers”- because Swaziland had no apartheid laws. Van Tonder mocked and punished Elize for her loopy penmanship. “You’re no artist, Lötter,” he’d say before ordering her fingertips so he could smack them with his stick. Corporal punishment was acceptable at school, and Mr. Van Tonder wasn’t the only teacher who embraced the biblical admonition against rod sparing.” (Stone, 2007: 44).

In the movie, this situation is remediated and performed in the classroom scene, which is very emotionally loaded. In this instance, not Elize but Sandra embodies the racial subject. This is to place her in the center of the movie. Just like Elize, her transgression did not call for punishment. Instead, it was racially motivated.



Figure 5. 1 Classroom corporal punishment

As is illustrated above, in both contexts corporal punishment was narrated in the context of discrimination. Both the author of the book and producer of the movie selected these scenes to situate the laws and events in the apartheid context.

5.1.2 Remediating inter-racial relations as immoral

The remediation of religious indoctrination of racial segregation in terms of sexual relations and marriage, which led to purist ideologies of race and culture (Loubster, 1987; Ehrlich, 2006) were evident in the narrations and performances in the artefacts. The examples below from the book below provide evidence of this.

“But it’s hard to imagine her resisting the indoctrination that began at birth and was reinforced constantly with unsubtle messages from family, church, school, and state, all reminding her that it was God’s intention that black and white not mix except as master and servant, and that for a woman, sex with a member of another race was an unforgiveable sin” (Stone, 2007: 62).

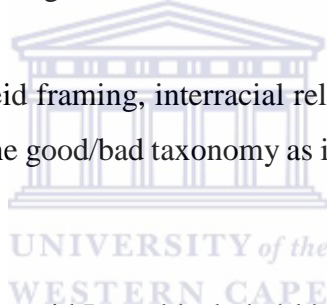
“The preservation of the pure race tradition of the Boere volk must be protected at all costs in all possible ways as the holy pledge entrusted to us by our ancestors as part of God’s plan with out people. Any movement, school, or individual who sins against this must be dealt with as a racial criminal by the effective authorities. If Abraham had to think of his daughter as black, then he would have to think of himself as the most disgraced of cuckolds, and Sannie as a criminal sinner.” (Stone, 2007: 82-83).

In the above example, the author repurposes a text by Elof (1941) to contextualise the understandings of a “volk” and its relation to the case of Sandra Laing. The preservation of the “volk” was constructed as a “holy

pledge”, as part of God’s plan for the white people and those who transgress against this are seen as racial criminals; Sannie, for example, is constructed as a possible “criminal sinner” (Stone, 2007: 82-83). Kareen also firmly believed that it was against God’s will for different racial groups to have sexual relationships and to interact, except as master and servant. Again, the author created participants who believe in upholding the apartheid ideologies and proclaim that it was Godly ordained.

In the movie, sexual interracial relations were also constructed as transgressing God’s will. Abraham, for example, embodied the person who upheld these beliefs and asserted that Sandra had to “repent” when she formulated a relationship with Petrus who is a black man, because it was considered a crime that transgressed the will of God (59: 59).

As a result of the apartheid framing, interracial relationships and integration were constructed along the good/bad taxonomy as is seen in the extracts from the book below.



“If the government said I was black, he’d have to think about me that way. And white people would think that his wife had an affair with a black man. That was a bad thing. A very bad thing.” (Stone, 2007: 82).

“I don’t want to blame apartheid, because it was a very good thing,”
(Meyer in Stone, 2007: 71-72).

“The policy was then that every group of people must maintain their own culture and their own place of living. We didn’t approve of integration ... You must either be a proud Zulu, or a proud Xhosa, or a proud Swazi, or if you’re in the coloured community, be proud of your community. I had a lot to do with the coloured community in Swaziland, trying to uplift them. But every culture is different, and

you can't mix them...Swaziland schools were thrown open for everybody,” Meyer said, “and I objected to it. I said, man, that's not right. You must have your Afrikaner schools separate and your Swazi schools separate, because you've got different cultures. In America they tried integrating schools, and people started marrying each other. That's the thing I never believed in. If a European marries a black woman, what is the offspring? It's neither here nor there. The black people don't accept him and the white people don't accept him. He's got no nation, he's got no country of his own. And I believe the good Lord doesn't want that. When you get these intermarriages, it's not love - it's sex. It's sex behind it...So I, in Swaziland, then organised very hard to try and separate children.” (Meyer in Stone, 2007: 71-72).

In the above extract, preservationist and separatist notions as well as morality are stressed. Interracial relationships are deemed immoral “Its sex behind it” and the white man is tasked to bring about order in society. Again, the author is drawing on the voice of someone, in this case Meyer, to lend credence to the apartheid ideas.

5.1.3 Reconstructing separate nations, separate cultures and separate communities

Meyer's reconstruction of segregated cultures, cultural pride and different realities for different racial groups are materialisations of the apartheid separatist ideologies. Rich linguistic evidence of the segregationist ideologies are evident in this extract, for example, “people must maintain their own culture and their own place of living”, “We didn't approve of integration”, “You must either be a proud Zulu, or proud Xhosa, or a proud Swazi, or if you're in the coloured community, be proud of your community”, “every culture is different, you can't mix them” and “You must have your Afrikaner schools separate and your Swazi schools separate, because you've got

different cultures”. In these extracts, it is evident that Meyer constructed separate spaces and realities for black, coloured and white people.

In the book, the realities of the different racial groups is talked about and represented in the accounts of the narrators. In the movie, black and white representations are being acted out. For example, there is a clear distinction between “black” and “white spaces” in the movie and black people and white people’s different lifestyles and realities are being played out. In this way, space is also appropriated as a modality for the realisation of the apartheid ideologies. These aspects are elaborated on later in the chapter.

As is evident from the above excerpts, power relations were also religiously delineated. Afrikaners believed that they were “the Chosen people” similar to the people from Israel, who moved to the Promised Land (from the Cape Colony to the Northern inlands), and the black people were believed to be descendants of Ham, who were cursed and therefore “barbaric” (Ehlich, 2006). This intertextual reference was often remediated when Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the 7th Prime Minister of South Africa and one of the stalwarts of the Apartheid movement, used to draw on his sentiments about the “divinely given destination” and that white people were ordained to rule by God in his speeches (see Verwoerd, 1963).

Other evidence of the importance of Christianity in how the legal systems operate in South Africa is apparent in the role of God and the Bible that is stressed in ensuring the truth-value of participants in the court of law “Are you prepared to swear before God and the Bible that you are the parents of this child” (26:00-26:10), as is seen in the movie.

The above-discussed ideologies, which have their roots in religion, were solidified and legalised through the implementation of apartheid laws - with the main aim of enforcing racial segregation and ensuring white supremacy. These laws are narrated in the book as a means to contextualise the story of

Sandra Laing and to articulate events that had a direct relationship with the separatist laws. In the movie, the laws are translated, performed and remediated into events and scenes; where the laws, characters, buildings, signs, and the story serve as semiotic tools in the recreation of Sandra Laing's life history. In the section that follows, I focus on how these laws are re-contextualised, remediated and resemiotised in the book and movie.

5.2 “There are laws in this country”: legal segregation in apartheid South Africa

From 1948-1994, laws regulated South Africa's apartheid system. One of the laws that served as one of the 'pillars' of apartheid, which had direct consequences for the racial classification of people, was The Populations Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950) that commenced on 7 July, which required people to be assigned to particular racial categories on the basis of physical appearance, social acceptance and descent. I will use the constructs “Black”, “Coloured” and “White” as per the Population Registration Act only for the purpose of illustration.

The Populations Registration Act and its significance are both re-presented in the book and movie. This was done in terms of Sandra Laing's initial classification and the disjuncture between her classification and appearance, the uncertainty about the relationship between Sannie Laing, Abraham Laing and Sandra in that there was speculation of an affair on the part of the mother, the talks about and efforts to be reclassified, the attempts to change the appearance of Sandra, the responses to her appearance as well as her circumstances across racial classifications. These aspects are further elaborated on at a later stage in the chapter.

5.2.1 The classroom as a channel for the indoctrination of racial ideologies

Another law that is resemiotised and remediated in the movie is the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953. Hendrik Verwoerd, who was then the Minister of Native Affairs, compiled this act, and called for a Black Education Department to deliberately create an inferior curriculum for black people to prepare them to work in labouring positions, commonly referred to as ‘blue-collar’ jobs under the supervision of white people or to serve black people in black communities. This system was in stark contrast to the Christian National Education (CNE) that was reserved for white people and functioned to instill the Christian values of apartheid, which includes the maintenance of white supremacy (Stone, 2007: 45).



Figure 5. 2 Classroom scene:
poster to highlight racial
difference

The education system is replayed in the classroom scene in the movie, where separation is stressed and some of the apartheid ideologies are enforced. Apartheid identities are also remodeled and resemiotised in the history lesson, and the ideals of the divergent systems have been recreated both verbally in the interaction between the teacher and students, and visually in terms of the prompts provided (09:12-09:21).

Extract from movie *Skin*

History teacher: Now, in the early days our country was vast plains. And on these plains were wild animals and savage natives who were always trying to take our land. There were many wars between them. Why do you think that was, students? Uh Dawie ja?

Dawie: Because of the kaffirs, Mevrou.

Teacher: That's a bad word, huh Dawid. We don't use that language in the classroom.
Annie. Yes?
Annie: They couldn't live together because they were different.
Teacher: That's right, Annie. Good! Good good, because they were?
All: Different!
Teacher: Different. Even today we learn that everything about the Bantu is different.
Uh what sort of jobs do they do? Mmhm?
Boy: They work in the mielie-fields, Mevrouw.
Teacher: That's right!
Girl: And in the mines.
Teacher: And in the mines.
Boy#2: My father says he doesn't let them drive his tractors because they have monkey hands like Sandra.

In this instance, the classroom is used as a vehicle of indoctrination to teach learners about the differences between the constructed racial groups. The actors, teacher and students are re-creating characters that are black and white for apartheid, each with their own cultural material, revealing the racial laws that were in place. In the history lesson, the white people are positively represented as opposed to the negative construction of the "Bantu". Discourse of whiteness and strategic generalisations about the roles and attributes of the different "racial groups" are used as discourse strategies to "other". The ideals of racial separateness is translated in the form of "othering" in terms of roles and different jobs people do, for example, "Bantu's" work in the mealie fields whereas "Whites" are to become doctors and so forth, and characteristics (they have big monkey hands), which are attributed according to the differences in phenotype. Students learn these 'distinctions' between the racial groups through positive reinforcement (that's good) and through verbal and non-verbal cues used by the teacher (pictures on black board, placards, gestures and words) in the movie.

Difference was not only stressed in terms of the reinforcement of Annie's 'correct' answer, but also in the nature of the lesson and what unfolded. Wild animals and natives were clustered together and framed as the enemy (wanting to steal land from "Whites"). The visuals (on the white-board) and

the verbal communicate a message of “primitive natives” in traditional attire with their spears, opposing the more advanced “White” Afrikaners with guns. Just by considering the visuals, one can note the power difference between these groups who are positioned as enemies. Ideas of white superiority and black inferiority are thus mediated in the form of a history lesson in the movie.

The material and social realities of this education system is hypermediatised in the posters in the movie with the representation of black people and white people on separate posters, depicting their different roles and positions. Separation is denoted in that the different racial groups are represented along the far ends of two extremes on the poster, with no visual or verbal interaction. In this way, not only language, but also space is used to “other”.

This translation of the roles of the Bantu and White people in society in this interaction pre-empts the key developments in the narration of the movie and is re-presented in Sandra’s performance at a later stage in the movie when she is classified “Coloured” and the values and potentials in the law system materialised into her circumstances when she worked in a menial labour position in a factory producing lipstick with her superior being a white male (1:27:03-1:28:10). The notion of the blue-collar job, which is often associated with the overhauls of mine workers and manual laborers, is visually re-presented in her dress code, a blue overhual, in combination with her activities which involve packaging the lipsticks quietly.

5.2.2 Racialising space through “general acceptance” and “appearance”

Access to these diverging schooling systems, which were structured along different ideals for the various racial groups, was regulated by physical appearance and general acceptance. This emphasis on physical appearance

and social acceptance has been resemiotised and remediated in both the book and movie.

In the book, the School Committee, members of the Eastern Transvaal state legislature and National Party in Piet Retief's objection to Sandra's race classification (she was classified "White" at the time of enrolment) was narrated in the form of letters. In their letters they wrote that Sandra, "according to a variety of people, will never pass for a white and cannot be allowed to attend the school with white children." (Stone, 2007: 69) and recommended that she be reclassified. As can be seen, essential aspects of the Populations Registration Act are emphasised: general acceptance and physical appearance.

These texts also reveal other segregation laws in that Sandra cannot attend a "white" school anymore, suggesting that public spaces were segregated by race. In this event, the laws are resemiotised in actual events and serves to indicate that Sandra Laing's registration as a "White" person does not subscribe to the description of the laws and the provision stipulated in the Populations Act. It is evident that the constructions in laws result in the conception of different racial characters. It also serves to inform her that she is not welcome in "white spaces".

General acceptance and physical appearance is again intertextually referenced in the book when Abraham wrote to the minister of Interior requesting a definition of "White" and an excerpt from the Populations Registration Act of 1950 was provided: "A White is any person who in appearance obviously is or who is generally accepted as a white person, other than a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person... A Coloured person, the law continues, is "any person who is not a member of the White group or the Black group." While an individual's descent might be taken into account, the Population Registration Act stated,

more weight would be given to “appearance and general acceptance” (Stone, 2007: 75-76). In this instance, the ideologies, which are resemiotised into laws and visa versa, are again resemiotised in the form of a letter and then into the book and movie. These semiotic chains create the context of the story.

Other spaces were also regulated through “general acceptance” and “physical appearance” in the process of racialisation as is evident in the extract from the movie below.

Extract from movie Skin

Official: Take a seat please. Naam? [Name?] (Fig 5.2.1)

Father: Sandra Laing.

Official: What’s your relation? (Fig 5.2.2)

Father: We’re her parents. (Fig 5.2.3)

Official: Take a seat. [Fig 5.2.4-5] Excuse me. [Points to sign] (Fig 5.2.6-12)

Father: Thank you we will stand. (Fig 5.2.13-14)



Figure 5.2. 1



Figure 5.2. 2



Figure 5.2. 3



Figure 5.2. 4



Figure 5.2. 5

In this scene, we see the repurposing and remediation (Prior & Hengst 2010; Bolter & Grrusin 1999) of Abraham appearance before the classification board to appeal against Sandra’s classification as “Coloured”. In the re-performance, when Abraham, Sannie and Sandra Laing arrive at the department of Home Affairs, the official does not look at the Laing family when she requests the name of the applicant (Sandra). When asking about their relation, she looks up and stares into off-screen space, this is to create an expectation of what she is looking at and a cut appears after which the

referent is shown.

Banda and Jimaima (2015) note that remediation as repurposing captures the semiotic appropriation and producer agency in the production of meaning. The cut discussed above allows for scene progression to take place and to ensure coherence between the different takes. The producer uses a point of view shot, which shows the scene from the view of the official and frames Sandra's parents in one shot and then tracks the official's gaze down to Sandra, who is framed on her own. This framing presents juxtaposition between the parents and Sandra in terms of their features, particularly the difference in the way in which Sandra looks in relation to her parents, who are fairer than her and do not have her curly hair which is considered "African"; and sets the scene for what is to unfold in the board meeting. The eyeline trajectory as well as the framing allow for a particular reading and ensure textual coherence.

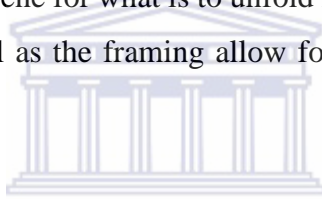


Figure 5.2. 6



Figure 5.2. 7



Figure 5.2. 8



Figure 5.2. 9



Figure 5.2. 10



Figure 5.2. 11



Figure 5.2. 12

The official then asks the Laing family to take a seat and then smirks (Fig 5.2.5). Sandra then proceeds to sit on a bench that is designated for white people. This is communicated through the written sign above the bench reading “NET BLANKES/ WHITES ONLY”. Sandra is then framed in the context of the bench, the sign, a “white lady” sitting uncomfortably next to her and staring over her shoulder, and a section demarcated for “black” people on the far end. The official then exclaims, “Excuse me” and points to the sign (Fig 5.2.7-8). The pointed finger, which is both verbally and non-verbally reinforced, serves as a vector, indicating the relationship between the signifier and signified and the relationship between Sandra, the apartheid laws and the South African context at the time. When uttering this she is framed with Sannie and Abraham Laing, her finger pointing towards someone or something off-screen that is past the Laing parents, although her gaze is facing them (Fig 5.2.9). The shot then moves to the sign, then captures Sannie and Abraham’s reactions, particularly that of Sannie, as she reaches out to someone. Sandra is then framed (5.2.12) as the one who is addressed.

The point of view shot (5.2.12) that is framed at a high angle allows the viewer to see the image through the eyes of the subject, who is the official in this instance. The reason why the producer used this shot is for the viewer to get an insight into how Sandra is perceived and evaluated - as different to her parents; and that the official did not trust Abraham’s account of the relationship between them because of the physical criteria attached to racial classifications and Sandra’s non-adherence to the description offered for a “White” person. This visual technique is reinforced with the official’s smirk (Fig 5.2.5) and her signaling that Sandra is not allowed to sit on a “Whites Only” chair (20:44). This high angle shot is also used to make Sandra seem vulnerable to the laws and their material manifestations.



Figure 5.2. 13 Courtroom scene 1



Figure 5.2. 14 Courtroom scene 2

The producer then went on to depict a full-length shot of the Laing family after Abraham Laing asserts that they will stand. The inclusion of Sannie and Abraham in the verbal performance “We will stand” in combination with their kinetics (holding hands) and the framing of the entire family communicates solidarity, re-emphasising their relationship and that which Abraham is about to ‘prove’. This capturing often precedes a shot of Sandra alone and communicates the Laing family’s joint struggle and pre-emptes the findings of the board. Abraham Laing always constructs “the problem” as a family problem (“I am doing this for us”, “I am not going to let a kaffir tear my family apart”, “I have stuck by you [Sannie] through all these years” and so forth), because her racial classification affected the entire family. It was therefore important to have Sandra reclassified “White”.

The above contestation bears an intertextual reference to the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953. This act forced racial segregation in public areas to eliminate interracial contact. Signs were placed on buildings and other premises to signal their use for various races. The “Whites Only” sign was one of these signs, which is remediated in the movie as a means of contextualisation as it was a prominent feature of the apartheid landscape. The use of a sign from the apartheid landscape also creates a chronological dialogicality in the narrative.

This act, which has a strong reliance on physical appearance and general acceptance as benchmarks to control racialised spaces is also solidified when

Sandra has to stand outside the clothing shop to let her mother buy clothes for her because of her appearance when she was a teenager in the movie (32:16-32:40). In these scenes framing, kinetics and positioning of subjects play an important role in the translation of events.



Figure 5. 3 Framing Sandra as “outsider”

As is evident in the screen grabs from the movie, Sannie Laing is positioned behind the glass wall inside the shop to indicate that she has access to it and to signal a sense of belonging. Sandra on the other hand, is positioned outside with her shoulders slightly elevated and head tilted during some shots. This is in response to the onlookers, who are on the same side as Sandra, but positioned behind her, with their gaze focused on the situation unfolding in front of them. The producer strategically used this positioning to signal a misalignment with Sandra and a contextual reading of the situation.

The angle at which the shot is taken is also significant in that the framing from a slightly elevated angle creates the appearance of Sandra being small and vulnerable. The high angle offers the appearance of a point of view shot. This slightly distanced shot also allows the reader to have a more open interpretation of the entire situation that is unfolding regardless of a particular point of view being offered as she is captured within an interpersonal frame. It highlights the symbolic value of her standing there, allows the viewer to be a part of the meaning-making process and suggests a relationship between the participant, her observers and the viewers. The producer then positioned the angle more horizontally so that the viewer can have a closer view of the interaction between Sandra, her postural and facial changes and the reactions of her onlookers to highlight the importance of the evaluation of her physical

appearance.

5.2.3 Decent, rather than ‘acceptance’ as racial determinant

Almost two years after Sandra was reclassified “Coloured” in 1967, the Populations Registration Act in South Africa was amended for the second time in that decent, rather than appearance became the determining factor of race. According to this amendment, children could now be classified according to the race of their parents. The first amendment (in 1962) made provision for South Africans to apply for reclassification as a result of irregularities with the Population Registration Act of 1950 (Horrel, 1968). This resulted in a number of reclassification applications that led to the revised act, which aimed to be less porous.

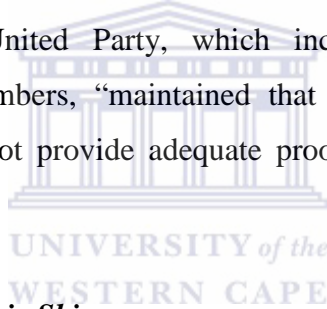
As can be seen below, in the book, this change in laws is reinvented through the lens of the author, in the form of her verbal account of history and her reliance on external principles (Justice Galgut, newspaper article, minister). These external voices are intertextually referenced and remediated to provide a context in which the reclassification of Sandra Laing should be interpreted. It therefore offers various lenses of interpretation, which were enabled through the selection and appropriation of the author.

Extracts from book

“During the time Sandra’s case was being considered by the court, Parliament had passed an amendment to the Populations Registration Act that gave more weight to descent than acceptance in determining race. “The definition of ‘White person’ in Section 1 of the act has now been altered,” Justice Galgut wrote. “I have not seen the new definition, but if its reads as I understand it does, then it seems that the Minister may be able to classify the child as White. If so, I can only hope that he will give the case his full consideration.” (Stone, 2007: 107).

“AND THEN SANDRA WAS WHITE AGAIN, ON JULY 25, 1967, the minister of Home Affairs sent the Laings a letter announcing that their daughter’s reclassification had been reversed. Newspaper accounts of the ruling say the Laings wept with relief, though Sandra doesn’t remember tears.” (Stone, 2007: 108)

“An amendment was necessary because, he [minister] said, in spite of previous legislation, there had been “a gradual, but nevertheless to my mind dangerous, integration of whites and non-whites”. The proposed law stated: “A person shall be classified as White if his natural parents have both been so classified.”...Parliamentary records show spirited opposition to the amendment. On March 17, 1967, Sir de Villiers Graaf of the United Party, which included both liberal and conservative members, “maintained that Census forms and birth certificates did not provide adequate proof of race” (Stone, 2007: 110).



Extract from movie Skin

“And in Parliament today, an amendment was made to the Population Registration Act. Descent, rather than appearance will be the determining factor == in all classification cases. Children must now be classified the same race as their parents. Our reporter went to the streets of Pretoria to gather reaction. [Man: This is a betrayal of everything the white man stands for. Declare them all bastards, Sandra Laing the whole lot of them!”

Abraham: == She’s white again. Sannie! ... Sannie! Sannie! She’s white again! Sandra! You’re white!



Figure 5. 4 Abraham and Sannie’s reaction to Sandra being reclassified “white”

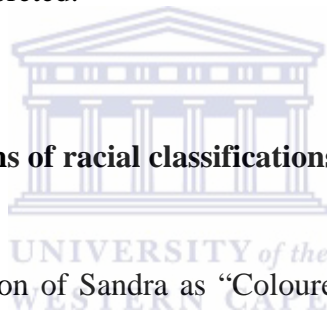
In the movie, Sandra’s first reclassification to “Coloured” was communicated via a letter. When the change in laws came into effect, with its reliance on descent rather than physical appearance, Abraham received the news about Sandra’s reclassification as “White” via the radio. In the book, the author narrated that Sandra’s parents received a letter informing them about the change in classification to “White” from the minister of Home Affairs. The modality in which the classification was communicated in the book and the movie were thus resemiotised in the translation of the event.

Another discrepancy in the translation of Sandra’s reclassification activated by the interpretive frame of the selections made by the author and writer is in terms of the co-text that surrounds the news of the change in laws. In the book, the author followed the change in the laws with a positive response by a representative from the United Party. In the movie, this news is followed by the angry response of a participant who asserted that people like Sandra should be declared bastards and that the change in the Populations Registration Act is a betrayal of what the white man stands for (29:07-29:20). This translation of the event in the two artefacts, especially the selection of voices for the interpretation of the change in the law and their order of appearance is significant contributions to the reading of the event.

The Laing family’s emotions in respect to the reclassification were also captured differently in the two artefacts. In the book, the author relied on both the account of a newspaper and that of Sandra. The former reported tears as signs of relief, whereas Sandra does not recount tears. Sandra’s account

corresponds to the framing of the event in the movie, where the Laing family's joy was evident in their facial expressions, Abraham's exclamation as well as the sounds of jubilation that played. Gestures, punctuation, kinetics as well as music jointly translated the emotions of the Laing family in the movie, whereas only verbal accounts of the principles were at the disposal of the author of the book to narrate the emotions of the participants.

As can be seen, hypermediation is evident in both the movie and book in that other artefacts have been outsourced to translate the reclassification. The book draws on laws, letters, expert opinions and newspaper articles to recreate the reclassification of Sandra, whereas the movie draws on laws and broadcasting. In this way, the book and the movie provided contexts in which other modes can be interpreted.



5.2.4 Legal repercussions of racial classifications

The previous classification of Sandra as “Coloured” not only posed social difficulties for the Laing family, but also had legal implications. This is because the Immorality Amendment Act No 21 of 1950 (amended in 1957) prohibited extramarital sexual relations between different racial groups. This was captured in the movie in the performance of the reporter when he asked whether Sannie Laing is concerned that she is going to be arrested under the Immorality Act (17:40-17:50). It is also realised and recreated in the reactions that Sandra and Petrus' relationship evoked.

In the book and movie, the revelation of Sandra and Petrus' relationship and the reactions thereof are narrated differently. In the book, it was Lisa Zwane, the wife of Petrus, who told Sannie and then Abraham about the picture of Sandra that she found in the shirt of Petrus (Stone, 2007:132). In the movie, Abraham catches Petrus helping Sandra through the window. This indicates

sign producer creative agency, an important aspect of remediation as repurposing (Bolter and Grusin 1999; Banda and Jimaima 2015).

In both artefacts, Sannie Laing is the one who inquires about the state of the relationship. In the book, the narrator, based on Sandra's accounts, constructs Sannie Laing as very supportive of Sandra in that she tried to ensure that her husband does not find out about Sandra's relationship with Petrus and allowed Petrus to visit the shop during the day when Abraham was in Panbult at the other shop. She even interceded every time Abraham tried to slap Sandra when he found out about their relationship (Stone, 2007: 132-135). In the movie, when inquiring about Sandra's relations with Petrus, Sannie Laing asked Sandra "You like him like like a, like a friend, like a brother?" Not even suggesting the alternative. When Sandra confessed that she liked him like a boyfriend this was met with a slap. This response from Sannie, who played a very nurturing role in other scenes in the movie, as well as that of Abraham, who imprisoned Sandra and fired shots at Petrus, in combination with Sannies assertion that "this [the possibility of a relationship between the two] is serious" also attest to the seriousness of Sandra's transgression. In the book, the seriousness of Sandra's relationship with Petrus is evident in Petrus' expression of fear of Abraham and Sannie's assertion that Abraham would kill Petrus should he find out, as well as Abraham's anger and violent response (trying to slap Sandra and shouting at her) after finding out that she and Petrus have been seeing each other (Stone, 2007: 130-134).

Sandra was constructed as very brave in the book, when she blatantly asserted that Petrus was her boyfriend to both Petrus' wife and to Abraham (Stone, 2007: 132/134). In the movie, she only asserted to Sannie that she liked Petrus as a boyfriend (48: 17).

The seriousness of her relationship with Petrus and its implications on the family by association were also translated in her being disowned. "Sandra, if you don't come now, you will never see your family again. I promise you" (54:58-55:04) and "You two are the only family your mother and I have now,

you understand” (Abraham to Leon whilst burning pictures of Sandra- 56:15). Her falling pregnant with Petrus’ child forfeited her opportunity to return home (55:06-55:34).

The racial laws also delineated the possibilities, or rather the impossibilities of marriage across racial lines. In accordance with the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (No. 55) of 1949, Sandra was not able to marry a “White” man if she is classified “Coloured”. Sandra’s circumstances thus forced her to apply to be reclassified “Coloured” again because she eloped with Petrus Zwane and bore children with him. She faced the possibility of being charged under the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and could therefore not legally marry Petrus and live with him and their children. Her wanting to marry Petrus was in direct contrast with the beliefs of her father, who was a staunch supporter of racial segregation and maintaining the “purity” of the Afrikaner culture. “She will marry an Afrikaner, because that is what she is!” (Abraham Laing).

In the movie, this act was not explicitly stated as in the book. In the book, both acts have been explained and mentioned in the author’s narration of Sandra’s life. Sandra, could, for example not get married to Petrus because of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, and they were breaking the Immorality and Group Areas Act by living together (Stone, 2007: 149).

5.2.5 Arbitrariness in racial classifications

The arbitrariness in the racial classification system was remodeled in the movie in the scene where Sandra applied to be reclassified “Coloured”, to stay with Petrus and her baby, but according to the official she could not live with Petrus and the child (1:05:10-1:06:05), even if she does not exist (have an identity document). She therefore risked losing her child (1:07:42).

In the book, this arbitrariness in the racial classification system was translated in terms of the author drawing on cases that revealed the inconsistencies in racial classification based on appearance and general acceptance, describing the bazar pseudoscientific test that was used, and drawing on Sandra's friend Elize's reasoning in her transformation classes. Stone (2007), for example, narrated the case of Mr. David Song, a Chinese merchant who was classified "White" because he presented an affidavit signed by over 300 white colleagues and neighbors swearing that they accepted him as white. This case prompted the change in law in 1962 to tighten such loopholes. One of the pseudoscientific tests that the author drew on is the infamous "pencil test" that was used to analyse the texture and spirality of the hair. If a pencil was to be put into someone's hair and it falls out, this is considered straight hair and the person is declared white. If not, the person is classified coloured or black. The author also drew on the "scrotum test" to determine the paleness of the testicular sac and the "blue bum" test that was used in the cases of infants, which involved officials looking for a patch of pigment on the sacrum, the evidence thereof is common in infants of Indian descent. Other arbitrary signifiers of race involved the kinds of jobs people do (e.g. waitressing was considered a job for coloured people), activities they partake in (coloured people, for example, were thought to prefer rugby whereas soccer is considered a sport preferred by black people), food people eat (if applicants say that they eat cornmeal porridge in the morning they are definitely black), language they use when they are in pain (officials sometimes pinched participants unexpectedly to determine this) and people they associate with (Stone, 2007: 94-101). In addition, the author included cases which resemble that of Sandra's and the voice of the minister of Interior, which attested to a "measure of doubt about a person's race" when applying the Populations Registration Act of 1950 (Stone, 2007: 96-98).

Stone also included an instance where Elize reasoned with the participants in her transformation classes where a fellow Afrikaner was outraged at the idea of having to share a cafeteria and a sink with a black person. Elize's reasoning

was that a black person is allowed to put his/her hand in the basin and cups to clean it, but the white man is not allowed to share those spaces with them (Stone, 2007: 207).

As is evident from the above, Stone (2007) devoted a number of pages to recreate the discretionary racial classification law, its application and impact on the people. The selection of the scenes and semiotic choices that have to do with processes of reclassification by the producer, which are multiple, emphasise the importance of racial classification in apartheid South Africa. The author drew on semiotic material to show why apartheid was problematic to implement.

5.2.6 The racialisation of space and the performance of racialised identities

Racial groups were not just segregated in terms of public spaces and sexual relations. Separate residential areas were also created to enforce physical separation between races. This was enabled through the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950, which involved forcefully removing people living in residential areas designated for whites. This became the fate of Sandra after being imprisoned for entering Swaziland illegally, eloping with Petrus and having children with him, being classified “Coloured” and living with Petrus and the children in a black community. Sandra thus assumed and performed a “Black” identity. She then had to experience the social, economic and political pressures of her black identity, which was impacted by the Group Areas Act.



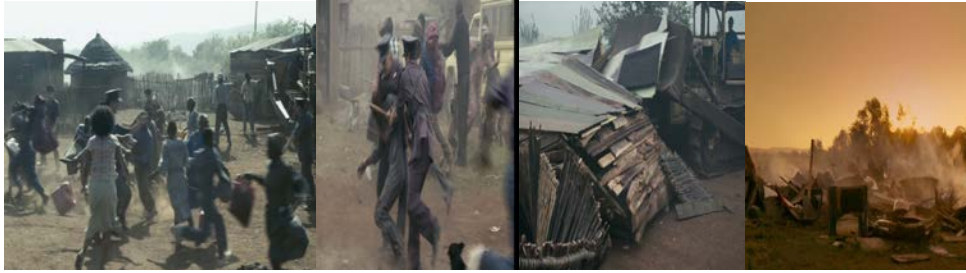


Figure 5.5 Township scenes 1

“Black” and “Coloured” people’s living circumstances were in contrast to their white counterparts. In the movie, these circumstances have been resemiotised and embodied in characters and their experiences and were carefully captured and framed with the aid of cinematographic techniques. The living circumstances of black people were recreated through the performances and experiences of the characters in the movie - them living shacks in overcrowded townships, just like Sandra (39:20, 51:30-40 and 01:04:30-37), working in menial positions as well as the limited resources they had access to. It was also evident in Abraham’s response to Sannies question on whether they can’t go to Sandra them with “You realise how these people [black people] live?”.

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In the book, Sandra’s experiences as a “Swazi wife” were recreated in terms of the duties she performed in addition to those of an Afrikaner wife. These duties provide evidence of the inequalities that existed in apartheid South Africa between the different racial groups. In the book, the author, through the revelations of Sandra signals that chores that Sandra was not accustomed to do living as a white person formed part of her daily life such as cooking, doing laundry, cleaning and chopping wood for the coal stove (Stone, 2007: 16/154). She also had to bath in the same tub used for the washing three or four times weekly, and wash her feet interim in a tiny plastic tub (Stone, 2007: 171). In addition, she worked in a factory, was called derogatory names “kaffir” and participated in cultural practices associated with “Black” people (e.g. visited a traditional healer) (Stone, 2007). These were some of the experiences that formed part of her black identity.

Sandra, Petrus and the children lived in a tiny, overcrowded shack in Kromkrans, which was regarded as a black spot in the middle of a white area. It was therefore referred to as a “black drop” (Stone, 2007: 168). In the book the history of Kromkrans was provided as well as a description of the landscape and the socio-economic details of the dwellers “poor, but relatively comfortable community of thatched-roof houses, sturdy brick homes, rondavels....” (Stone, 2007: 153) Kromkrans was declared a “whites only” area and people were given two weeks notice to evacuate (Stone, 2007: 168) before being forcefully removed and their homes demolished. All this information, and how government constructed it (as a “resettlement” in notices) was communicated in the book (Stone, 2007: 168).

The author also selected the account of the event by Lucas, Petrus’ son, to recreate the event. “Government trucks and bulldozers came and the men said, leave, we’re pushing down your house. They gave you two weeks warning. The government told you where you must go - you didn’t have a choice. My father was angry” (Stone, 2007: 168).



Figure 5. 6 Township scenes 2

In the movie, the landscape is projected through visuals and no background information of Kromkrans is provided. The notification of the relocation is resemiotised orally by an official stating, “You have been given enough warning. Kromkrans is now a whites only area” (1:10:00). People enacted the forceful removal and the viewers could experience the demolishing of

homes and displacement of people through the use of multimodality and the unfolding of scenes (1:09:48-1:16:00).

The presence of policemen and people running in various directions, trying to save whatever they can recreated the violence and disregard for the people in the forceful removals. People living in Kromkrans lost most of their belongings, and had to resettle in Tjakastad, a barren, dry, open field removed from the city and the white population that they served (Stone, 2007: 168-169). In the movie, this new destination was communicated via titles, as is seen below. The Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act No 64 of 1956 prevented black people to appeal to courts against these forced removals.



Figure 5. 7 Relocation scenes

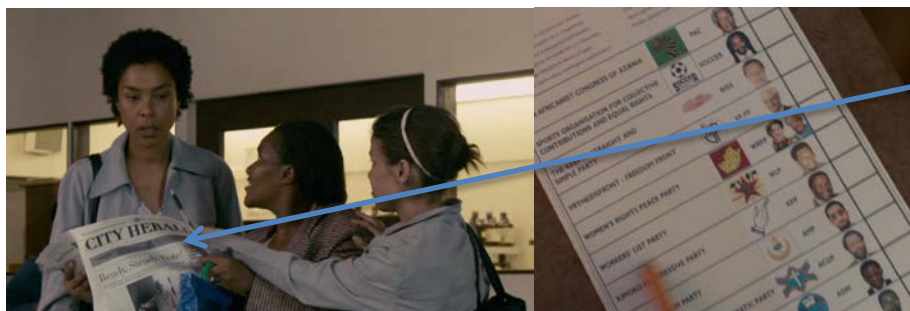
Framing plays an important role in the manner in which these events are translated in the movie. The producer uses an extreme long shot to signal the distance that is travelled by the people who were forcefully relocated. This shot lends itself to greater readability and contextualises the apartheid laws in the movie, where lexical context is minimal.

The Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No 67 of 1952, which is commonly known as the Pass Laws required black people to carry a dompas with them at all times to be produced when confronted with police. The dompas was a form of identification which communicated details pertaining to a person’s tax payments, employment history, police encounters, place of birth and it included a photograph for confirmation. This pass was used to restrict the movement of black people in urban areas because they needed to obtain a permit to enter urban areas (www.gpwonline.co.za/media/Pages/New-South-African-ID.aspx).



Figure 5. 8 Protesting scene in front of court

This law is re-contextualised and remediated in the above scene in the movie, which encodes people toy-toying in front of a government building with placards reading “stop pass laws”, “stop apartheid”, “we are citizens”, “stop dom pas”, “freedom is a right”, “pass laws break up families” (1:04:50-1:05:05). The participants embody actual events that led to the apartheid government’s demise.



Caption:
“Ready,
Steady,
Vote!”

Figure 5. 9 The end of the apartheid period

These events situate the people's experiences within the political climate, create suspension and reveal the chronological unfolding of the narrative in that a time of active resistance to the apartheid system has dawned and preempt the first democratic election in 1994, when South Africa became a democratic country. This is signaled by remediating political material in the form of the voting ballot and a City Herald article that reads, "Ready, Steady, Vote!" in the movie. The creation of the City Herald as a source is significant in that a City Herald newspaper does not exist in South Africa currently and during apartheid. There is however an intertextual reference to the naming of the newspaper international, national and regional. In terms of national newspapers, this naming of the "City Herald" bear reference to "The Herald" newspaper, distributed in Port Elizabeth. It also bears reference to regional papers e.g. the Benoni City Times, Brakpan Herald, City Vision, Germiston City news, Lethaba Herald and Midlands Herald. The producer, in creating a newspaper that resembles others, aimed to depict an "accurately" as possible context.

Not only the selection of the scenes, but also the characters and positioning thereof serve as semiotic tools for interpretation in the movie. Black participants and a few white participants are positioned facing the government building in protest, whereas some white participants serve as onlookers positioned on the side of the government building. This relationship depicts not only the relationship between the people, but also their relationship to the ruling government.

This political upheaval was narrated by the author of the book in the form of events that took place in the 1960s. She, for example, drew on the case of Hector Peterson, "an unarmed thirteen-year-old boy" "shot and killed" by riot police at a "peaceful demonstration in Soweto" (Stone, 2007:167). The context for these riots were provided by the author to situate the happenings and also to highlight how Sandra was affected by it, although she did not know much about what was happening in politics at the time.

5.2.7 The historical and narrative significance of buildings



Figure 5. 10 Buildings as semiotic material

The government buildings also played a central role in displaying the significance of laws in the movie. The visual significance of the Pretoria High Court (20:20), Supreme Court Building (26: 00), courtroom and prison cells in Swaziland and Home Affairs building signifies the importance of the laws and government in the history of Sandra Laing. It served as central signposts, creating a dialogue between that which exists in the real world (buildings) and the dramatisation and role-play in a movie. These buildings and the manner in which they are set up also determined the social relationships between the participants. In these scenes in the movie, the producer strategically used the materiality of signs, characters, proxemics and buildings as actors to situate the events that unfolded. In this way, the spaces, spatial use and appropriation and buildings also form part of the apartheid materiality.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, the semiotisation of the apartheid context in different artefacts are discussed by concentrating on the role of religion and laws as vehicles for the implementation of apartheid.

The artefacts have generic restrictions and potential that enables the narration and recreation of context differently. The author of the book had at her disposal the life event and translated it through the appropriation of words and a few pictures of the Laing family. Language was the primary means of narration in the book. The selection of words, narrations of others, events and the framing thereof offered a particular lens for the interpretation of the recreation of Sandra Laing's story, and inevitably the apartheid context. The book provides rich contextual details about Sandra's experiences, the laws that prevailed and expert opinions on what transpired in her life and South Africa during apartheid. The narrator's voice and that of Sandra are foregrounded.

As opposed to the book, the author of the movie had a range of modes at his disposal for the translation of the story and re-creation of the apartheid context. Language, proximity, space, color, actions, buildings, pictures in combination with aesthetics and cinematographic techniques such as framing and gaze, which serve as punctuation devices and played an important role in the reading of the narrative. The later depicted both the spectator/screen relationships and the textual relations in the movie. Identities and social relations are embedded in the performances of actors, which serve as symbolic representations of that which transpired. The viewer is thus reliant on the combination of these as de-linguistification takes place in the resemiotisation and remediation of the apartheid context and life history of Sandra in the movie.

Other significant participants, such as Petrus Zwane and Abraham Laing perform central roles in the narrative development and in depicting their individual characters alongside Sandra, whose importance is emphasised through her recurrent close-up framing and the events that revolved around her in the movie. The focus, voicing and techniques used for the narration of the story are thus dependent on the constraints of the artefacts.

These potentials of the various semiotics are discussed in the different artefacts, as well the artefacts' ability to host other artefacts as frameworks of interpretation within recognisable frames of interpretation.

Ideologies, religion, laws, letters, characters, material artefacts (e.g. buildings and signs) and story have been deterritorialised, recontextualised and re-purposed in the different artefacts and serve as intersemiotic chains which provide textual and contextual coherence in the artefacts as genres as well as between the artefacts and life history of Sandra Laing.

These modes are also mediatised across institutionalised modalities, leading to hypermediacy- the occurrence of modalities within modalities or genres within genres. The different modalities - poster, book, movie and classroom serve as organising frames for the interpretation of the life history. These frames offer different semiotic potential for the translation of the story of Sandra Laing and the recreation of the apartheid context. Goodwin (2001), Scollon (2001) and Thurlow and Jaworski (2014) assert this mediation to the communicative acts being bounded and configured by the reflexive semiotic structures of the host/target environment.

In the next chapter, I focus on the body as a racial scape.

CHAPTER SIX

THE REMEDIATION OF RACIAL TURBULENCE AND INSTABILITY THAT WAS APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the remediation of the instability of the racial classification system in apartheid South Africa in the book and the movie. Focusing on the body as a semiotic system, I will indicate the remediation of Sandra Laing through performance of ‘whiteness’, ‘blackness’ and ‘colouredness’ and how she is recreated as moving between racial categories (as defined by the Population Registration Act, 1950) in the two artefacts. The circumstances in which particular racial identities were imposed on her, and how her assumed and ascribed identities are resolved or not, are critical in understanding the trajectory of semiotic resources across the intersect between racial classification and available identity options.

6.1 The body as a semiotic scape

In this section, I show how book writer and movie producer use the body as a semiotic landscape in itself, by making reference to the remediation of Sandra Laing. Just like other semiotic landscapes (see for example, Banda and Jimaima 2015), the body is analysed as a ‘sign’ in context, in this case apartheid South Africa, which was regulated by apartheid laws.

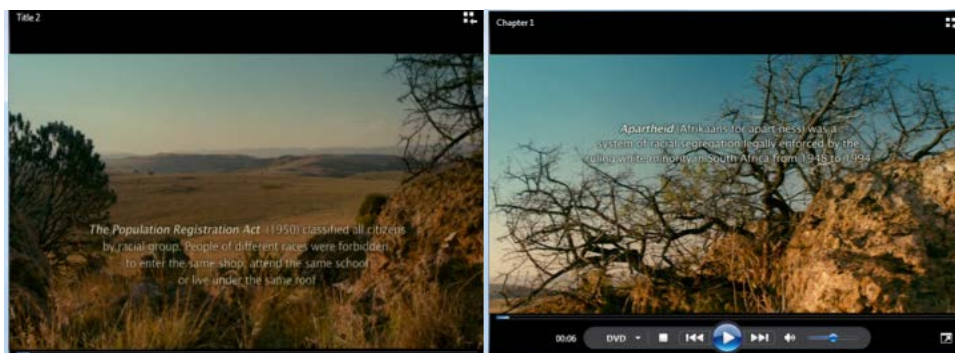


Figure 6. 1 Introducing the racialised context

The movie situates the apartheid context from the start, with a definition of apartheid provided in the titles of the introduction of the movie “Apartheid (Afrikaans for apart-ness) was a system of racial segregation legally enforced by the white ruling minority in South Africa from 1948 till 1994” (00:00:00-00:00:11). The producers thereafter introduce the double logic of immediacy and hypermediacy (Bolter and Grusin 1999) through an explanation of the Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950) followed against the backdrop of the Transvaal landscape “Population Registration Act (1950) classified all citizens by racial group. People of different races were forbidden to enter the same shop, attend the same school or live under the same roof” (00:00:12-00:00:23). This contextualises the reference to “Skin” in the title of the movie, since this was one of the defining features by which people were racially classified in the apartheid years in South Africa. The reference to “Skin” and other features sets the scene for a movie about race in the apartheid South African context. In the remediation of Sandra Laing’s life history, in terms of semiotic resources, the movie producers make a strong focus on her physical appearance as a ‘sign’, and the consequences her being white (born from two white parents), black or coloured in relation to the apartheid laws that regulated society from 1948 to 1994.

From the onset of the movie, the producer chose an interpersonal framing of the physical features of Sandra Laing through the use of close-up and extreme close-up shots, which is an anchor in the movie. Extreme close up shots are

used as punctuation device to zoom into her physical features, emphasising her Africanness, allowing the audience to intimately experience the texture of her hair, her facial features, bone structure and the tone of her skin against that of the immediate others and her activities to illustrate how this serves as the point of departure for her racial classification and reclassifications and to note the subtle nuances and the reactions to her as a result of these. Sandra Laing essentially represents the ‘other’, the ‘non-white’ because of her physical features.

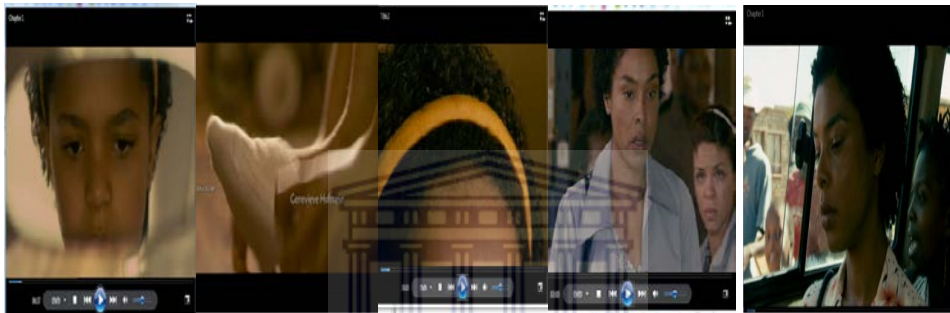
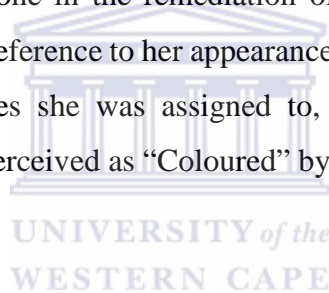


Figure 6. 2 The body as linguistic landscape

In terms of (multi)semioticity, Figure 6.2 above illustrates a close framing of her thick curly ‘African’ hair, her full lips and bone structure are ‘signs’ (Banda and Jimaima 2015). Pigmentation of Sandra Laing is therefore not the only focal point in the movie. These also served as signposts for interpretation and became the focal point of how racial discourses were framed and contextualised in apartheid South Africa. Sandra’s father and mother are “White” in accordance with the description of the appearance of a “White” person according to the Population Registration Act, but when you consider her features, issues around race and questions of infidelity on the part of the mother arise. As is shown in the content, and what history let us in on is that race is not only about skin - other physical features, associations and practices also inform classifications, as will also be evident in the rest of the analysis, therefore a critique of the title of the movie “Skin” is essential.

The framing of Sandra Laing and her physical features and the recurrence of this highlight her centrality in the movie; as well as the key role that physical attributes play in the unfolding of the narrative. In cinematography, the closer the shot, the more subjective its meaning as it is inscribed in the shot. This depicts the subjectiveness in racial differentiation based on physical criteria. This framing also reveals the subjective inference made by the producer, and affects the reading of the narrative. The close up shots also create a sense of entrapment in the evaluative gaze of others by Sandra in the movie.

In the book, there is also a strong emphasis on the physical appearance of Sandra Laing. This is done in the remediation of racial issues through the selection of words. The reference to her appearance is largely in relation to the different racial categories she was assigned to, especially when she was classified “White” and perceived as “Coloured” by the outside community.



“But while her parents appear to be as pale as milk in these black-and-white pictures, Sandra’s skin reads as the light brown of barely steeped tea, and her short, tight, dark curls look exuberantly African” (Stone, 2007:8-9).

In the extract from the book above, aspects that relate to her Africanness are resemiotised in great detail and in documents that are drawn on. As a result of the ambiguities in the Population Registration Act and the criteria used for classification (physical appearance and social acceptance, with a strong emphasis on physical features), it was imperative for the various authors to be precise in descriptions provided of Sandra and her “white” family. Sandra’s parents’ skin colour is described with the use of idioms such as “pale as milk” and Sandra’s as “light brown of barely steeped tea” (Stone, 2007: 11) to mark

the differences in appearance and to highlight the importance of shade. Other adjectives used to describe the colour of her skin is “light brown”, “toffee”, “tawny”, “sallow”, “honey” and “yellow brown” (Stone, 2007: 11/7). This trend is also evident in the description of Adriaan, as resembling “brown bread” (Stone, 2007: 61), who is spared reclassification and exclusion, simply because he is a “bit lighter” than Sandra (Stone, 2007: 213).

Other physical aspects of Sandra are also described with clarity, such as her hair “exuberantly African” (Stone, 2007: 11), “*Kroeskop*, Frizzhead”, “Turksvy” [Prickly pear] (Stone, 2007: 11/45/41) and lips “stand out somewhat (are thick) as in the case of a person with mixed blood- i.e. brown.” (Stone, 2007: 11). The author selected these descriptions, which are from a range of principles, to recreate the importance of physical appearance in the racial classifications of people in apartheid South Africa.

The importance of physical appearance is also resemiotised in the movie when Abraham Laing bought skin lightener and a brush for Sandra, with the hopes of “getting it through those curls”, and Sandra trying to lighten her skin with chemicals. This chain is reinforced in the book in the account where Sannie Laing went to town to purchase straightener, which she applied to Sandra’s hair (Stone, 2007). This in turn burned the scalp and hair of the young Sandra Laing, just like the skin lightener and chemicals burned her skin in the movie. The agent who intervened in trying to change Sandra’s physical appearance was different in the two artefacts. In the movie, Abraham played an active role in ensuring that Sandra is reclassified “White”; it is therefore not surprising that he remediates this role. In the movie, this event was reconstructed from Sandra’s knowledge of what transpired in her life.

6.2 School as a filter: confronting the *silent* race issue

One of the key periods in the life of Sandra Laing, which influenced her racial identities, was her enrollment in school. In terms of remediation (Bolter and Grusin 1999), the producers use contrastive semiotic resources and poignant performances of race in the reconstruction of the school in the movie. The movie makes clear that she was shaded from the larger white community because she lived in a rural area, where she was mostly in contact with her white family, the workers as well as the customers who were “Black”. She never had to consider that there was a disjuncture with her physical appearance and her racial classification. Things changed when she went to school. The school is constructed as having played an active role in the classifications and reclassifications of Sandra. This became the context where she was exposed to the larger community and had to confront the silent race issue.

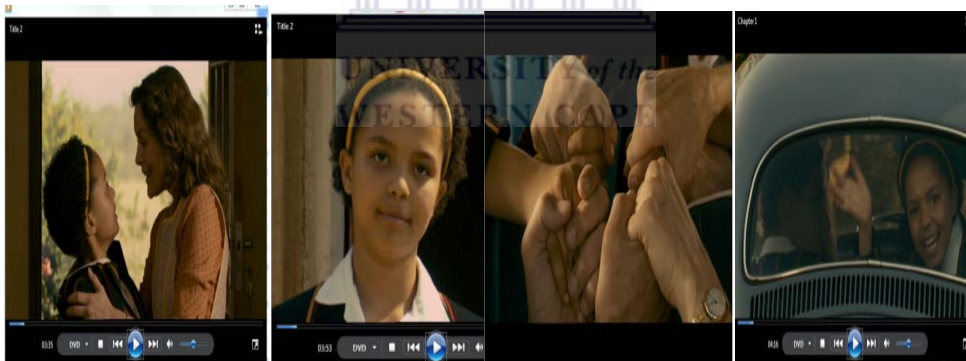


Figure 6.3 Highlighting the importance of pigmentation through framing

In the movie, we see deployment of multiple semiotic resources, and creation of intersemiotic chains or momentary punctuation or *arresting* of semiosis in the making or flow of text (Kress 2010: 121). The semiotic links or chains (Kress 2010) include the Laing family’s preparation for their journey to school which starts off with a close frame of the juxtaposition of two brown schoolbags, one with a brown and white tag entitled “Leon Laing”, the other with a red and white tag “Sandra Laing”.

The focus on the bags with nametags as semiotic resources draws the attention of the viewer and briefly shifts the focus away from the preparation to the next phase in Sandra's life. The selection of the red encircling the white on the tag for Sandra, as a semiotic resource, is significant as it is an accent colour, a colour often used to intensify events or characters; which is in stark contrast to white, which signifies purity, wholeness, perfection and innocence. The brown, in turn represents stability, this signals Leon's uncontested racial classification because of his appearance. The selection of these colours and their affordances subtly communicates the ideologies that prevailed in apartheid South Africa.

A hand, which belongs to Sandra's father, picks up the bags and puts them in the boot. A personal frame of Abraham Laing is then shown as he puts the last bag in the boot. Sandra stands in the doorway, leaning against the wall looking at her father. As she walks towards him a close frame is shown, emphasising her somber smile and features. She stops as she nears him. Abraham Laing: "Are you ready my angel?" Sandra nods eagerly. Abraham Laing nods and indicates a slight smile as he proceeds closing the bonnet of the blue Beetle. Leon Laing, wearing short grey school pants and shirt wipes the car. The frame moves to eight hands holding each other in prayer. Again, the focus is on the very subtle differences in skin tone of the Laing family. Abraham Laing: "Dear God, make this journey safe" as the camera zooms in on the faces and hands of Abraham, Sannie, Sandra and Leon as Abraham continues, "We put our beautiful children, Leon and Sandra in your care. And know that You will bless them". In the last section of the prayer, the frame becomes social as the blue Volkswagen and its occupants are visible in front of their home on a dusty road as Norah (the black help) stood with her head bowed (on the one side) and black friends of Sandra (on the other side) wait for the Laing family to embark on their journey (00:03:45-00:03:47).

Social relations are subtly delineated in this scene in the mannerisms of the participants and the way space is appropriated, as the 'black' participants

become onlookers and observe the departure from a distance. Their actions, which are in response to Sandra's (waving, running after the car) already signal the power difference between black and white people, which was one of the consequences of the racial stratification system that operated at the time. The process of 'othering', which was a prominent feature of the apartheid legislature, created values distinctions and power differences between the different groups, with white people in a position of superiority.

In this scene, focus is placed on the physical features of Sandra, as well as her innocent excitement to the journey to school. She became the focal point of the scenes, in terms of the close up shots and framing through rear window as well as events - for example, she was the subject of rhyme in the car. This highlighted that the unfolding events revolved around her, her first day at school and what was to become her first confrontation with race.

In the movie, the participants' kinesic often include frowns and stares on Sandra's first day of school when she was with her parents - stares from her head to her bottom, communicating disapproval and shock, which is often accompanied by pointed fingers. Their arrival at school was met with the careful observation and disbelief of the 'Black' gardener (00:05:44). The gardener's surprise was evident in that he stopped working and just stared at Sandra, possibly considering the havoc her presence in the school will cause just because of her appearance.



Figure 6. 4 Appraisal of Sandra by school gardener

The teacher who was responsible for signing students in at the hostel tried to hide the fact that she was taken aback by adjusting her glasses to have another look at Sandra, and then confirming the surname and heritage of Sannie with

“what’s the name again?” (00:06:06) to verify that of Sandra’s which signals her disbelief. This resonated with the concerned look of the student in the corner, holding her chest with her mouth open in total amazement (00:06:14), accompanied by other students looking on in amazement (00:06:21). For a brief moment, the teacher stood against the door, head slightly bent downward - her posture revealing her utter shock.



Figure 6. 5 Sandra enrolls in school

The above responses were in line with those of the “White” parents and students (00:05:46- school girl gasp in disbelief; 00:05-00:06 - people staring as the Laing family approaches). Pupils and parents, the former often with open mouths, and the latter, always with frowns of disapproval, responded to the way Sandra looked with the same reaction as the gardener. The parent’s angry look, stare, pointing finger and inaudible response to the teacher (06:38) mimics that of the angry customer who complained when Sandra went to a restaurant with Johan and pointed towards Sandra and said “Kan jy haar vra om te loop? Sy hoort nie hier nie” [Can you ask her to leave? She does not belong here] (35:25-36:10) and the scene captured at Home Affairs (discussed

in Chapter 5). This trend signals the disapproval by white participants of Sandra when performing a “White” identity and accessing “white spaces”. The framing of the shots, moving from Sandra and her parents signaling the disalignment to tracing the evaluators’ gaze from top to bottom, directed at Sandra, and then focusing on their responses captures the interpersonal relations between the participants and the importance of racial classification and segregation in apartheid South Africa. Both the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of participants communicated their disbelief in Sandra’s enactment of her white identity.



Figure 6. 6 “Sandra does not belong here”

The protest and shock displayed at Sandra’s presence in the ‘white school’ is because it was against the strict racial laws to have black students enrolled in white schools and visa versa. Sandra’s appearance was in contrast to her performing a white identity (which is what she is accustomed to) and thus transgressed the strict social order. Coole (2007) asserts that senses affect social encounters and indicates how visceral and stylistic aspects of embodiment aid in sustaining inequalities through “practices that often seem too trivial or mundane to identify as modes of power” (Coole, 2007: 413). In this way, the reading of her body and her physical appearance in the context of the white space, and the responses that she evoked served as modes of power in the sustenance of inequalities as apartheid racial identities are recreated through the participants and their performances.

Sandra, who is portrayed as unaware of her racial transgression, then proclaims “ma why are they all staring” (00:06: 26). This is remediated with a brief frame of the teacher/invigilator and parent interaction unfolding, where the parent points in Sandra’s direction and appears to express anger (00:06: 37).

Extract from movie *Skin*

Sannie Laing: So it is done?

Abraham Laing: Any problems?

Sannie Laing: No

Abraham Laing: [squeezes Sannie Laing’s hand]

Sannie Laing, after having seen Sandra off returns to the car where Abraham Laing is waiting. Her initial words “So it is done” highlights the sensitivity of the situation that they find themselves in since they never directly refer to “it”; it is a taboo - in society and even in the linguistic performance of the Laing family (also see Stone, 2007: 24). This is also prevalent in other scenes of the movie (e.g. when Leon asks “What if the baby looks like Sandra?” indirectly asking what if the baby turns out to be black). Abraham, whose key role is to protect the family, responds with “Any problems?” whereby Sannie Laing responds with “No”. It is significant that Sannie Laing responds with “No” and not let her husband in on the disapproval they were met with. Firstly, Abraham Laing, knowing the context, is probably already aware of the disapproval. Secondly, Sannie Laing does not escalate the problem since she is regarded as part of the problem (possibility of infidelity). When responding “No” she does not look at her husband, which semiotically ties in with his gesture of support (hand squeeze).

6.2.1 Putting ‘it’ in words

As is noticed above, the school served as a filter - a kind of a regulatory body. This is where Sandra had her first confrontation with the “silent” race issue. Her first verbal confrontation was with Elize, who later became her only

friend.

Extract from movie *Skin*

Elize (from Swaziland): Hi, I am Elize; I am from Swaziland. That is another country.

Sandra: I am not stupid, I know that.

Elize: All my friends have always been black.

Sandra: I am not black.

Elize: [surprised gaze]

In the extract above, Elize introduces herself and mentions that she is from Swaziland, another country. Sandra, who is already on the defense, responds promptly “I am not stupid, I know that”. Swaziland is a country bordering South Africa, which was not governed along strict racial lines in the time South Africa experienced apartheid. This is why Elize asserts in turn 3 that “All my friends have always been black”. Although Elize is not direct, she imposed a black identity on Sandra because of her physical appearance. This Sandra verbally rejects, as can be seen in her response “I am not black”, which was met by amazement from Elize (07:38). In this instance, there is a disjuncture between Sandra’s performed and assumed identity, and that which has been imposed on her by Elize; which she openly rejects. This is not the only instance where there is conflict between Sandra’s performed white identity, and the identities that are imposed on her as a result of the way she looks as will be seen in the discussion below.

In the book, there is also a strong reliance on words and phrases associated with sight as semiotic material in the appraisal of Sandra Laing. It was not uncommon that the words “look” (Stone, 2007: 81/213), “at first glance

(Stone, 2007: 79), “It was clear”, “in appearance” (Stone, 2007: 79) and “saw” (Stone, 2007: 11) were frequently used verbs, which highlight the actions pertinent in deciding whether someone is “White”, “Black” or “Coloured”. Nouns and adjectives which anchors the story about race and the importance of physical appearance are “complexion” (Stone, 2007: 11), “lighter” (Stone, 2007: 213), “paler” (Stone, 2007: 213), “hair” (Stone, 2007: 213) (most prominent body part besides skin), “appearance” (Stone, 2007: 76/79), “colour” (Stone, 2007: 24/75), “glance” (Stone, 2007: 79), “[not] white” (Stone, 2007: 6/11/41/79/81/95), “coloured” (Stone, 2007: 95) and “black” (Stone, 2007: 101). These words serve as semiotic resources to remediate and resemiotise the apartheid context, especially the importance of physical features in racial surveillance and classification. Their prevalence creates coherence and serves as semiotic ties that anchor the importance of the role of the body, especially physical appearance in the apartheid context.

Extract from book

“But she recalls with painful clarity that early in her first year at school, a group of girls began teasing her incessantly. She doesn’t know the names of her chief tormentors - there were four of them, she believes, girls from outside Piet Retief, not from Swaziland - but she knows what they said. They called her Blackie and Kroeskop, Frizzhead. “What are you doing at this school?” they demanded to know on the playground. “Jy is nie wit nie!” “You’re not white!”. They said their parents had forbidden them to play with Sandra. Isabeau Dutoit Coetze, who still lives in Piet Retief, was three years ahead of Sandra in school. She remembers, though Sandra does not, that the children sometimes called her “Turksvy”, prickly pear, probably because of her hair, Isabeau thinks, although in Afrikaans you call someone “Turksvy” when they’re a thorn in your side. The children refused to use the water fountain after she’d drunk from it, Isabeau recalls. “They said, ‘We don’t want your germs,’ and sent her to the back of the line.” (Stone, 2007: 41).

The perception of her physical appearance, and the realisation that she did not conform to that of a “white person” also resulted in mockery and name-calling as is evident from the extract from the book above. These names include “Blackie” (Stone, 2007: 41), “bastard” (Stone, 2007: 75), “Turksvy” (Stone, 2007: 41), “kaffir” (Stone, 2007: 77), “meit” (Stone, 2007: 102), “kaffir girl” (Stone, 2007: 102) “Kroeskop” [Frizzhead] (Stone, 2007: 41/49) and “not white” (Stone, 2007: 144). The names are directly related to physical attributes - which set her aside from other white children at Piet Retief Primary School and recreate a situation of racial tension and exclusion as it was a means to other, to show her that she is not accepted in the white community because her physical appearance did not correspond to the social understanding of what a “White” person looks like.



Extract from book

“According to Sandra’s file, when the minister of Interior received this second letter from Schwartz requesting Sandra’s removal, he decided to send someone from his staff to have a look at her. She had no idea she was being inspected, and neither did her parents. On November 25, 1965, the day before Sandra’s tenth birthday, David B. Naude Cloete, and administrative official, filed a report saying that Sandra was “obviously and at first glance a non-white and would never be accepted as white”....

After Cloete made his report, the minister of Interior decided at last to launch an official review of Sandra’s racial classification, according to the case summary:

A letter went out on 2 December 1965 to the child’ s father, saying the information has been placed before [the minister] which indicated that his register was incorrect because it was clear that the child was in

appearance not white, and that he was contemplating altering his register accordingly...

... Sandra was called in from a waiting room. “The deputy minister spoke to the child and had a good look at her whilst doing so. He then asked the child to leave. The father thereupon requested the minister to leave the classification as it was. The minister states that there is no doubt that the child’s appearance is such that she is not white and would not be accepted anywhere as white.” (Stone, 2007: 79-81).

In the book, the frequent co-occurrence of words such as “seems”, “general impression” (Stone, 2007: 11), “impression” (Stone, 2007: 11), “possibly” (Stone, 2007: 11), “In my opinion” (Stone, 2007: 11) co-occur with “no doubt” (Stone, 2007: 81), “without a doubt” (Stone, 2007: 11) and “not white” in the physical appraisal of Sandra Laing and also serve as semiotic chains, where the ambiguity within the laws and accounts of people are resemiotised to recreate the racial situation in South Africa, which was enthusiastically applied regardless of the flawed racial laws with its overreliance on physical attributes as is seen in the quotations above and below.

Book extract from letter sent to Inspector of Education on 30 January 1962 from the Principal of Piet Retief Primary (Stone, 2007: 11)

“... The impression that I and several teachers got, as well as parents of some of the other children who saw the child, is that this child could possibly be of mixed blood or race (coloured). The above-mentioned teachers and parents have discussed the case with me. I explained that because the birth certificate, which was submitted to me, indicates that the child is of the white race, I had no choice but to admit the child to my school.

For your information, I wish to provide you with the following description of the child

1. The little eyes are dark brown, almost black.
2. The general impression one gets from the complexion and form of face is that this child of mixed blood.
3. The lips stand out somewhat (are thick) as in the case of a person with mixed blood.
4. The color of the skin also correlates with that of a person with mixed blood - i.e., yellow brown.
5. In my opinion, anyone who saw the child would without a doubt classify this child as a non-White.
6. On the very first day that the child was admitted to the hostel it was brought to my attention that the native servants working in the hostel were very surprised to see this child in a white hostel and they have already started talking about the situation among one another.
7. Personnel members at the hostel have also informed me that the hostel children noticed the child's appearance and complexion from the very first day and have been talking about it since.

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These ambiguities in the racial system that focused on physical appearances and association are also semiotically re-presented through hedging in the cases which resembles that of Sandra Laing. These irregularities arose because appearance was stressed; and at times it became difficult to categorise people in the different racial groups because of the subjective criteria. One of such cases is of twin boys; one was classified “Coloured” and the other “Native” just because one was darker than the other (See Stone, 2007: 96-97 for other cases). These cases are evidence of the subjectivity involved in applying the Populations Registration Act of 1950, which contains a number of ambiguities.

6.2.2 The role of ‘acceptance’ in racial classification

Another important factor that is stressed in the Populations Registration Act is

acceptance. Although acceptance is a different dimension, it is not independent of physical appearance because the latter is often a result of the former, as in the case of Sandra Laing. Although she was legally classified as a white person, she did not look the part. There was thus a lot of pressure to have her reclassified and expelled by the pupils, parents, larger white community, school governing board and especially the Principal of Piet Retief, Mr Van Tonder, who wrote numerous letters to have Sandra reclassified and expelled from the white school because of the racialisation of space and institutions.

Extract from book

“...At the moment there are only two smaller children in the hostel who are willing to play with her. These two girls are also among the less intelligent pupils.

Most of the pupils still refuse vehemently to play with her, associate with her, or accept her.

At inter-hostel school functions, most of the children avoid her. All the boys, especially, avoid her without exception....

It is for this reason that, when she was enrolled in this school on 30 January 1962, I wrote the letter to the Inspector of Education in Ermelo [the district headquarters]. In the letter I gave an anthropological description of the child's appearance.

Other information of note:

Several parents who have children enrolled in this school and hostel have protested to me personally. They do not want this pupil to be allowed to attend the school or stay in the hostel.

Some of the parents have refused to have their child sleep in the same room in the hostel as the child. Some of the parents still refuse, even now, that their children be placed in the same room with her.

Some of the parents even threatened to remove their children from the hostel and this school.

Members of the public at large have also made comments about this child's appearance and have mentioned their disapproval about her being allowed to attend a school and stay in a hostel that are both intended for white children only.

Personally, I feel it would be best for her if she were to be placed in a community where she would feel accepted and to which she would be able to adapt and therefore be a happier person....

Dutifully Yours,

J. P. Schwartz, Principal

(Extract from Stone, 2007: 76-78)

The racialisation of space is very prominent in the accounts of participants, among them the pupils "She thinks that we will let her stay at this school. This is our school we don't want to go to school with black people" (Stone, 2007: 50). These instances are evident in the extract above from the book and the account of the Principal in the movie when he says "My job is to look after all the children in this school. Sandra does not belong here" and in the responses by the gardener (in movie, when he stares), school and hostel staff members in their shock of Sandra's presence in the white school, at the Department of Home Affairs when Sandra could not sit on the bench reserved for white people (movie), when she was not welcome in the restaurants when eating out with her parents, when Sandra's mother had to buy clothes for her and she had to stand outside the shop, and when she was not welcomed in the all whites restaurant when she went on a date with Johan (movie). These events serve as semiotic resources not only to create apartheid identities, identities of power differences and segregation, but also apartheid spaces, spaces of separation, which serve as contextual chains and anchor the events of the movie and book within the context of race in apartheid South Africa.

As a result of the overreliance on physical appearance and acceptance, as well as the importance of race in apartheid South Africa, constructions of the other

was common, especially in cases like Sandra's. In the next section, I focus on how Sandra is constructed as a result of her physical appearance by analysing the classroom scene (discussed in terms of the racial laws in chapter 5), where a history lesson unfolds and distinctions are made between the "Bantu" and "White". I show how ideological representations and class distinctions are remodeled and how Sandra became an example of the other, how her performed and ascribed identities did not coincide, and how this redefined how she regarded herself racially.

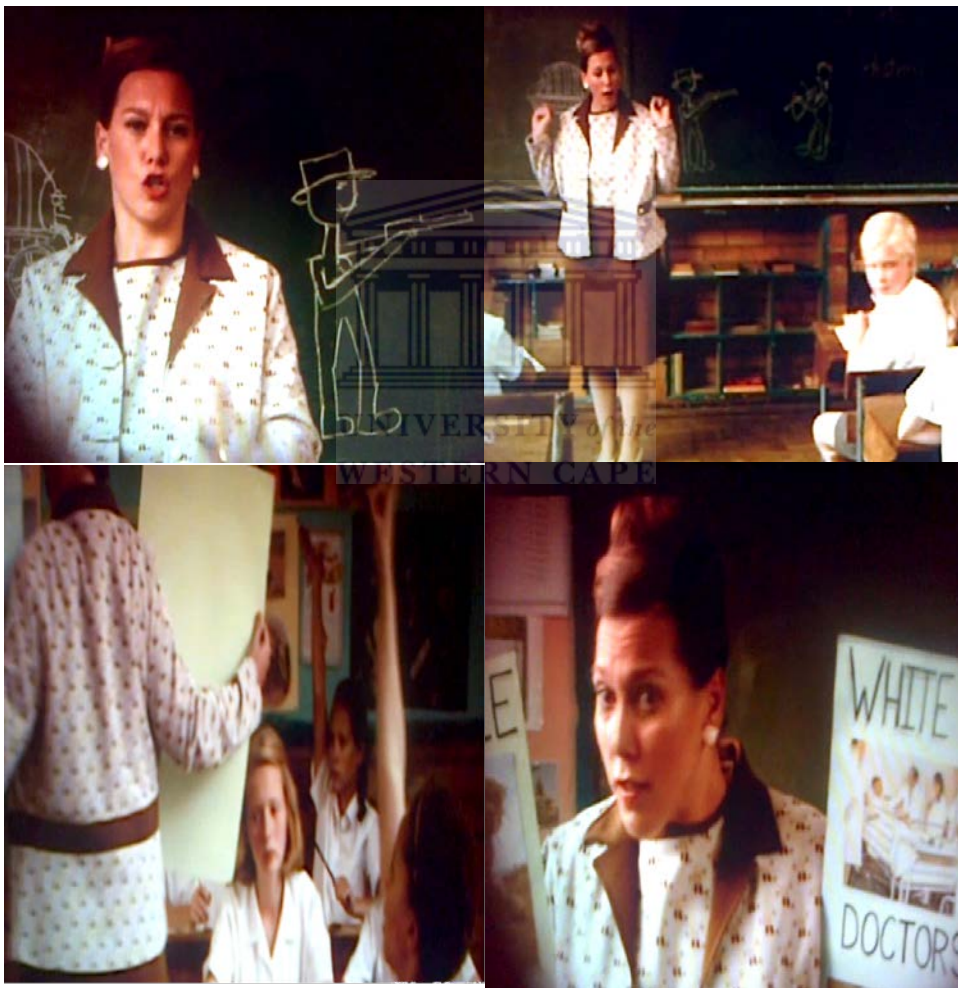


Figure 6. 7 Classroom scene

When considering her upbringing, and her apparent ignorance with regards to the disjuncture between her appearance and classification, it is not surprising

that Sandra initially performs whiteness when she eagerly opts to participate in the history lesson by showing interest in the lesson, laughing with fellow students and eagerly raising her hand to participate in the movie. This was however met with contestation, when Sandra became an example of the “other” (Boy#2 “...because they have big hands like Sandra”) and the apartheid context is replayed. Again, reference is made to physical features in marking the ‘other’ and establishing differences. In this example, there is a misalignment with Sandra’s performance of whiteness, which evoked the response of the boy. This caused her to lower her raised hand in shame as it affected the way she saw herself in relation to her fellow pupils, as the rest of the class including the teacher laughed. In this case, it is also apparent that the teacher did not negatively reinforce good behaviour, as is in the case with her overt reprimand of Dawie’s response, which communicates her agreement and disapproval of Sandra in the class.



6.3 Subjected to racial testing because she did not look the part

The remediation (Proir and Hensgt 2010) of racial testing in the movie is another poignant moment. Sandra’s appearance and non-acceptance in the white community escalated in immense pressure from the principal, governing body, teachers, parents (some withdrawing their children from the school) and community to have her expelled, therefore an inspector was sent to the school to investigate. As a result of the importance of social acceptance in combination with physical appearance, her birth certificate was constructed as “a piece of paper” (00:09:45).

Sandra then had to undergo racial testing because of this non-acceptance of her in the school. An inspector was sent to school to investigate and concluded that Sandra should be reclassified “Coloured”. Abraham received this notification in the form of a letter stating that Sandra was reclassified

“Coloured” (25:25-25:40). He appealed this decision and Sandra then appeared before the board for consideration (20:30). This sitting before the board involved reading from Populations Registration Act (21:00-21:17) and the evaluation of her appearance in combination with pseudoscientific tests such as the renowned pencil test which determined whether someone was white or not on the basis of a pencil sliding through one’s hair. In the event that the pencil does not slide through, the person is declared either “Black” or “Coloured”. Other tests involved the testing of the texture of the hair, the assessment of the size and flatness of one’s nose, the assessment of skin tone and the scrotum test for men (Stone, 2007: 95).



Figure 6. 8 Racial testing

In the movie, the inspector at school measured the size of her head and at the board sitting, the texture of her hair was evaluated and a pencil test was done (21:28), her teeth (21:01) were evaluated against a chart with pictures from the mouths of a range of people from various racial groupings and her back was assessed (21:51-21:54). When the assessor signaled to the assistant that he needed a pencil, dismay was evident on Sannie Laing’s face (21:39). This was also the response of Abraham, in combination with a sigh when Sandra shook

her head and the pencil failed to slide through (21:28-21:49). He knew that her course curls, which he tried to tame by buying her a brush, would pose difficulties with his application to have her reclassified “White”.

This led to the reclassification of Sandra Laing to “Coloured”, which meant that she was no longer allowed to attend a “Whites Only” school. It was not surprising that as soon as Sandra was reclassified coloured she was expelled and taken home by police officers. “Principal Schwartz and the School Committee didn’t want to wait for the near future. They wanted Sandra gone immediately. When her father refused to come get her, they had her delivered to him” (Stone, 2007: 81). She was then escorted home with policemen because of the seriousness of her offense. She was breaking the law after all!

6.4 “Sheer hell”: A family “degraded” by the color of her skin

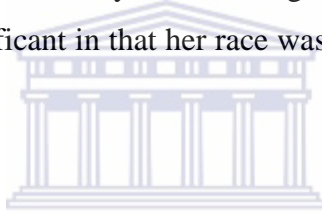


Sandra’s appearance and resulting reclassification and expulsion affected the entire family. Not only were there legal implications to having a child who is not classified according to the racial category of her parents, there were also social and economic implications. Coole notes that even when the body’s significance is acknowledged, its material and experiential dimensions tend to be neglected (Coole, 2007: 413) and highlights the seriousness of this shortfall in that power operates in many ways on a corporeal level. By association, the family faced reclassification and further social exclusion. The mother also faced going to jail because of the rumours of her having an affair with a non-white person when mixed race relations were prohibited. Meyer (Stone, 2007: 75) noted that the family was “degraded completely because of her colour”. It was vital that Sandra’s reclassification was challenged. Abraham Laing then filled an application with the High Court to have Sandra reclassified “White”, and also raised awareness of this situation by making use of the media. The extract below is one of the products of Abraham’s media campaign, which appears in the book.

Rand Daily Mail, 1967 excerpt in Stone (2007: 104)

“ ‘COLOURED’ SANDRA MAY GET REPRIEVE, the headline reads. “In March last year, Sandra was classified as a Coloured. It has been a year of ‘sheer hell,’ Mr. Abraham Laing, owner of two trading stores, told me. He said that his wife had spoken of suicide and of ‘taking Sandra with her.’”

The newspaper article offering a description of Sandra, whose case was already popularised in the media, is significant. She is specifically described as “‘COLOURED’ SANDRA” to highlight her reclassification and update the readers on the happenings of the case. The author of the article is again alluding to her physical space, her body, in framing the article. The sentence organisation is also significant in that her race was placed first, as a means to highlight its importance.



Extract from movie *Skin*

Abraham: ...we've always been staunch supporters of the nationalist government...to be slapped in the face by our own people is very sore

Reporter1: Mr Laing, does Sandra have to be registered as a domestic worker to stay with you?

Reporter2: When Sandra is of age, who will she be allowed to marry?

Reporter3: What kind of food does she eat?

Sannie: [approaching from back with Sandra] She eats honest, healthy food made for her by her mother.

Reporter1: Mrs Laing...are you concerned that you will be arrested under the immorality act?

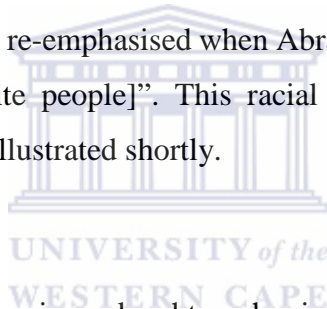
Sannie: I have never been unfaithful to my husband

Reporter2: Then how do you explain your child's appearance?

Sannie: I can't explain it. If there is black blood in our veins we never knew about it.

Abraham: Sandra come to your pa

In the above text, Abraham departs by drawing on his support for the Nationalist government, the government who came in power because of their racial laws. This is ironic because Abraham Laing believes in racial segregation, yet it is tearing his family apart. Abraham's reference to "own people", gives insight into his alignment with the apartheid government and its ideas on racial segregation. The function of the government, to cater to the needs of the white man is re-emphasised when Abraham asserts "The laws are there to protect us [white people]". This racial turbulence also has legal repercussions as will be illustrated shortly.

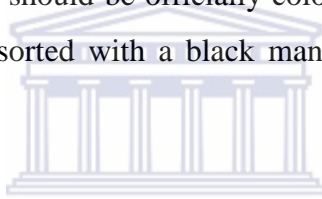


The legal implication of having a daughter who, in appearance, is not white is stressed in this interaction. This is evident in both reporters 1 and 2's responses. The verbal response by the first reporter "does Sandra have to be registered as a domestic worker to stay with you?" is resemiotised in the written form in the book when it is written that she could only live with her family now as a servant (Stone, 2007: 8). Since she was reclassified 'Coloured', legal sanctions prohibited her from sharing public spaces with her family and not just general acceptance (see instances in Stone, 2007:8). Sandra Laing, because of her appearance and newly assigned racial classification, will then have to be registered as a domestic worker if she wants to stay with the Laing family. This instant asserts that racial distinctions are also class distinctions; as illustrated in the classroom discussion (different occupations designed for "Black", "Coloured" and "White" people. "White" people usually occupied the prestigious positions, whereas their "Black" counterparts

occupied the blue collared work). This also attests to the unreasonable basis of the racial classification system, as Sandra Laing was about 10 years old when these interviews were held.

Extract from book

“The idea that Sannie Laing had failed to maintain the purity of the volk was too painful and humiliating for Abraham to entertain; her straying would make him not only a cuckold, but also a traitor in his race, a criminal, as Gerrie Eloff said in *Race and Race Mixing*. For an Afrikaner man like Abraham, the possibility of a non-white branch somewhere near the root of the family tree was unpleasant but bearable. That his daughter should be officially coloured was impossible. That his wife had consorted with a black man was unthinkable” (Stone, 2007: 91)



Due to the ideologies imbedded in the racial laws as well as ideas around purity and a “volksmoeder”, and because genetic explanations were not popularised when the racial class system was enforced, it was not surprising that Sannie Laing was largely to be blamed for the appearance of Sandra as is evident in rumours of an affair (Stone, 2007:58). Sannie Laing had to consider the legal sanctions of having a daughter who looks like a “Coloured”. She faced the possibility of being charged under the immorality act, as this act stipulates that it is immoral for people who belong to different racial groupings to have sexual relations with each other (discussed in chapter 5). Maintaining the “purity” of the “White” race was a serious concern in the apartheid years. The disruption thereof was thus regarded as not only illegal but immoral. The idea of a “Volkmoeder” (mother of the nation) foregrounds the important role of the woman in ensuring the survival of the white race.

The Laing family was plagued by these rumours of an affair. People were confident about their renditions of “what went wrong” with the appearance of Sandra Laing. These range from the possibility of Sannie Laing having a black mother (account of black gynecologist who studied in the United states and met author by accident at internet shop, who claims to have inside information on Sandra Laing) or black father (account of Afrikaner woman in her seventies, her children went to school with Sandra) (Stone, 2007:14), genetic explanations (although not popular) was given “it is without question something genetic” (Anco Stein, Afrikaner raised in Swaziland, former classmate of Sandra) (Stone, 2007: 15), and the possibility of an affair on the part of the mother was considered. The latter explanation was by far the most popular in the discourse of others (Stone, 2007: 15/71/105). These accounts remediate the purist ideologies that prevailed in apartheid South Africa.

Extract from movie *Skin*

Abraham: The laws are there to protect us. We just have to play these people at their own game, that’s all. [Getting his gun ready]

Sannie: Can they really take her away from us?

Abraham: Trust me, just as I have trusted you all these years.

Sannie: How many times must we go through this? You know that she is yours.

Abraham: You’re always so friendly with everyone in the shop.

Sannie: Who else is there to talk to?

Abraham: [15:40...] You’ll be surprised that people talk in the community.

Sannie: Talk about what?

Abraham: I have to live here!

Sannie: I live here too! What do you think it’s like for me?

In the movie, there is also evidence of the rumours about Sandra’s appearance and the possibility of Sannie Laing being unfaithful. This message is not overtly presented in the lexical performances of the actors, but the reader must

infer the message from the contextual cues. The phrase “Trust me, just as I have trusted you all these years” and “You’re always so friendly with everyone in the shop [black customers].”, communicates that Abraham Laing also considered the possibility of an affair by Sannie in the movie. Evidence of the community gossiping about Sandra’s appearance is textually supported in the phrase “You’ll be surprised that people talk in the community”. The last two turns of this interaction, and the overall emotional load thereof provides the viewer with an idea of the “hell” the Laing family went through.

In the book, there is evidence of Sannie Laing wanting to take her life and that of Sandra’s (Stone, 2007: 103-104). In the movie, it is Abraham who threatens to shoot Sandra and Petrus if they set foot on his farm and then taking his own life. In this instance, the event, although remediated and repurposed for generic effect serves as intersemiotic chains, which are made possible by the various principles (narrator, producer, Sandra’s recollections, journalist and so forth). These events recreate the difficulties the Laing family experienced because of Sandra’s appearance.

As a result of the pressure from society as well as the framing of the laws, it makes sense that there is a constant emphasis that Sandra Laing was theirs (Sannie and Abraham Laing’s). This is evident in the extracts “made for her by her mother”; “I have never been unfaithful to my husband”; “come to your pa”.

Extract from movie *Skin*

Sannie: Freak show, Abraham, that’s what that was.

Abraham: We’re going to get her re-classified white.

Sannie: How will that change the color of her skin?

Abraham: I’m doing it for her. I’m doing it for all of us.

In the movie, Sandra's mother realised that having her re-classified "White" was not going to change the colour of her skin (as well as her other features which causes her to be disregarded as a "White" person); which will always be a frame of reference for racial categorisation, especially on the societal level. Her father, however, was determined to have her reclassified and even contributed to having her physical features altered which points to the arbitrariness of the racial classification system and its overdependence on physical appearance.

6.4.1 Effect of Sandra's appearance on Leon

Sandra's appearance was particularly challenging for Leon Laing, her older brother, as he was a teenager and attended school with her. When Sandra enrolled in school, the children started treating him differently, and teased him because of his sister's appearance and his mother's possible infidelity.

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Extract from book

"That Anco and I can remember- Leon sharing with us how difficult it was, and that they didn't really want to be with her. Was that his point of view, or his parents'? I don't know. Possibly what could have happened is that in the enclosure of the home, they would show her love and affection, but outside, how could they do it? She was perceived as not acceptable." (Stone, 2007: 53).

Leon never mentioned the race thing to Sandra as a kid, it only became apparent when children started to speak about it and ignored him (Stone, 2007: 30/226). The extract above is an account from friends of Leon. The words "difficult", "no self-esteem", "waling with his head down" and "too shy to face

the world” recreates aspects of the situation that Leon found himself in when he was in school because Sandra was perceived as “not acceptable”. This was also supported in the book through the accounts of others, among them that of Elize’s mother: “The boys suffered because they were teased about having a coloured sister, and the little coloured was in a terrible state because they did not accept her at school.” (Rita, Elize’s mother, in Stone, 2007: 59). Because of the teasing and the othering of Sandra, Leon’s oral account in front of his friends that “they did not really want to be with her” serves as a distancing mechanism- to distance himself from that which is not acceptable in the hope of not being associated with the connotations of Sandra. Portelli (1991) asserts that one’s oral account is directly related to one’s emotional experiences. It was perhaps easier to deal with Sandra’s appearance when she was at home; but when she was exposed to the larger white community, at the school where he was enrolled in and used to excel at sport, her presence posed difficulties.

Extract from book

“Leon was also a very good athlete,” Isabeau says. “But he had no self-esteem. After Sandra came to school, Leon began waling with his head down a lot of the time. I think he was just too shy to face the world. I mean, you can imagine it must be quite difficult. Okay, she’s at home, that’s all right. But now all of a sudden it’s at school, everybody’s vicious. You know what schoolchildren are like; they start teasing and they can be nasty.” (Stone, 2007: 43).

Extract from movie Skin

Abraham Laing: What do I always say to you?

Young Sandra: Never give up. Never give up!

Father: Look after your sister, Leon.

Young Sandra: Love to Mamma!

[Leon uncomfortably puts his arm around Sandra as he scans whether any of the other children is around to see him]

Leon also had the responsibility of looking after Sandra at school. This proved to be a daunting task, as he loved Sandra but the pressure of the community's reaction to her put a strain on their relationship, since this could also pose the possibility of exclusion for him. His uncomfortable stance as he put his arm around Sandra in the movie alludes to the result of the pressure on him. In this instance, of the point racial classification that does not only refer to phenotype, but also associations, is highlighted.

Regardless of his protective role in school, the difficulties that posed and what the Laing family went through; today Leon has decided to shade his own "white" family from the knowledge of the existence of Sandra because he does not want them "to experience his difficulties" (Stone, 2007: 226)

6.4.2 "Sandra, you are White!"

Almost two years after Sandra was reclassified, expelled from school after her father made applications to have her reclassified "White", the laws of South Africa changed and stated that children are to be classified the same as their parents (see also Stone, 2007:107). With Sandra's "White" status, she had the prospects of returning to school (an "all Whites" school), living with her family, marrying a "White" man and having better employment prospects than her "Coloured" and "Black" counterparts.

There were both positive and negative reactions to Sandra's case before and after the reclassification. Those who felt that she was wrongfully treated, among them the Presbyterian minister, felt that the Laing family's suffering should end and Sandra be classified "White". The use and repetition of the word "suffer" served as lexical chains in the letters received, to explain the effects of the racial turmoil on the Laing family in the book (Stone, 2007: 105-106). These letters are all in response to Sandra as a child of two white parents.

They do not speak out against the inhumaneness of the racial classification system, or recommend that it be abolished. They just recommend that Sandra's case be redressed (Stone, 2007: 106).

A number of people felt the need to air their emotions about Sandra's reclassification. Among the negative reactions from "concerned" citizens after Sandra was classified "White", were those who were convinced that she was no white man's child "“Sy het met ‘n kaffir geslaap-nee geen wit man se kind.” She slept with a kaffir-no white man's child.”” (Stone, 2007:105) and “Foeitog, dit is mos ‘n kaffertjie.” Shame, it is a little kaffir.” (Stone, 2007:112). The classification has been described as “scandalous”, and “treason against everything the white man stands for” (Stone, 2007: 113). Nationhood, and the preservation and the purity of the white race were again stressed and resemiotised and remediated in the performances and narrations of the participants in the book.

Extract from book: Handwritten letter received on August 9, 1967

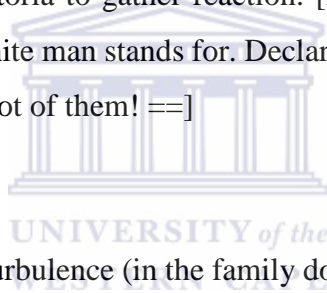
“I cannot find the words to express my dismay, disbelief, and disappointment, anger and sorrow. I cannot understand how it could be possible for your Department to have made such a scandalous classification. I can only pity my race, my nation (the Afrikaner Volk) and my country. Because such a deed constitutes treason against everything the white man stands for. It is treason against the history of our forefathers. It is treason against the current generation of white Afrikaners. It is treason against the future of the white man in South Africa. Neither you nor your department has the right to equate the blood of a raceless person with the Blood of a White Man. IT IS NOT TOO LATE. Do a reclassification and declare the thing a “Bastard”. I am not going to mention my name. It is not necessary. I am simply a white man who wants to keep his race pure.” (Stone, 2007: 113)

As is evident from the above extract from the book, because of Sandra's

appearance, and her non-conformity to the appearances of the white race, she was declared a “raceless person”, a “bastard” and could not be compared to a White person. A bastard, today, is a term of abuse; in the past, it was used to refer to an illegitimate child (Dictionary). This again implies that Sandra Laing is not a product of two white parents, but that infidelity is involved. This is resemiotised in the movie in the oral form in the broadcast when someone said, “declare them all bastards” when the change in laws was announced.

Extract from movie *Skin*

[radio news broadcast]: == in all classification cases. Children must now be classified the same race as their parents. Our reporter went to the streets of Pretoria to gather reaction. [Man: This is a betrayal of everything the white man stands for. Declare them all bastards, Sandra Laing the whole lot of them! ==]



As a result of the racial turbulence (in the family domain and society at large), Sandra started to question her racial identity “Nora, am I really black?”. She then tried to lighten her skin with chemicals, which caused physical harm. Their situation, in relation to the way race was framed legally by the Apartheid government, is evidence of the underlying problematic nature of the biological arguments for race, with its overemphasis on physical appearance.

6.5 Experimenting across racial lines

Sandra’s reclassification did not change the way she looked, and the way her body was perceived. This became a problem when she started dating. The dating scenes with white boys, which form the basis of discussion, are present in the movie but absent in the book.

Extracts from movie *Skin*

First date:

Johan: You know, you don't have to feel bad about looking like a coloured. It's okay with me, really. I like this song. [driving to restaurant]

Waitress: Hi.

Customer: Kan ek haar vra om te loop asseblief. Sy hoort nie hier nie.
[May I ask her to leave please. She does not belong here]

Sandra: Please. Let's just go.

Sandra: Will you excuse me? ... [climbing through bathroom window]
I'm stuck [to Petrus, the black vegetable seller].

Second date:

White man / date: Is your hair kroes [course] all over [trying to lift up Sandra's dress]?

Sandra: Pardon?

White man / date: [Are you a kaffir or a whitey?] [Sandra escaping out of the car]Bitch!

As is seen in the extracts above, although Sandra was reclassified "White", her physical features were still a prominent reference point. This is evident in the spontaneous response by Johan, who was not an appealing candidate to Sandra because of his constant talks about chickens, "you don't have to feel bad about looking like a coloured". Johan assumed that Sandra felt ashamed because of the way she looked.

Her physical appearance was also a reference point in her second date "Is your hair kroes [course] all over [trying to lift up Sandra's dress]", which resulted in a violent escape. Although having been abused, when Sandra returned from

the two dates, with no prospects of future dates with the boys, her father expressed disappointment, which was met by Sandra's proclamation that she is not white, and that white boys want white girls to marry and have children with. She thus realised that regardless of being classified white, because of her appearance she will never be accepted as "White" and will not be able to fully perform whiteness. She then fell in love with Petrus, a vegetable seller, who helped her escape through the window from her first date.

Sandra secretly dated Petrus until one evening when her father saw him helping her through the window. This resulted in her being imprisoned and confronted for dating a black man.

Extract from movie *Skin*

Sannie Laing: Where have you been?

Sandra: To see Nora (black help)

Sannie Laing: Try again

Abraham Laing: [storming in] What have you been doing with that kaffir! Tell me! Tell me!

Sandra: [scared] Who?

Abraham Laing: I saw it with my own eyes [pointing towards his eyes].

This is your fault. [cocking gun]

[imprisoning Sandra in her room]

Sannie Laing: No more smart talk Sandie, this is serious.

Sandra: I like him, Petrus.

Sannie Laing: Petrus? You like him like a friend...like a brother?

Sandra: Like a boyfriend

Sannie Laing: [Slaps Sandra]

Sandra: [gasps]

Sannie Laing: Petrus is a black man, dirt in this country.

Sandra: He understands me ma.

Sannie Laing: You can't help what you are born with, but you can help what you become. Now go and wash your face. You have punished

your father enough!

Sandra: [holding her face, crying]

From the onset, it is imperative to note that although there was a business relationship between Abraham Laing and Petrus Zwane (he has been supplying vegetables to the shop owned by Abraham), is referred to as “that Kaffir” when Sandra was confronted about her relationship with him in the movie. His individual identity is thus not in question, but his collective racial identity.

Besides being called a “kaffir”, which is a derogatory word used to refer to black Africans, he is also described as “dirt in this country”; therefore constructed as worthless. The latter description is made by Sannie Laing, who is the one who usually interacts informally with the black clients at their shop, at the disgust of her husband “why do you talk to them, you should only sell to them”.

“You can’t help what you are born with but what you become” is again a reference to her physical features - which she is born with - her “non-white” features. Her mother then advises her to aspire to more, to being white and distancing herself from Petrus and the consequences of being reclassified again, since there are many benefits (socially, legally, and economically) to being “White”. This verbal performance also attests to the arbitrariness of the racial classification system since she can “become” a particular race.

Sandra then ran away with Petrus to the neighboring Swaziland, and was arrested for entering the country illegally after her father reported her as abducted to the police.

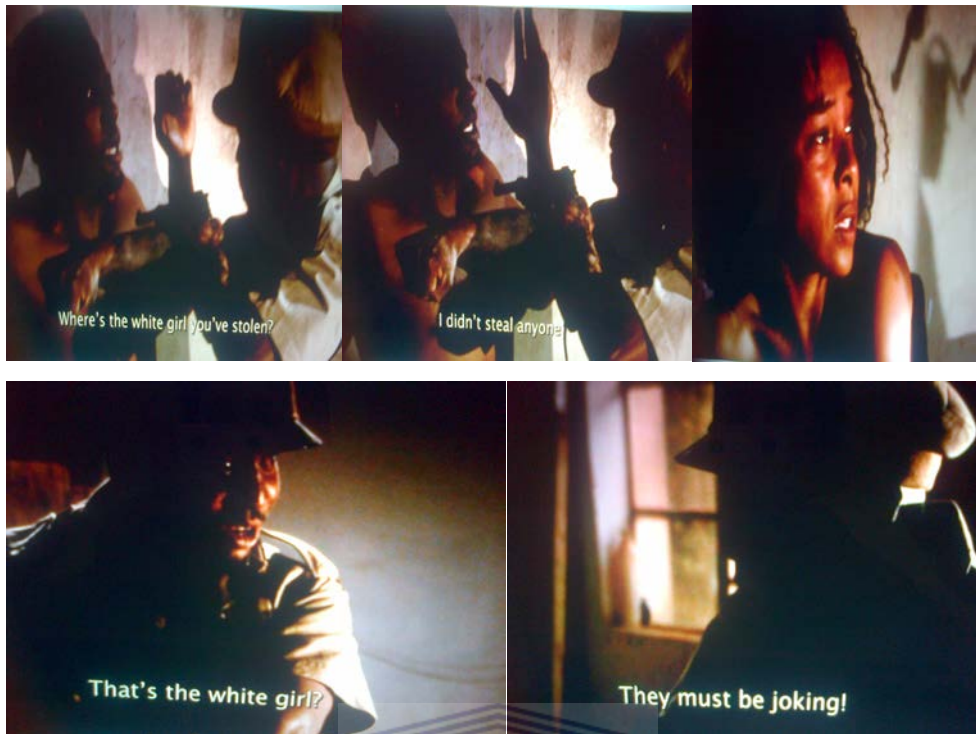


Figure 6.9 Petrus arrested for eloping with a 'white' woman

Extracts from the movie *Skin*

Policeman to Petrus: "Where is the white girl you've stolen?"

Petrus: I didn't steal anyone

Policeman: [kicking Petrus] And who are you? [directed to Sandra]

Sandra: Sandra

Policeman: Louder!

Sandra: Sandra Laing

Policeman1: (in other language) [That's the white girl?]

[Two policemen laughing]

Policeman2: They must be joking![laughter]

The interaction above unfolds when the police arrest Sandra and Petrus in the movie. Even in a country where 'racial differences' were not stressed (Swaziland), the policemen were amused at the "white" girl that was stolen for her physical features did not correspond to their understandings of what a white person looked like. This disjuncture thus caused laughter. Racial consumption, and the disjunction between her legal categorisation and

physical appearance again became a factor.

6.6 Constructing Sandra as the other

The dehumanising racialisation process in South Africa is not only visible in the behaviours towards the other, but also in participants' lexical performances as is noted from previous sections. The political activist Steve Biko challenged the concept of the "non-white" because it was also viewed as "non-human". The non-white other is often described with dehumanising words in participants' accounts in both the movie and book. In this section, I focus on the linguistic constructions of the other and Sandra as a representation thereof.

Extract from movie *Skin*

Leon: What happens if it looks like Sandra?

Mother: You won't love the baby any less, will you?

Leon: I love Sandy... but, it's hard, Ma.

Mother: I know. I know it is.

[Sandra overhearing the conversation as she stands in the doorway, and then leaves to her room]

In the movie, Leon raises his concern for the appearance of his unborn little brother or sister with his mother, since this could have racial implications for the family "What if it looks like Sandra?". What is interesting in this text is the use of "it" to refer to the baby. "It" is sometimes used to identify a person, when the sex of the person is not known yet, other than that "it" is used to describe a thing that is previously referred to. In this instance, the baby was not referred to by using markers of affection, but considered as a racial subject. Leon also realised that there would be challenges "but, it's hard, Ma" if the baby turns out to look like Sandra, and as mentioned above, only indirectly refers to those aspects that have racial connotations.

In the book, a number of similar references occur, the following extracts serve as reference to this point:

Extract A

“Foeitog, dit is mos ‘n kaffertjie.” Shame, it is a little kaffir.” (Stone, 2007: 112).

Extract B

“The boys suffered because they were teased about having a coloured sister, and the little coloured was in a terrible state because they did not accept her at school. You could see she didn’t fit in. It was a terrible thing, in the apartheid era, to put a poor little thing like that in a white school” (Rita, Elize’s mother, in Stone, 2007: 59).

Extract C

“The man who ran the Piet Retief cinema in those years, now retired, said recently that he never met Sandra and doesn’t know much about her- except that he recalls hearing in the early 1960s that she was “completely wild, like a little monkey, brought in from the bush.” (Stone, 2007: 52).

Extract D

“I tried to put myself in her shoes, this little thing who’s not accepted in the school environment. Maybe she was trying to say that her life was shit” (Elize, after reflecting on stories of Sandra smearing her feces all over the toilet loo, in Stone, 2007: 52)

In all the extracts above, ideologies are semiotised in the lexical selections of participants. There is evidence of Sandra being described as a “thing” by participants who responded both negatively and positively to her. The reference to “it” in the movie serves as a discourse chain across modality (movie to book), since it is re-contextualised and remediated in the book in the

narrations of participants. In Extract C, “it is a kaffir”, “the little kaffir”, “this little thing”, “poor little thing” serve as textual chains which suggest the ideological workings of the racialisation process, and to what extent it dehumanised the marginalised groups.

The dehumanisation of races is also evident in Extract E, when a man who does not know Sandra personally describes her as “completely wild, like a little monkey, brought in from the bush.” (Stone, 2007: 52). In this instance, a relationship between her and a wild animal is made. This is semiotically represented in the classroom scene in the movie also, in terms of the visual representation on the board, the placard and the narrations of the teacher (discussed above). In her book called *Maru*, Bessie Head (1971) remarkably captures the dehumanisation of the Masarwa people, who were often described in the literature in a derogatory term as “less than human” and resembling animals.

Ideas about the different races and Sandra’s reconstruction as a “non-white” were also evident in the in the Laing family’s interview with the reporters when a reporter asked, “What kinds of food does she eat?” This highlights the disconnection experienced as her parents were seen as “White”, whereas Sandra was regarded as “Coloured”. Sandra was then experienced as disconnected from her mother and white family. She is talked about as if she does not belong, again as if she is the ‘other’. It is therefore assumed that, simply because of her appearance, she eats different food.

The response of Sannie Laing, who appeared unexpectedly, is interesting, “She eats honest, healthy, food prepared for her by her mother”. The selection of “honest” can relate to the larger context where there is suspicion on Sannie Laing’s loyalty to her husband, and the laws of the country; or it can be interpreted as “honest, healthy” as opposed to that which the ‘other’ eats.

6.7 The hierarchical symbolic representation of skin colour

Sandra's performance of her "Black" identity was in conflict, since she still had "White" parents, whom she longed after, and reference to her "whiteness" became a point of conflict between Petrus and her. Her "White" identity was a symbolic reference for Petrus - sometimes representing good, and at times Sandra was a representation of the white oppressor in the movie. There was thus a polarisation with the symbolic representation of Sandra Laing, which was always dependent on the social circumstances they find themselves in.

When Sandra gave birth to their first son, Petrus was overjoyed and attributed this to "good luck" that she brings him. She was thus a bearer of good luck and represented wealth and prosperity (57:33 Petrus: you see mamma, I told you she brings me luck).



Extract from movie *Skin*

Sandra: I don't know what else to bring. [Sandra clutching a picture of herself with her "White" mother and father]

Petrus: You don't need that, or your birth certificate. In your head you're still white!

...

Petrus: To hell with the white man. They take our homes, our families. They move us like cows from one place to the next. And we're supposed to believe we're human? How can we believe that? You know what? My wife is white. She's brought me nothing but bad luck and misery. Her skin is a curse.

...

Petrus: I am not told what to do by the white man (to Sandra)

When the oppression of the white elites struck, Sandra became a reference of that oppression, and was thus constructed as bringing bad luck - a direct

contrast with the above. Sandra and Petrus were forcefully removed from Driefontein, and in this process of removal Sandra did not know what items to grab before their shack was demolished. She held onto the picture of her parents and asserted that she did not know what else to bring. This angered Petrus, because her sentiments of the picture with her white family and her writing letters to her mother is regarded as a performance of whiteness and served as a reference thereof. Petrus thus believed that she was still white in her head. This was the start of Sandra representing whiteness, which eventually led to her being abused by Petrus.

In the book, reference to the symbolic value of colour is also made. A mixed-blood person, also called a half-caste, was believed to harbour curse because of its inherent repressed sin. This person also symbolises contagion- a disease, something that is not pure (Stone, 2007: 89-90). The church indoctrinated some of these ideas.

“His children (Petrus’s son) adore Sandra; most children do. The little Zwane girls wrapped their arms around her thick middle and lay their heads on her belly. They looked forward to the rare visits from their sort-of step-grandmother. “We wanted her to stay always,” Lukas said. “We were very happy that my father brought a white person home.” To be certain, I asked Lucas if they thought of her as white, and he said yes, then added a comment in Swazi. Elize translated: “He says it raised the family’s status that a white person came to live with them. It was an honour to the family.” On a later visit to Jenny Zwane, I asked her, through Sandra, whether when Sandra came to live in Dorsbult she thought of the girls as white or black. “She thought of me as a white person,” Sandra translated from Swazi. She added, “Because at that time I was a little bit lighter than now. I think they accepted me as like them because I was friendly with them.” Sandra emphasised that she didn’t think of herself as white then.” (Stone, 2007: 152).

In addition, the black family she came to live with regarded her presence as raising their status and viewed it as an honour for her to live with them as is seen in the extract from the book above. They were not really overjoyed when she was brought to live with them, but that “a white woman” came to live with them. These ideas, which are resemiotised in the narrations of the participants lend credit to the hierarchical arrangement of the racial classification system, where “Whites” were viewed as superior, “Coloureds” were a little worse off, and “Natives” were the worst off of the three.

When looking at the inconsistencies with the values that are attached to skin colour, and their dependency on the circumstances; as well as the arbitrariness of race, one cannot help but ponder on the question by Stone, “What can race mean if you’re white one day and coloured the next, and then two years later white again?” (Stone, 2007: 267).

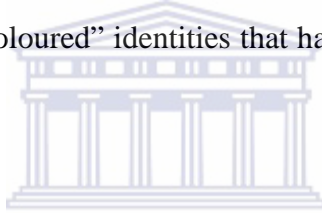
6.8 Summary

In this chapter, the arbitrariness in the racial classification system, as well as the social and economic polarisation of the racialisation process, both in its material and conceptual forms are discussed. This chapter illustrated how the body, similar to the laws, language and other structures created by the apartheid system played a role in the reproduction and enactment of the separationist ideologies and how it facilitated discourses of resistance, dominance and oppression. It also indicated the different implications of the racial classification system in South Africa and highlighted the importance of the body as a signpost in the implementation of the racial laws in South Africa; therefore serving as a semiotic landscape.

Hodge and Kress (1998), assert that the social power of texts is dependent on interpretation and highlights the importance of the interpretative communities. They are of the view that the process of interpretation situates the text within

discourses, in this case, racial discourses. In this context, the body is regarded as text and formed part of the semiotic resources for racial categorisation and interpretation, situated within discourses on race brought about by the separationist ideologies that were pillars of apartheid, and was dependent on this context for racial interpretation.

Sandra's skin and other features of her physical appearance served as central semiotic chains in depicting her life history and the essence of race in both the movie and book. Features other than skin pigmentation such as association and general acceptance also attributed to racial consumption and attribution on the nucleus family. They signaled Sandra Laing's performances in accordance with her ascribed and assumed racial identities and how she negotiated the ascribed "Black" and "Coloured" identities that have been imposed on her in her former years.



Her physical appearance was thus essential in framing the events in the different artefacts. In the movie, it is achieved through the framing of shots, especially the close up shots of her physical attributes and the contrast between that and other white people. This framing also allowed for the viewer to get a personal insight into the ways in which she was experienced, mostly discriminated against; and how she, in return, consumes the happenings and people's responses to her.

In the book, this was resemiotised in principals' voices, often the voice of the narrator and other participants like the ones in the letters that was received. In these narrations, the descriptions not only revealed the importance of physical appearance, but also the underlying ideologies of the participants.

The narrations in the form of descriptions and accounts, as well as the framing of physical appearance and events in the movie highlight the importance of physical appearance (particularly skin colour and hair texture) in the racial classification system and the arbitrariness thereof in terms of its contents and application. These aspects serve as semiotic chains which, according to Iedema (2003), can be analysed as intersemiotic chains which create trajectories across time and space. These chains constitute the different meanings of apartheid for meaning expansion.

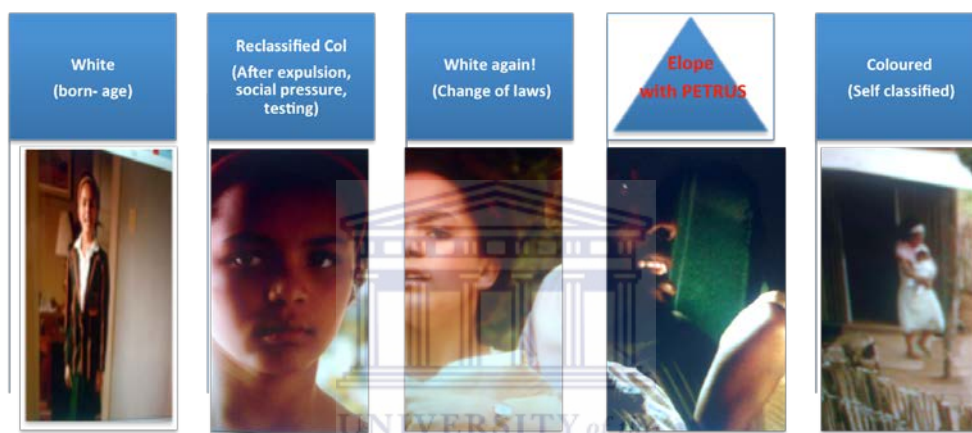


Figure 6. 10 Sandra's racial trajectory

When considering the body as a semiotic sign in the apartheid context, Saussure's assertion that the sign bears an arbitrary relationship to its meaning is significant, although he referred to the linguistic sign. In this instance, it is noteworthy that the body as a sign for the interpretation and classification of race is arbitrary in that Sandra could be classified and reclassified in a number of racial categories. Its interpretation was dependent on the social interpretation of others, ambiguous laws, as well as factors such as physical appearance, associations, heritage and so forth. This is why Coole (2007: 417) asserts that the body's appearances are always mediated by society and culture and that one has to pay attention to "material or discursive structures that categorise and stratify bodies on a macro level and undertake more detailed, genealogical investigations of the way anonymous micro- powers help produce experiences and discipline performances within particular contexts."

(Coole, 2007: 417). In this instance, how the political situation affected the reading of bodies, the experiences thereof, and how these in turn regulated people economically, spatially and socially. This is also supported by Foucault (1977:48), who asserts that the body ‘manifests the stigmata of past experience’; it is the ‘inscribed surface of events’, ‘totally imprinted by history’ (Foucault 1977, 148). The fact that Sandra could move across the racial lines is evidence that these borders are socially constructed. Sandra, herself is thus an epitome of the turbulence in laws and racial constructions.

The focus of Chapter 7 is on the selection of language, linguistic choices, dress and dance in the recreation of interpersonal, social and cultural contexts.



CHAPTER SEVEN

LANGUAGE, DRESS AND DANCE AS SEMIOTIC RESOURCES IN THE RECREATION OF APARTHEID IDENTITIES IN TWO ARTEFACTS

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I look at how the choice of language and lexical selections, dress and dance serve as semiotic resources for identity construction, determining power relations and establishing social inequalities in the reconstructed apartheid South Africa in the two artefacts under investigation.

The languages used in the different artefacts play an essential role in the recreation of the apartheid context, and inevitably the story of Sandra Laing. In these artefacts, language is a signifier of racial ideologies and power relations. Halliday (1985/1989/ 1996/ 1970/ 1972) has extensively written about the meaning potential of language, and the various kinds of meanings it can encode. Language can encode the experiences of people and how they construe reality, their relationships or interactivity, it also reveals the communicative nature or internal organisation of the text. Because of the prominence of Afrikaans in the multilingual data, I will look at the prominence and selections thereof by the producer and writer and how these language selections construe racialised realities and identities in apartheid South Africa in the first sections. In the second and third section of this chapter, I will focus on how dress and dance re-instantiate apartheid objects, events and discourses.

7.1. Recreating space through language

The first white people who settled in South Africa were from Dutch origin and spoke Dutch dialects, which with the influence of the local Bantu dialects became known as Afrikaans; a common language of people from various backgrounds. By the end of the 18th century, when racial prejudice was already firmly established in South Africa, Afrikaans had become a symbol of white Afrikaner nationalism (Ehrlich, 2006). Afrikaans thus forms part of the apartheid history. It is therefore an essential aspect of racial identity in South Africa. I will investigate how Afrikaans functions in the two artefacts and what this reveals about the apartheid context.

MULTILINGUAL INSTANCES IN MOVIE	Afrikaans	African songs	Sesotho	Unaccounted		Total
	52	8	5	34		99
	51.48%	7.92%	6.73%	33.66%		100%
MULTILINGUAL INSTANCES IN BOOK	Afrikaans	Swazi, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho, Shona	Township slang	Dutch, Urdu, Anglo Irish	Unaccounted	Total
	149	47	5	9	12	222
	67.12%	21.2%	2.3%	4.1%	5.4%	100%

Figure 7. 1 Multilingual representations

The authors of both the movie and book selected English as a language of wider communication, as a medium to convey her story, thereby securing a larger target audience. Snippets of other languages, which not only reveal the rich multilingual context of South Africa, but other important aspects such the role of language in apartheid South Africa and how language is both used

as a tool to maintain power and a vehicle for the construction of identities and social inequalities are evident in both the movie and the book. These play an important role in the recreation of interpersonal, cultural and social identities of the participants.

Afrikaans accounts for just over 50% of all the multilingual instances in the movie; the other multilingual instances, in order of prevalence comprise other African languages and African songs. The presence of multilingual instances is also rich in the movie. Again, Afrikaans accounts for the most multilingual instances (67%), the rest of the multilingual instances are Swazi, isiZulu, isiXhosa, seSotho, Dutch, Urdu and Anglo Irish origin. Most of these languages (Swazi, isiZulu, isiXhosa and seSotho) form part of Sandra's language repertoire. These "instances" represents words and phrases in languages other than English. As a result of the dominance of Afrikaans in the multilingual instances, it will be the focus of this section.

7.1.1 Terms of reference: pejoratives and honorifics

The most prominent Afrikaans words in both the movie and book are terms of reference in the form of honorifics and pejoratives. Honorifics are used to convey respect, esteem and to encode the social status of speakers. Besides marking age, gender and social class (Lakoff, 1975; Ide, 1982; Ide and Yoshida, 1999; Cook, 1996 and so forth), it is also an indicator of status inequality social distance and hierarchy (Hollander and Abelson, 2014:187). Pejoratives, in turn express contempt and disapproval (www.yourdictionary.com).

In the movie, the words "Kaffir" and "Baas" are prominent amongst other terms of reference such as "ma", "mamma", "pa" and so forth. The word "kaffir" is derived from Arabic meaning "infidel" or "non-believer" and is

used as a derogatory term or pejorative to refer to black Africans. “Baas”, in turn, means master, and is used to refer to a white man to signal a difference in power and status. These terms of reference are used to recreate the power and status differences which existed.

In the book, the use of “kaffir” in the recollections of participants functions to ‘other’, except in one instance, when it is used by some Afrikaners as affectionate nicknames for their children (o).

Children from Swaziland were often bullied and referred to as “kaffir boeties” [kaffir lovers/nigger brothers] (Stone, 2007: 44) by the principal of Piet Retief because of Swaziland’s non-racial laws when Sandra was at school, and also because they were more tolerant and friendly towards Sandra. In this case, it is noteworthy that the white people from Swaziland are also discursively constructed as different from other white people as well as different from “kaffirs”, therefore they maintained a different position in the school and society that they lived in. The word was also strategically used to indicate that “kaffirs” do not belong in “white spaces” (n) and that interracial relations were forbidden (p, q, t, u). Discourses of intolerance were prevalent in the instances where “baas” and “kaffir” are used. In this way, language or rather racial markers are used to regulate, control and racialise space.

The word “kaffir”, although loaded, was so widely used that it was even visible in the language of children (h, r), accompanied by the use of politeness markers. This signals that the racial power difference transcended age and was widely ‘acceptable’. These selections were used by the author to signal how racial alignment and ‘othering’, which was prominent in apartheid South Africa transcended age.

Modality	Word	Prevalence	Instance
Movie	Baas	7 instances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) "Tea Baas?" (29:14) b) "Just talking my baas" (41:07-41:08) c) "Baas Laing" (50:00) d) "Baas Laing" (50:07) e) "Can I help you Baas?" (50:56) f) "Sho <u>my</u> baas" (41:18) g) "Nothing Baas" (1:01:37)
Movie	Kaffir(s)	5 instances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> h) "Because of the kaffirs mevrou" (08:46) i) "What were you doing with <u>that kaffir</u>?" (47:28) j) "Can't be an afraid/a brave kaffir so you have to be a <u>stupid one</u>" (50:02) k) "I didn't let the state take her away so I won't let <u>some kaffir</u> tear my family apart" (50:56) l) "Do you want a lift? <u>Lig julle voette kaffers!</u>" (1:21:09)
Book	Kaffir(s)	12 instances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> m) kaffir boeties [kaffir lovers/nigger brothers] (44) n) "Why don't you go back to your kaffir land?". o) Sometimes playfully used by Afrikaners as affectionate nicknames for their children. p) Children used to ask Leon "What is your mother?" Elize clarified that this meant "Is she a whore who sleeps with kaffirs?" q) Elderly people of Piet Retief felt that the Laings problems started with Sannie having slept with a "kaffir". r) Children asked Agnes if her one child's father was a kaffir because he was tanned whilst the other was light skinned "Tannie tannie, why is the one child white and the one child tanned? Is the pa a kaffir?" s) Community members asked Leon's father why he would want his daughter (now Leon's wife) to go out with Leon when his sister is a kaffir. t) "Are you sleeping with the kaffir?" (Abraham to Sandra about Petrus) (44/103/134/136264/266/284/271) u) "Sy het [met] n kaffir geslaap-nee, geen wit man se kind" [She [Sannie Laing] slept with a nigger. No white man's child.] (Scrawled on newspaper article of Laing family across photograph of Sannie Laing and Sandra and placed in postbox.) (105) v) "Foeitog, dus mos 'n kaffirtjie" ["Shame, it's a little nigger"] (Anonymous newspaper clipping with this inscription was sent to Minister of Interior) (112)

Figure 7.2 "Baas" and "Kaffer" as terms of reference

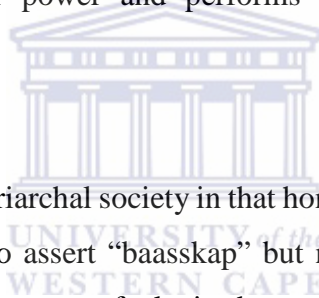
In the movie, “Baas” is used by black participants in all the instances, and functions to denote respect and servitude. It often appears alongside the surname of Abraham Laing - never his first name, which serves as a politeness marker. In instance b) and d) “baas” co-occurs with “my” [my] and translates to [my boss], which signals ownership and reveals the gross inequalities which existed. White participants, in turn, are the only ones who use “Kaffir” as reference for black people in the data. In the contexts where it is used, it functions to place blame, to construct the ‘other’ as unreasonable (h), to mock (l) to ridicule, devalue and express disgust (i-k, p, u, v), even just by association (s).

In instance (v), there is also evidence of pejority of load-graduation. The suffix ‘-tjie’ in Afrikaans is used to indicate that something is small; it usually functions as a form of endearment. In this instance, it is used to belittle and to ‘other’. It therefore fine-tunes the pejorative function and serves as an element of appraisal. Graduation of racial evaluation thus cunningly takes place in this instance.

As is noted above, black South Africans in the data analysed use “Baas” to acknowledge the status and power of white people, and white participants emphasise their power and signal a lack thereof by black people with the use of “kaffir”. The author strategically used these Afrikaans nouns to portray relations of power and social inequalities that existed in apartheid South Africa. “Baas” and “Kaffir” therefore serves as linguistic representations of power differences. In these instances, it is evident that the forms used by the different racial groups to assume their position in society as well as to differentiate themselves from others are internalised. The power differences and hegemonic ideologies are accepted as natural. Although loaded, ‘white’ people used the word “kaffir” without a negative response from the addressees, constructing them as not reacting to their social status. This, in

turn, is also evidence that the racial codification is accepted as given and not challenged.

The maintenance and enforcement of “baasskap” (bosshood) is also emphasised in the book. Again, language is used as a modality to enforce power and inequalities. “Abraham only spoke a few Swazi words to maintain bosshood” (Stone, 2007: 27). This signals the importance of language in relations of power in everyday interactions in apartheid South Africa. The above use of language supports Hodge and Kress’ assertion that “Language is an instrument of control as well as of communication” (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 6) and Fairclough’s (1989/2014) assertion that language plays a central role in the struggle for power and performs this function through its ideological workings.



The artefacts reflect a patriarchal society in that honorific terms of address for white male are evident to assert “baasskap” but not for white female. In a study conducted on the language of televised sports in the *women's and men's National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) basketball* and *men's and women's U.S. Open tennis tournament* in 1989, Messner, Duncan and Jensen (1993) found that women and Black men were referred to by their first names by commentators more often, whilst white men were referred to mostly by their last names. He attributed this to the reconstruction of gender and racial hierarchies. This finding also holds true in this patriarchal apartheid context. In this case, not only language choices, but also language practices are kinds of meanings or have meaning potential.

7.1.2 “Boer” and “Volk” – recreating separatist ideologies

“Boer” and “volk” are also among the most prominent Afrikaans words in the book and are rich in separatist ideologies. Originally used to describe members of the Huguenot and Dutch population, “Boer” is a word that the Afrikaner people, descendants of the former, proudly use to describe themselves. It is significant in that they are constructed as a people, a nation. This remediates the purist and segregationist ideologies that were idealised at the time.

Constructing a people or nation has a dual function - in defining themselves, they created an inclusive club, what Bourdieu calls different lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1990). This process also defines the ‘other’, that which does not belong and thus serves as a means to exclude.

“Boer” served as a stem for many words, which had to do with the “Boere” culture - their food “boerewors” [Afrikaner/farmer’s sausage] (Stone, 2007: 33), “boerekos” [Afrikaner food] (Stone, 2007: 28) and “boerebiskuit” [Afrikaner biscuit] (Stone, 2007: 33).

Even biltong [beef jerkey], bredies [stews with beef or lamb] and braai [barbeque] (Stone, 2007: 152), have strong Afrikaner undertones and were regarded as part of the Boer culture; they were referred to in the book when talking about Sandra’s “White” family or other “white” Afrikaner families. “Boere Baroque” [Afrikaner Kitch] (Stone, 2009: 259), is used to describe the manner in which the “Boer” people decorated their homes, setting them apart from other non-white Afrikaner people. The reference to “boerekos” is also evident in the movie, when Sannie welcomes young Sandra home from school and announce that she made her favourite food-boerekos. At this stage, Sandra was still living as a white person and performing a white identity.

In his work on *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1979) asserted that tastes in food and culture and the presentation thereof are class indicators because consumption trends are indicative of people's stance in society. Dominant classes therefore develop their own aesthetic criteria and ways of being as is evident in the discussion above.

He asserted that taste "functions as a sort of social orientation, a 'sense of one's place', guiding the occupants of a given place in the social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which benefit the occupants of that position." (Bourdieu, 1984: 466). In this work on taste, he indicated how preferences are a reflection of class fractions. These findings are mostly extended to food although he extended it also to furniture. These preferences, or as Bourdieu (1984) terms them "dispositions" are modes of self-representation and is mostly as a result of social origin. These assumptions of Bourdieu complements the data analysed as groups or rather racial and class fractions are depicted through aesthetic preferences and dispositions.

The prevalence of "volk" [a nation/a people], which is used to refer to "White" Afrikaners serves to recreate and resemiotise purist ideologies. "Boerevolk" is used in the context of preservation in text on ideologies of apartheid. "Volksmoeder" (Stone, 2007: 91), is also an ideal that stresses the role of women in ensuring the longevity of the Afrikaner people. These words, which are recontextualised in the English text, are significant references to the importance of Afrikaans in the ideological workings of the time and served to recreate a cultural context which appears to be closed, to create a people with their own types of food and ways of being.

Modality	Word	Prevalence	Instance
Book	Boer (Stem)	7 instances	<p>a) “Boer” – What Afrikaners proudly call themselves. In this text Sandra is described as speaking Afrikaans, like any other Boer child (13).</p> <p>b) “Where is the Boer child you stole?” [Police to Petrus] (143)</p> <p>c) Boere Baroque - Afrikaner kitch (How Afrikaner decorated their homes) (259)</p> <p>d) boerewors - Nora sometimes used to prepare this for the Laing family (28)</p> <p>e) boerekos - Sannie taught Sandra how to cook this (33)</p> <p>f) boerebiskuit (33)</p>
	Boerevolk		g) Preservation thereof in texts on apartheid ideology (82).
	Volk	6 instances	<p>h) Volk- Boer people/nation (19/86/92/259).</p> <p>i) Volksmoeder - popular ideal in Afrikaner culture (91)</p>

Figure 7.3 “Boer” and “Volk” to create ‘a people’

Other Afrikaans words that are prevalent in the book (besides “apartheid”) relate to descriptions of Sandra and the names she was called because of her appearance and issues relating to religion.

7.1.3 Afrikaans: a site for intra-racial and extra racial conflict

Afrikaans was also used as a means to exclude in terms of racial classification. In the book, the fact that Principal Schwartz insists that Sandra does not speak Afrikaans, but Zulu in his letter written to the Minister of Interior in January 1962 to have her reclassified highlights the role language played in the (re)classification of people (Stone, 2007: 11). Constructing her as a non-Afrikaans speaker was one way of excluding her from whiteness. By asserting that she speaks Zulu she is pushed into the Zulu nation.

Afrikaans was undoubtedly the mother tongue of Sandra, and that of her children although Zulu, Swazi and English also formed part of her repertoire. When counting or speaking with God and her children, Sandra uses Afrikaans. Through Afrikaans, she performs whiteness and negotiates power when in the midst of an English speaker who is more fluent in English than her - English being the language that she is limited to (Stone, 2007: 19). She however speaks Zulu with Johannes and when telling jokes -Zulu being the language that she is most comfortable in (Stone, 2007: 19). The author selected these scenes to translate the role of Afrikaans in the negotiation of racialised identities and power.

Extract from book

“Wollie (Principal Van Tonder) vigorously disapproved, for example, of those students who took their lessons in English instead of Afrikaans...Was Afrikaans not good enough for them? he’d ask, tapping his stick against his shoe, and just who do they think they were” (Stone, 2007: 43).

Afrikaans was not only used to enforce and maintain power relations between different racial groups, it also determined power relations between Afrikaans and English speaking “white” people. In the book, this is evident in that language was a deciding factor for Principal Schwartz to bully students,

particularly students who were English speaking and those who followed the English stream.

Extract from book

“The playground at Sandra’s school was ruled by a rigid hierarchy based on perceived loyalty to Afrikaner culture. Isabeau Coetze was best friends with Principal Schwartz’s daughter. “We’d laugh and talk on the bus,” Isabeau says, “but then we couldn’t speak or be seen together at school, because I was an English-medium student.” (Stone, 2007: 44)

Even the playground at Sandra’s school was hierarchically structured according to the perceived loyalty to the Afrikaner culture. The school was a site where Afrikaner culture was strictly produced and consumed. Principal Schwartz’s daughter, for example, was a best friend of Isabeau Coetze. They would be friends on the school bus, but could not talk or be seen together at school, simply because Isabeau was an English medium student whereas Principal Schwartz’s daughter was in an Afrikaans medium class (Stone, 2007: 44). The author selected this text in the narration of Sandra’s story to signal that language was also a means to establish intraracial hierarchy.

Context for the alignment with Afrikaans by white Afrikaners was provided in the book but not in the movie. Many white Afrikaners still despise everything English after the Anglo-Boer war, a war between the Afrikaners and the British from 1899-1902 after the discovery of diamonds and gold in the mid-nineteenth century. Women and children were kept in concentration camps where around 28 000 Afrikaners, mostly children, perished of disease and starvation. Afrikaners were conquered and left humiliated and filled with hatred after their farms were torched, their women and children died in concentration camps and their livestock was slaughtered. Piet Retief was one of these towns which were burned “to the ground” during the war (Stone,

2007: 43-44). The British occupied the Cape and freed Black slaves, which resulted in great loss for the Dutch settlers. Raids of the Xhosa people followed this on Dutch farms, which caused tension and bitterness, and resulted in a number of Afrikaans/Dutch settlers forming their own republics in the northern areas of the Transvaal and Orange Free State (Ehrlich, 2006). This, in combination with the attempts to Anglicise the Dutch churches, strengthened aims to preserve the Afrikaner culture, a “volk”, Afrikaner pride and nationalism through segregation.

Principal Schwartz became the agent to embody the language attitudes that prevailed amongst most Afrikaner people; and the other characters and circumstances embodied the historical aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War in the book.

The multilingual instances largely consist of Sandra’s accounts of significant events, events that are emotionally loaded, and nouns in the form of terms of address or items (such as parcels in the shop). These have been recontextualised and resemiotised from the life event into the written form in the book, as well as the multimodal form in the movie. Resemiotisation not only occur in the translation of Sandra’s life event into the different artefacts, it is also evident in the translation across languages. The recontextualisation and resemiotisation of events create a dichotomy between the present and the past, as the reader is situated within the circumstances of Sandra Laing and other participants when Afrikaans is used. Bock (2007) shows how Afrikaans can be used to resituate participants in history. In these instances, the textual forms have been recontextualised and “preserved”, but also remediated for the purposes of the specific genres.

7.2 Performance of apartheid realities and identities through dress

Language and physical appearance is not the only racial semiotic relic of apartheid; cultural material such as dress code and music are also signifiers of race and racial turbulence in the movie. Research on the symbolic representation of clothing is largely conducted in the area of Social Psychology (Harms, 1938; Johnson & Lennen, 2014). In linguistics this area is still underexplored.



Figure 7. 4 Semiotic recreation of difference

A link between social status and dress has been made as early as 1952 by Laver. Veblen (1953) also indicates that perceptions of dress were linked to class differences. The symbolic connotations of dress has been creatively used by the producer to depict separation and discrimination between black and white participants. In addition, status, power as well as access to material wealth are signified in the white participants' dress code, whereas the lack of these is evident in the dress code of black participants.



Figure 7. 5 Signalling difference through dress 1

When considering the pictures of the women in the movie above, there are stark differences between the manners in which white women dress and black women dress. Black women mostly sport African print dress with headscarves and flat shoes and others wear aprons. These aprons are the ones often worn by domestic workers. In contrast, white women in the movie often wear two piece tailored suits. Instead of wearing headscarves, they wear stylish hairstyles or fancy hats. In addition, they often sport jewelry, heels and matching handbags.





Figure 7. 6 Signalling difference through dress 2

When considering the men, this trend is also visible. All the white men in the movie wear matched tailor suites with ties or shirts, even in the comfort of their homes (Abraham) whereas black participants often dress informally or wear overall – type clothes. In Figure 7.6 above, Abraham and Petrus are both represented as businessmen, but it is evident from Petrus’s clothing and Abraham’s negotiation of prices, that Petrus has a spaza shop, an informal tuck shop. These are unofficial shops that were black owned in townships in apartheid South Africa. Abraham in turn, is presented as a ‘real’ businessman, with status and power, wearing a suite and being upright.

These dress codes recreates the positions people held in society. Most black women and men are depicted in domestic roles and as informal sellers, therefore the prominence of the domestic apron and dress and overall. White women are depicted as parents, reporters and teachers and men play roles of fathers, businessmen, reporters and a principal.

Even the wearing of glasses reveals aspects of inequalities. In the movie, only white people wear glasses. This is a semiotic representation of privilege and access to resources.



Figure 7. 7 Material representation of difference

The children's blazers and different school wear for different activities are also resources that communicate status, wealth and prestige. As is evident from the pictures below, at white schools children had various dress codes. Boys wear very prestigious blazers and pants; girls wear dresses. They also wear sports attire and short shirts and shorts and skirts for summer. These various dress codes suggests multitude. The black children, in turn are only represented in their informal, simplistic clothes in the movie.



Figure 7. 8 Creating difference through dress 1



Figure 7. 9 Creating difference through dress and spatial positioning

In some instances, black participants are presented in formal dress wearing either suits and hats, or collars. These instances are in the minority and are often when participants are in formal spaces such as at Home Affairs and in court (Figure 7.10).



Figure 7. 10 Symbolic representations of dress

The neat suits, hairstyles, heels, glasses and various dress codes in schools are symbols of power and wealth. They represent status and prestige that the white people had in apartheid South Africa. The opposite, in turn, represents the realities of black people during the years of apartheid.

7.3 Constructions of the *other* through music and dance

In the movie, music and dance were also used as resources to construct people. This is evident in the two dates that Sandra went on, the first one with Johan who is a white man. Her second date is with Petrus, a black man whom she later elopes with. It is also evident in the scene where a party was held in the township.



Figure 7.11 Racial 'contradictions' through music

On both dates, the two men put on upbeat music whilst they drive. Johan plays an Afrikaans song that is popular amongst Afrikaners by Anton Goosen with the lyrics “en dit reën bietjie bietjie and dit reën bietjie bietjie in the Wes Transvaal [and it rains little by little and it rains little by little in the Western Transvaal]” whilst Petrus plays an upbeat African song and dance to it.

It is noteworthy that the lyrics of the song tie in with the livelihood of most of the Afrikaners who lived in the Transvaal. Many of them were farmers, called “Boere” in Afrikaans and were largely dependent on rain to make a living.

Dance, as well as beer is constructed as a black African thing. In the party scene, people start dancing and everyone enjoys what appears to be beer. At some stage, an older woman looks at the people dancing and say to Jenny Zwane “Now this is one thing they’ll never take away from us. Can you imagine Bessie Verwoerd doing that?” to which they laugh. “That which they cannot take away” is the black people’s lively spirit, their joy amidst the discrimination. Bessie Verwoerd is the wife of Hendrik Verwoerd, notoriously dubbed the “architect of grand apartheid”. She represents white women and white oppression. The woman refers to the dancing, and asserts that white people would not be able to dance like that. This is an instance of establishing in-group and out-group boundaries through dance.



Figure 7. 12 Creating difference through dance

When considering the semiotics in Figure 7.13, it is noteworthy that most participants appear to be intoxicated and drinking. This is evident from the beer bottles that are being drunk from as well as the cups that seem to contain traditional beer. In Figure 7.12 above, the woman asks Petrus “Petrus! Where’s the beer? I’m not drunk enough!” which confirms the activities and the centrality of beer. Beer also plays a central role in the life of Petrus, especially in the context of racial turbulence. When they are relocated “like cows” and have to restart their lives on a barren field and when Sandra represents “whiteness” and he abuses her beer and the abuse thereof forms part of the landscape.

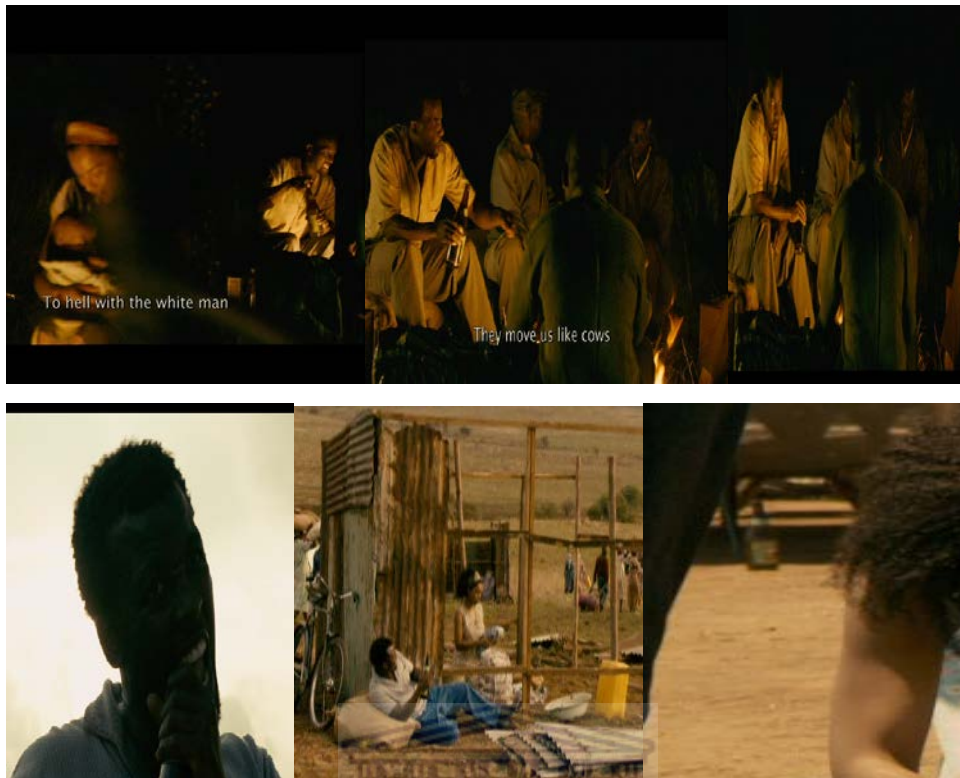


Figure 7. 13 Using beer to construct the other

As is seen from the discussion above, the difference in the music selected as well as the different constructions of dance and beer results in the creation of different cultures.

7.4 Summary

It is evident from the analysis that language, dress and dance is used as resources in the reconstructions of the social, political and cultural context which informs the two artefacts.

History is recreated through patterned uses of language and the recreation of separate groups and nations are depicted through language, dress and dance. Reality can thus be depicted through various modes. History also creates particular affordances for language choices and forms of texts delineate potential relations between participants signaling the dialectal relationship

between language and society, more particularly, language and context. This is evidence of the works of Fairclough (1989/1992/2014) when he writes about the dialectical relationship between language and society, the fact that discourse reflects social structures and social conditions determine properties of discourse, and that language plays a central role in the struggle for power and performs this function through its ideological workings.

Relations of power are mediated through language use, dance, dress and music, giving rise to apartheid identities in the recreation of the apartheid context, creating intersects of power, class and gender.

Afrikaans is not only a means to exclude or 'other' in terms of race. It is also a means to exclude within in one race in the data analysed. In this way, parallel contestations occur, one on the basis of race, the other on the basis of loyalty to Afrikaans and the Afrikaner culture. In addition, language, dress and dance are symbols of social and cultural capital in the recreated apartheid context.

Through language use and dress, the producer could recreate subjects in specific contexts, in a particular period with specific cultural materialities, creating trajectories across time and space, fiction and history. This chapter has also indicated that "the body is more than a sign bearer, it becomes a legitimate site for aesthetic experience" (Rocamora, 2002: 355).

A summary of the discussion is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

A summary of the main arguments in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study are presented in this chapter. In addition, conclusions, recommendation for further research is presented.

8.1 Semiotic materials and the framing thereof in the reconstruction of context

In line with Prior and Hengst's (2010) thesis on semiotic remediation as discourse practice, in the three analysis chapters, I have indicated that remediation is coded in the repurposing of multiple semiotics as well the interactions between chains of semiosis (Kress 2010). The repurposed semiotic materials range from choice of language, linguistic options and textual patterning, dress, dance, bodily adornments, various aspects of the body, colour, consumption patterns and apartheid material. Besides these, apartheid laws, ideologies and Christianity served as semiotic resources to frame the (re) construction of the life history of Sandra Laing as well as the apartheid context.

Language use, especially the choice of Afrikaans depicts racialised identities and roles. The choice of Afrikaans and the selection of words such as the use of honorifics for white men indicate the hierarchical racial undertones that were notorious in the apartheid period as well as the nature of language to embed interpersonal, social and cultural meanings. These meanings situate the events in time and place.

Besides language, movement such as dance as well as dress are analysed as text. These semiotic resources convey cultural and social meanings, particularly difference. In the movie, 'white' and 'black' people are constructed on the far ends of two continuums in terms of these artefacts; they are depicted as two separate people with different bodily rhythms and dress codes. The latter is used to communicate the different social roles different racial groups held in societies: white people maintained prestigious positions in society and black people maintained less prestigious positions. These are evident in the clothes participants wear as well as their bodily adornments. Items such as spectacles, formal hats, jewelry and formal dress, are a characteristic of white dress, these stood in direct contrast with the simplistic African dress, scarves and informal clothing of non-white participants. These construct opposing racialised identities, practices and signal the material inequalities that existed in apartheid South Africa. In addition to the above semiotic resources, consumption patterns were also used to construct different people and nations.

The body is also a semiotic scape, each aspect thereof can be read in accordance with the flawed definitions of the different racial groups in the Populations Registration Act of 1950. The author of the book as well as the producer of the movie depicted the central role of the body and how the body was used as a means to both exclude and include. Aspects such as Sandra Laing's hair, nose, teeth, hips, forehead, lips and particularly skin tone, were described in great detail in the book to emphasise their significance and the heavy reliance on physical appearance and the appraisal thereof in apartheid South Africa. In this movie, this was achieved through the careful framing of her physical features. The producer closely framed aspects of Sandra Laing's body to highlight the significance thereof and the subtle difference that caused her to be classified different from that of her family members. This close framing also allowed the viewers to look at Sandra through the eyes of her evaluators and to experience her vulnerabilities whilst being perceived as well as to highlight the arbitrariness in the racial classification system with its

heavy reliance on physical appearance. Subjectivity is thus depicted through framing. It was also apparent that her physical appearance, as well as the appraisal thereof was not the basis on which she performed blackness, colouredness and whiteness. This is one of the causes of friction in both artefacts.

Racial categories are also resources used by both the producer and writer. These have meaning potential and caused the events to be framed within the apartheid context. The racial categories gave rise to separatist and hierarchical ideologies that prevailed in the apartheid context.

Space is also used as a resource for meaning making. In the classroom scene in the movie, the depiction of the Bantu and 'white' people on different ends of the poster as well as on the black board enforce segregationist ideologies. In terms of geographical representation, different areas were created for different groups in both the movie and book. This is evident in the narration of relocation of people in the book as well as the portrayal thereof through visuals in the movie. In the movie, the distances that people had to move to relocate was depicted through framing. The creation of separate spatial realities communicated physical and ideological separation.

Religious framing is used to recreate ideas of separation and nationhood in both artefacts. This is done by drawing on the bible as modality to justify the segregationist policies of apartheid. People are used as agents to embody laws and lend credence to it. The Bible and apartheid laws thus served as semiotic modes to recreate preservationist, separatist notions of morality and divide. In addition to this, apartheid signage was used to contextualise the events. These modes enhanced the understanding of the apartheid context and the life of Sandra Laing.

8.2 Sociohistorical trajectory in time and space across artefacts

In the process of the recontextualisation of laws, language, religion and material artefacts, the author and producer re-creates the life history of Sandra Laing as well as individuals by semiotically appropriating particular social histories and circumstances (Banda and Jimaima 2015). The use of the above artefacts contextualises the events, and functions to create a trajectory across time and space, and dialogicality between reality and fiction.

The artifacts from apartheid, which include the apartheid signage (e.g. the ‘Whites only’ signage) and the buildings that played important roles in the legislation and implementation of the apartheid laws created a trajectory between the actual apartheid era as well as the context in which the events are created. This form of engagement is also indicative of the dialogic nature of the resources used and thus anchored the overall context.

The selection of Afrikaans as well as the lexical items selected from Afrikaans is strategic in that the role of Afrikaans in the oppression of people is highlighted. The recontextualisation and resemiotisation of events create a dichotomy across time and space as the reader is situated within the circumstances of Sandra Laing and other participants when Afrikaans is used. The selections were strategic because ideologies of Afrikaans as an apartheid relic are enforced.

In addition to the apartheid artifacts, including Afrikaans, actual events and people are used to create a trajectory between time and space, between that which transpired and that which is created. This is strengthened through hypermedia and interdiscursivity. In the book, actual reports, newspaper articles, people’s accounts of events and pictures are used. This, and the inclusion and recreation of actual events that transpired in both artefacts serve

as semiotic chains between the artefacts as well as the larger context from which these artefacts arose.

8.3 Dialogicality, resemiotisation and remediation of semiotic material across artefacts

As mentioned before, the selection of key events, cultural artifacts that transcends its immediate space, religion, ideologies and laws in both artefacts have a dialogical relationship in the two artefacts and therefore serve and anchor in the recreation of the life history of Sandra Laing and the apartheid context. These are transformed in the different artefacts as a result of the artefacts' limitations and constraints.

Scriptures from the Bible, for example, are resemiotised in the different artefacts for particular purposes. In the Bible, these scriptures served as guidelines from God for Christians. In the apartheid era, they were used as justification for the apartheid laws and its focus on segregation. Because the central role these laws and ideologies play in recreating the apartheid context and the life history of Sandra Laing, it is drawn on and remodeled to suite the constraints of the two artefacts. In the book, some rules that were created as a result of these laws were narrated, as well as the experiences thereof. Corporal punishment is an example of that. In the movie, it was acted out in the events that transpired. Segregation was also narrated and justified by various actors in the book, whereas in the movie, it was visually displayed and actors embodied the beliefs in it.

The apartheid laws, are other examples of semiotic materials that traverse time and space. They originated as ideas and were materialised and implemented in the form of laws. In the book, the laws were stated and participants narrated the consequences of transgressing these laws as well as how it impacted on their lives. In the movie, these laws were both stated to contextualise the events and then performed through actors and space.

Even the events and actors were transformed in both the movie and book. In the movie, the events were narrated through the author from her perspective and that of Sandra. The producer scripts the story of Sandra Laing, with two actors playing the role of Sandra Laing, and others performing that of other significant bodies. The manner in which events were framed depended on the selections made by the author and producer. In this process the events undergo transformation, in accordance with the allowable contributions of the artefacts.

Central ideas and events were highlighted in both artefacts and consequently created coherence between the artefacts and the life event. However, recreation, remediation and transformation of events often lead to the discrepancy of events (e.g. how Sandra was informed about her reclassification in the movie and book). This is often as a result of the selection of events, textual ordering and the foregrounding of certain aspects thereof for generic effect. It is also as a result of the translation of events in different artefacts as modes have different meaning potential. An example of this is explaining the feeling of being scared and anxious (in the book) versus Sandra peeing on herself (in the movie). In this way, events are transformed and remediated for generic effect.

In the analysis, it is evident that the resemiotisation and remediation of her life event and the apartheid context do not only occur in the translation of Sandra's life event into the different artefacts, but also in the translation across languages.

It was evident that the above-mentioned semiotic chains are not as a result of intertextuality but that the semiotic modes often underwent resemiotisation to suit the limitations of the artefacts as well as the acts of repurposing to serve the generic purpose thereof.

8.4 Restrictions different artefacts impose on materialization of the story of Sandra Laing

The two artefacts investigated have unique affordances and limitations on how the story of Sandra Laing is materialised.

In the book, the author had words at her disposal to narrate events. These materialised in the form of narratives from key participants, reports, newspaper articles, laws and radio broadcasts. These narrations as well as that of the author informed the selection of and framing of events. Pictures of Sandra and her family are placed on the cover and the center of the book, as well as picture of the author of the book. The former pictures highlight Sandra as the key participant in the book.

Whereas words are the basic mode in which Sandra's life story can be interpreted in the book, the movie offers a rich variety of modes for interpretation. These modes include pictures of Sandra, visuals of the actors playing the roles of the key participants, colour, movement, bodily adornments and dress, space, dance, proximity of people, buildings, sings and consumption. The de-linguistification of events are evident in the movie, as words do not dominate, as is the case in the book, and the mosaic use of modes is theatrically staged for the generic effect.

The identities and social relations of the participants are embedded in performances of actors as well as their proximity to one another. The movie serves to inform as well as to entertain. Some aspects of the event are thus dramatised for effect with the aid of cinematographic techniques.

Both artefacts served as contexts in which prior texts and other artefacts could be interpreted as is indicated previously. Although external genres are drawn on and recognisable, the purpose of the movie and book is not distorted.

8.5 Conclusion and recommendations for future research

In the study I used resemiotization Iedema (2003) and developed Prior and Grusin's (2010) notion of semiotic remediation as a focus on semioticity helped me to focus on the interactions of signs across modes, media, channels and genres. I used the book on Sandra Laing and the movie as databases from which to extract semiotic resources in the exploration and extension of multimodality theory through multisemiotic analysis using semiotic remediation as 'repurposing' in particular. In the process, I used the notion of semiotic remediation to illustrate the *repurposing* of semiotic material from 'real' life, such as apartheid artefacts, racialised discourses, dressing, racialised bodies and bible verses, for example, into the book and into the recreation of apartheid in the movie 'Skin.'

This study being limited to the book and the movie, I would recommend that further studies on apartheid and the life history of Sandra Laing investigate more modalities (newspaper articles, reports, court documents, etc.) alongside each other to obtain a more in-depth understanding of events and how they are reconstructed in various genres and artefacts. I also recommend more studies to be done on remediation (repurposing) as this is a new area of study.

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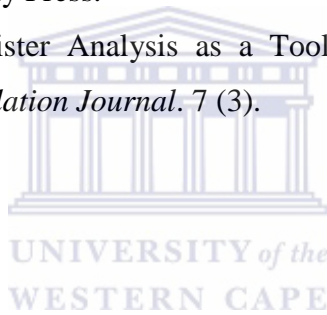
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Appendix A: Transcription Skin

Woman: Come on, Mum.

Man: Let's do it.

[Boss]: Sandra.

Reporter: Sandra Laing? Hugh Johnstone, World Network News. Uh, could we ask some questions?

Woman: Sandra! Sandra! Can I get your autograph?

Sandra: I'm sorry.

Young Sandra: Look Mamma!

Mother: I've got a secret?

Young Sandra: Is it a good secret?

Mother: Yes [Really.]

Young Sandra: Tell me!

Mother: I packed Melinda for you.

Father: Are you ready my angel?

Father: Dear God, make this journey safe. We put our beautiful children Leon and Sandra in Your care, and know that You will bless them.

All: Amen.

Young Sandra: Bye [Debbie]!

[Debbie]: Bye Sandra!

Father: There once was a girl who lived in a shop, who'd only eat her mismatched socks. Until one day along came a lion who gobbled her up in just two hops. ... Windows up.



Father: Okay Sandra.

Mother: Have a good time [Leon]. Look after Sandra.

Father: Off you go.

Mother: Come my love.

Father: Bye son.

Mother: Good afternoon. Hello Mrs Joubert. What a lovely dress. ... [To hostel lady] Sandra Laing.

[Hostel lady]; What's the name again?

Mother: Laing. I'm Leon's mother. There. Ben number four. Thank you.

Young Sandra: Ma? Why are they all staring?

Mother: You're new here, my sweet. They're just curious. Now what shall we do with Melinda? Sandra! Do you want her on the bed like home or should we put her on the table?

Young Sandra: Bed please, Ma.

Mother: So it's done.

Father: Any problems?

Mother: No.

Little girl: Sandra. I'm Elise.

Young Sandra: What do you want?

Elise: I'm from Swaziland. That's another country.

Young Sandra: I know that. I'm not stupid.

Elise: All my friends have always been black.

Young Sandra: I'm not black.

[Voice/teacher]: Upon that Jesus reached out His hand, touched him and said, I want [7:44-7:46...] and immediately he was cleansed of his leprosy. Close your eyes. For what we are about to receive Lord, make us truly grateful.

All: Amen.

Young Sandra: What happened? Tell me!

Elise: I told Annie you weren't black and she hit me.

History teacher: Now, in the early days our country was vast plains. And on these plains were wild animals and savage natives who were always trying to take our land. There were many wars between them. Why do you think that was, students? Uh Dawie ja?

Dawie: Because of the kaffirs, Mevrou.

Teacher: That's a bad word, huh Dawid. We don't use that language in the classroom. Annie. Yes?

Annie: They couldn't live together because they were different.

Teacher: That's right, Annie. Good! Good good, because they were?

All: Different!

Teacher: Different. Even today we learn that everything about the Bantu is different. Uh what sort of jobs do they do? Mmhm?

Boy: They work in the mielie-fields, Mevrou.

Teacher: That's right!

Girl: And in the mines.

Teacher: And in the mines.

Boy#2: My father says he doesn't let them drive his tractors because they have monkey hands like Sandra.

Father / Mr Laing: Look. What does this say?

Principal: Meneer Laing, a piece of paper is not going to reassure all the parents who call me every day to complain that there's a black child at this school. Sandra is a disruption.

Father: You are a servant of the state and the state requires you to look after my child. Simply do your job, meneer.

Principal: My job is to look after all the children in this school. Sandra does not belong here.

Father: It's true. Sandra's special. Brave. Intelligent, wonderful child. Try getting to know her. You'll see.

Father / Mr Laing: What do I always say to you?

Young Sandra: Never give up. Never give up!

Father: Look after your sister, Leon.

Young Sandra: Love to Mamma!

Black woman: Hello, my child!

Mrs Laing: And how are you ma'am?

Black woman: Any bargains today?

Mrs Laing: Special offer on butter.

Black woman: Never a special on ice-cream.

Mrs Laing: Anything else for you, Joseph?

Joseph: That's everything I need, Mrs Laing. [To wife] Am I made of money? Hey Mrs Laing, I need a new wife. This one? She's too expensive.

Mrs Laing: Be patient my brother, she's young. In good time.

Mr Laing: Why do you talk to them? You sell to them. That's all you have to do.

Mrs Laing: What did they say?

Mr Laing: I made sure they heard what I had to say. She'll settle in. Leon was the same. Takes time. [To customer] Forty-five.

Young Sandra: [to doctor] Am I sick?

Principal: Sandra. Sevens [please] Begin.

Young Sandra: Seven times one equals seven. Seven times two –

Principal: Louder.

Young Sandra: Seven times one equals seven. Seven times two –

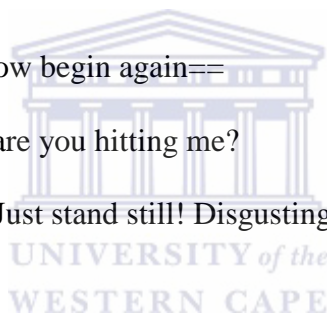
Principal: Louder!

Young Sandra: Seven times one equals seven. Seven times two equals fourteen.

Principal: I said louder now begin again==

Young Sandra: == Why are you hitting me?

Principal: Give me that! Just stand still! Disgusting.



Young Sandra: [In car] What did I do wrong?

Principal: Ask your parents.

Young Sandra: Pa what did I do wrong?

Father: Nothing my angel. It's all right. [So] you need three big men for one little girl?

Principal: Sandra is being re-classified coloured. She may no longer attend a white school.

Father: Are you mad? She's our child! What are you going to do next? Re-classify me and my wife as well?

Policeman: Keep quiet, or you'll lose your daughter.

Father: [I'll tell you what?]

Policeman: There are laws in this country.

Father: Get off my property. Now! Loop!

Father: Don't worry, Sannie. I will fix this.

Sannie: How Abraham?

Abraham: The laws are there to protect us. We just have to play these people at their own game, that's all.

Sannie: Can they really take her away from us?

Abraham: Trust me, just as I have trusted you all these years.

Sannie: How many times must we go through this? You know that she is yours.

Abraham: You're always so friendly with everyone in the shop.

Sannie: Who else is there to talk to?

Abraham: [15:40...] You'll be surprised that people talk in the community.

Sannie: Talk about what?

Abraham: I have to live here!

Sannie: I live here too! What do you think it's like for me?

Young Sandra: [to servant]: Can I sleep here? Nora?

Nora: Mhm?

Young Sandra: Am I really black like you?

Nora: [laughs] No child. You are not black. Look. Mhm?

Mother: What a shiver[gin?!]! You stop shivering, you can feel it move.

Young Sandra: What?

Mother: The baby.

Young Sandra: I can't feel anything.

Mother: There it's moving.

Young Sandra: Oh! She's strong!

Mother: She? What if it's a boy? Huh?

Father: Of course we've always been staunch supporters of the Nationalist government but you know to be, slapped in the face by our own people is indeed very sore.

Man: Mr Laing, does Sandra have to be registered as a domestic worker to stay with you?

Woman: When Sandra's of age, who will she be allowed to marry?

Man#2: What kind of food does Sandra eat?

Mother / Mrs Laing: She eats honest, healthy food made for her by her mother.

Man: Are you concerned that your gonna be arrested under the Immorality Act?

Mother / Mrs Laing: I have never been unfaithful to my husband.

Woman: How do you explain your child's appearance?

Mother / Mrs Laing: I can't explain it. If there is black blood in our veins, we never knew that.

Father: Sandra come to your pa. This is Sandra. You may take a photograph but please, no questions.

Mother: Abraham you must stop this.

Father: I know what I'm doing.

Sannie: Freak show, Abraham, that's what that was.

Abraham: We're going to get her re-classified white.

Sannie: How will that change the colour of her skin?

Abraham: I'm doing it for her. I'm doing it for all of us.

Father: Look, I brought you a present. Maybe we'll get it through those curls one day. Are you angry? Do you want to hit me? Come on hit me. Ow! Feel better? I brought you something else.

Young Sandra: Did you put cream on Leon too when he was small?

Father: [Ja.]

Young Sandra: 'Cause it burns.

Lady: Take a seat please. Naam?

Father: Sandra Laing.

Lady: What's your relation?

Father: We're her parents.

Lady: Take a seat. Excuse me. [points to sign]

Father: Thank you we'll stand.

Court lady: The definition of a white person is a person who in appearance obviously is a white person and who is not generally accepted as a coloured person, or who is generally accepted as a white person and is not in appearance obviously not a white person.

Doctor: Is that clear? Come. Shake your head. Harder. Turn around – stop. All the way. Open your mouth. Show me your teeth. Thank you, you may go.

Father: Wait – wait! Aren't you going to ask her about her background, her education about us her parents?

Doctor: We've seen what we needed to see.

Father: So you see that she is white.

Doctor: We'll notify you in a few weeks as to what we have determined.

Father: I'm telling you she's white. I'm her father. I'm as white as you are.
This is her mother, undeniably white and Sandra is

[part 2]

Father: our daughter, blood of our blood.

Doctor: We'll have to ask you to leave now.

Father: Oh no! There is nothing to determine. Look. What is this? What is this? Look! Tell me. Tell me what this is. Mhmm?

Doctor: Meneer Laing! Stop.

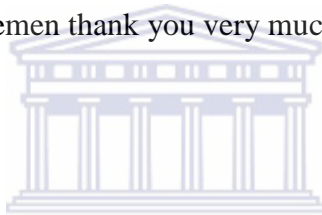
Father: Look Man! Are you blind! ==

Young Sandra: == Please Pa! Let's go!

Mother: Abraham! Asseblief. Enough.

Father: Thank you, gentlemen thank you very much for your time. Come.

Leon: [00:29]



Leon: What happens if it looks like Sandra?

Mother: You won't love the baby any less, will you?

Leon: I love Sandy... but, it's hard, Ma.

Mother: I know. I know it is.

Mother: Sleep tight!

Young Sandra: [coughing]

Mother: Sandy? What's happened?

Leon: Should I get Pa?

Mother: No. Just get the chalomine lotion from my bedroom.

Maid: Missus.

Mother: Oh my sweetheart!

Father: They say she's coloured.

Mother: Abraham. What does it matter what a piece of paper says? Let's just go on with our lives now and look after Sandra the best way that we can.

Father: You don't understand. I'm not going to take this lying down. She's *our* daughter. I'll take on the whole bloody government if I have to. Never give up, Sannie. Never give up.

[Supreme Court, Pretoria]

Judge: Are you prepared to swear, before God and on the Bible, that you are the parents of this child?

Abraham: I am, my lord. I mean, we are, my lord.

Judge: Thank you. Call in the next witness please. Doctor... Sparks. I believe you have a statement to make.

Dr Sparks: [Yes my lord.] I've studied the Laing's case closely ==

Judge: == I'm a great admirer of brevity, Dr Sparks but would you please give us your area of expertise and a place of work.

Dr Sparks: S-sorry. Uh genetics research fellow at Wits University.

Judge: Thank you.

Dr Sparks: I believe there's a plausible genetic explanation for Sandra's appearance. The history of our country is such that many – indeed we believe most Afrikaners carry black genes.

[Audience's dismay]

Judge: Silence. Please go on.

Dr Sparks: So, two *white-looking* parents can contribute enough black genes to produce a child, quite a lot darker than themselves. This phenomenon is commonly known as a throw-back. *We* prefer to use the more precise term, polygenic inheritance.

Judge: Thank you doctor.

Mother: [gasps] Abraham!

Father: What's the matter with you I didn't kill anyone.

Young Sandra: Hurry up! We're having a baby!

Young Sandra: He looks just like Pa.

Mother: You want to hold him? Just cradle his head in the crook of your arm. That's right. Now the trick to getting him to eat, is to rub his tummy, just here. Good!

[radio news broadcast]: And in Parliament today, an amendment was made to the Population Registration Act. Descent, rather than appearance will be the determining factor ==

Maid: == Tea baas?

Abraham: == Shh!



[radio news broadcast]: == in all classification cases. Children must now be classified the same race as their parents. Our reporter went to the streets of Pretoria to gather reaction. [Man: This is a betrayal of everything the white man stands for. Declare them all bastards, Sandra Laing the whole lot of them! ==]

Abraham: == She's white again. Sannie! ... Sannie! Sannie! She's white again! Sandra! You're white!

[St Dominic's Convent School, 1973]

Mother: Sorry I'm late the fanbelt broke. Fixed it with my tights the way your pa taught me. Who are the handsones?

Sandra: They're from the boys' school. They come up here once a month.

Mother: That's nice.

Sandra: Not really. Should I take my bags?

Maid: Yoh yoh yoh! Put your arms done so I can see you. Mhmm! So grown up! All madam this and madam that now. Mhmm?

Sandra: Ahhh boetie!

Adriaan: Come and play with me!

Sandra: No I want to say hello to Pa.

Mother: Tell him not to be late. It's boerekos your favourite. [to little boy] Come.

Father: No I don't want any more cabbages [I haven't sold last week's.] Look at your lettuces. All wilted. I'll take those, and those, twenty-five altogether.

Black man / seller: You can pay me next week, my baas.

Father: Shop's no place for a young lady. Look I got your typewriter. Maybe you can work in an office one day. Much nicer.

Sandra: Ma! I want it below the knees.

Mother: You have lovely knees my sweetheart. And all the girls wear them above these days.

Sandra: What do you think Pa?

Father: Mhmm? Very... modern.

Sandra: [to black man] Please go.

Mother: Sandra my sweet you look like you've seen a ghost.

Sandra: It's all too light for me Ma.

Mother: You don't need that stuff. Your skin is perfect.

Sandra: I don't want to go out with Johan.

Mother: Who would you prefer? Marthinus, the Swarts' boy?

Sandra: He's too fat. And he wears these tiny shorts.

Mother: There's not a lot of choice around here.

Johan: The thing that's not so nice is every Sunday my father chops one of the cocks' head off. But the flesh is very tender. The red ones, the leg-horns, they're the best lay hens. The the kids at school, they always said my mother laid the eggs.

Johan: Did you know that you can hypnotise a chicken? I promise you. You just put it on its back and and then you draw a line from its beak and then it just lies there with its mouth open.

Sandra: [laughs]

Johan: You know, you don't have to feel bad about looking like a coloured. It's okay with me, really. I like this song.

Waitress: Hi.

Customer: Kan ek haar vra om te loop asseblief.Sy hoort nie hier nie.

Man: Speak to me in English. I don't understand Afrikaans.

Johan: I think someone's complaining about you.

Sandra: Please. Let's just go.

Johan: Um, I promised my dad I'd keep you out until six o'clock. It's just another half hour.

Sandra: Will you excuse me? ... [climbing through bathroom window; to black man] I'm stuck.

Black man: It might have been easier if you'd paid your bill.

Sandra: Oh! That hurt.

Black man: That's why I made you laugh.

Sandra: I've got to go.

Black man: Just wait here. I'll give you a lift home.

Black man: You can't walk all the way home. You won't have any feet left. My mother can vouch for my good character. We can go and see her now. It will take us two days but if you insist. ... Like my bakkie?

Sandra: It's yours?

Black man: Saved up for it. Two years and eight tonnes of cabbages. Have you ever driven and danced all at the same time? I didn't think so. Just put on the radio for me please. ... Aahhh, oh boy. Ahh! Look!

Sandra: Where do you live?

Black man: Driefontein. Just over the rainbow.

Sandra: Hmm. I better go. Before Pa comes out. Thank you.

Father: Where's Johan?

Sandra: He dropped me at the gate. He had to get home.

Mother: Did he talk about chickens all afternoon?

Sandra: Yes.

Father: No second date?

Mother: You can't expect to find the right one straight away. Took me a long time to find your father.

Father: Good night.

[boys playing]

Adriaan: Die Dingaans, die!

Abraham: No. No, look. You pick squashes too early. I'll take those, and those. Sixteen altogether. Have Sandra pay it from the till. And no more than we agreed.

Black man: Yes baas. ... [to Sandra] Thank you.

Sandra: My feet are still sore.

Black man: I have a cure.

Father: Sandra. Bring me the books from last night.

Sandra: Yes Pa.

Father: What do you think you're doing with my daughter?

Black man: Uh, just talking, my baas.

Father: Six feet, Petrus. That's the distance you keep when talking to her.

Petrus: Sure my baas.

White man / date: Is your hair kroes all over?

Sandra: Pardon?

White man / date: [? Are you a kaffir or a whitey] Bitch!

Father: So that's two that she's decided aren't good enough for her.

Mother: Abraham! Leave her alone.

Sandra: Do you love me?

Father: That's a stupid question.

Sandra: Look at me. What do you see?

Father: I see my beautiful girl.

Sandra: Pa! I'm not white. That's what those boys want, a white girl to marry to have children with.

Father: That's enough! You're excused from the table. Go. Go!

Adriaan: Can I help in the shop today?

Father: Shut up!

Sannie: Didn't you see her bruises?

Abraham: Love bites. They're kids.

Sannie: No he was hurting her. Abraham . You know this isn't going to be easy.

Abraham: Of course it won't be easy but what must she do stay out here with us? Forever?

Sannie: There are boys at her school, foreign boys.

Abraham: Oh foreign boys.

Sannie: They have different ideas. They could take her away.

Abraham: Take her away? When she was born, you wanted to hide, out here in the middle of nowhere. And now you want someone to take her away!

Sannie: No I want her to have a life! A good life.

Abraham: She will marry an Afrikaner because that's what she is. Afrikaans! [walks away] Good morning!

Customers: Good morning boss!



Petrus: [Eh!]

Sandra: Don't go.

...

[Part 3]

Sannie: So is it a good secret, the one that you're keeping?

Sandra: Very.

Abraham: Car needs a new carburettor. Don't wait. Tell Nora to keep some dinner warm for me.

Sandra: He's still cross with me.

Sannie: You could try harder. You're just as stubborn as he is.

Sandra: He ignores everything I say.

Sannie: It's not personal. Your pa things two words strung together is a conversation. ... So are you going to tell me about it?

Sandra: It's nothing. Doesn't matter.

[In township, looking for Petrus]

Sandra: Ah. [hugging Petrus] Aaaaah!

Petrus: Those scars, are from [mnyanga?] a traditional healer. They protect me from evil. They make me strong and lucky. That's how I got you.

Sandra: What about that one?

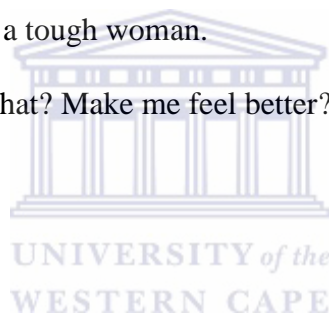
Petrus: From my gogo, my grandmother. She hit me with the frying pan.

Sandra: [laughs]

Petrus: Bah! Here. She's a tough woman.

Sandra: How do you do that? Make me feel better?

Petrus: I try hard.



Sannie: Where have you been?

Sandra: For a walk. To see Nora.

Sannie: Try again.

Abraham: What were you doing with that kaffir? Tell me?

Sandra: No.

Abraham: I saw with my own eyes. [turns to Sannie] This is your fault.

Sannie: [to Adriaan] Back to bed, sweetheart.

Abraham: Move your hand or I will put a nail through it.

Sannie: Let's hear what she has to say before you imprison her.

Sannie: No more smart talk Sandy, this is serious.

Sandra: I like him. Petrus.

Sannie: Petrus? You like him like like a, like a friend, like a brother?

Sandra: Boyfriend.

Sannie: Petrus is a black man. Dirt in this country.

Sandra: He understands me, Ma.

Sannie: You can't help what you are born with but you can help what you become. Now, go and wash your face. You have punished your father enough.

Sandra: Ma!



[On train station]

Abraham: [to Leon] Welcome home, son. Good boy. Get your stuff.

WESTERN CAPE

Petrus: Nora! Cheer up.

Nora: Petrus! Petrus! [Hamba!] Go, my boss is angry with you.

Petrus: Angry with me?

Nora: You'd better go.

Abraham: Hey! Dead and buried. That's how you'll be if you come near my property or my family again. You understand?

Petrus: Sure baas Laing.

[reverses bakkie]

Petrus: Baas Laing!

Abraham: You can't be a brave kaffir so you must be a stupid one.

Petrus: I don't think you understand baas Laing. Me and ==

Abraham: == You have until ==

Petrus: == Baas Laing!

Abraham: Three!

Sandra: No. Ma! He's crazy! Do something!

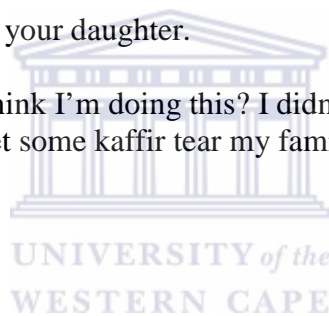
Sannie: Abraham stop! There are children!

[Sandra's empty room]

Sannie: Abraham?

Sannie: Remember she's your daughter.

Abraham: Why do you think I'm doing this? I didn't let the state take her away. I'm not going to let some kaffir tear my family apart.



[in township]

Priest: Can I help you baas?

Abraham: Petrus [Zwane] do you know where he stays?

Priest: [asks men standing in front of shop] Oh okay. [to Abraham] They say he went to Swaziland to a cousin for a while, in [Babani?]

[Police breaks down the door]

Policeman: Where's the white girl that you've stolen?

Petrus: I didn't steal anyone.

Policeman: And who are you?

Sandra: Sandra.

Policeman: Louder!

Sandra: Sandra Laing.

Policeman: That's the white girl?

Policeman #2: They must be joking!

Policeman: Get dressed. Both of you. Now! [Go. Go.] Hurry up!

Sandra: Petrus!

Policeman: In you go.

Sannie: How long must she be punished?

Abraham: That's for the magistrate to decide. She's committed a crime. She needs time to think. Repent.

[In court]

Bailiff: All rise. ... Be seated.

Magistrate: Sandra Laing. You've been detained for three months for entering the kingdom of Swaziland illegally. I'm prepared to release you now on condition that you return to your parents' home until you are of age.

[outside court]

Abraham: Sandra! Come! You heard what the magistrate said.

Sandra: You put me in there. I'm not going with you.

Sannie: Oh my baby, please come home. Your father knows that he was wrong. [turns to Abraham] Abraham?

Abraham: [hesitation] We want you home, Sandra. Your mother, Adriaan, Leon. And me too I – I want you home.

Sandra: It's not possible.

Sannie: Please. We made a mistake, both of us.

Abraham: Sandra, if you don't come now, you will never see your family again. I promise you.

Sannie: No! Abraham. [to Sandra] He doesn't mean it.

Sandra: I'm pregnant. Do you still want me home?

Sannie: Sandy?

Sandra: [Baas.]

[after burning all Sandra's things]

Abraham: You two are the only family your mother and I have now. You understand? ... She left you too, you know!

[Sandra giving birth]

Woman: It's coming! It's coming!

Sandra: Mamma!

Woman: [Eish!] Push! Sandra! ... Oh, Sandra.

Sandra: Oh my baby!

Woman: Oh!

Sandra: Oh my baby.

Woman: Yoh! Okay. Here is your baby. Yes. Yes.

Sandra: Hello baba. Hello baba.

[outside]

Petrus: Is it a girl?

[Gogo shakes her head]

Petrus: You see mamma, I told you she brings me luck!

Sandra: Where's your bakkie?

Petrus: Sold it. Investment for the future. And with the shop, we can buy two more. Maybe a hundred more.



Older man: Petrus, are you going to sell things more cheaply than in the city?

Younger man: He's truly a business man.

Woman: Yes, he's serious about this.

Older woman: Now this is one thing they'll never take away from us. Can you imagine Bessie Verwoerd doing that?

Young woman: Congratulations, Petrus.

Petrus: [to Sandra] Hey!

Sandra: Was Petrus always such a show-off?

Gogo: Always! But with you now, he has something to show off about.

Drunk man: [to Sandra] Baby, come let's dance.

Gogo: Hai Petrus!

Sandra: Please. He meant no harm.

Older woman: Petrus! Where's the beer? I'm not drunk enough!

Petrus: I thought you were happy here.

Sandra: I am.

Petrus: The why are you writing letters to your mother?

Sandra: I miss her. It doesn't mean I don't love you.

Woman: Sandra said you'd be sweeping the porch in the afternoon. She sent a letter. She also sends her love.

Abraham: Nora! What did she just give you?

Nora: Nothing baas.

Abraham: Give it to me.

Woman: Ai!

Abraham: Hey! Tell Sandra her mother wants nothing to do with her. Off you go.

Woman: He's an angry man. Angry. Angry.

Abraham: [to Nora] If you ever lie to me again, I'll kick you out of here.

Sannie: Don't. [after taking the letter] Can't we go to them?

Abraham: Sannie!

Sannie: I'm begging you. Please.

Abraham: You realise how these people are living.

Sannie: She's your daughter!

Abraham: Okay. So we go and see them. Then what? We bring them here back home for her and the baby out the back with Nora.

Sannie: What are you talking about? Sandra's always lived here with us.

Abraham: And Petrus? Must we invite him to live in the house with us as well?

Sannie: All I am asking is that we see Sandra and her baby.

Abraham: No. She made that choice.

[Abraham eating alone]

Abraham: [to Nora taking the plate] Leave it.

[runs after car]

Abraham: Get out. Get out!

Sannie: Do you know what keeps me awake at night? Maybe she made the right choice.

Petrus: Put that away. I don't like things that make you sad.

Sandra: I want to be your wife.

Petrus: You are.

Sandra: I mean your real wife. Legal wife.

Petrus: You know what that involves. Too much of your father in you.

Gogo: Leave the person beside you alone, she needs to rest.

Petrus: You too mamma, go to sleep. We're fine here.

Gogo: Yoh!

[at home affairs]

Official: So you want to be reclassified coloured?

Sandra: Yes. My son is coloured and I want to marry his father who is black.

Official: And you are?

Sandra: White. According to the government.

Official: Is this a joke?

Sandra: I'm afraid not.

Official: [to Petrus] Are you the father?

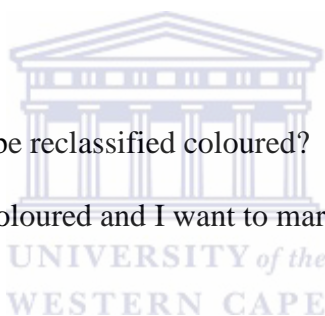
Petrus: Yes my baas.

Official: Just a minute. ... I'm sorry I can't help you. I need your birth certificate. Next!

Sandra: Wait. What am I supposed to do in the meantime?

Official: As long as you don't have an ID-card you don't exist.

Sandra: Well if I don't exist, can I still live with my coloured child and his black father?



Official: [thinking] No. You're breaking the law.

[in grass]

Sandra: [to Gogo] Come.

Sannie: We're low on vegetables, but if...

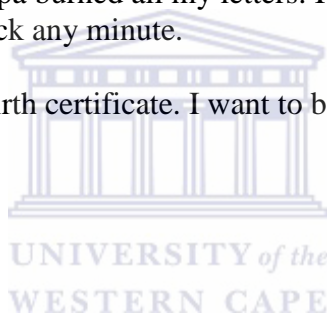
Sandra: This is Henry.

Sannie: Beautiful boy. [to baby] Do you know who I am? Did your mamma tell you?

Sandra: Why didn't you write?

Sannie: I did. Your your pa burned all my letters. I wish we had more time. Your pa's going to be back any minute.

Sandra: Ma, I need my birth certificate. I want to be reclassified coloured. Mamma...



[Part 4]

Sandra: They could take my baby away from me.

Mother: Oh Sandy. Are you sure?

Sandra: Yes. I'm happy.

Mother: I'll find a way, to get it to you, I promise. ... Can I keep this, until next time? ... Wait! Come again, or I'll...

Abraham: Stay in the car.

Sannie: Your grandson has your eyes.

Abraham: If I ever find them here, I will kill them. And then myself.

Police officer: You were given more than enough warning! [?-krans] is now a whites only area! Please proceed in an orderly manner!

Petrus: Please don't do this, my brother. It's my living, you understand.

Police officer: Get away!

Sandra: Petrus!

Foreman: Move!

Sandra: I don't know what else to bring.

Petrus: You don't need that, or your birth certificate. In your head you're still white!

Sandra: I left my family for you, Petrus! I don't know what else to give you!

Petrus: You don't understand. I have nothing! My son has nothing. And you can always go home!

Sandra: This is my home!



Petrus: To hell with the white man. They take our homes, our families. They move us like cows from one place to the next. And we're supposed to believe we're human? How can we believe that? You know what? My wife is white. She's brought me nothing but bad luck and misery. Her skin is a curse.

Sandra: Ma Jenny. I'm pregnant again.

Ma Jenny: It's a blessing!

[Tjakastad homeland, 1984]

Little girl: It doesn't like it, Henry!

Henry: Leave me alone!

Woman: He says his leg is much better. The [?] doctor says it's fractured, not broken. He should be able to send money home soon, and he misses you! Not now, Elsie. Ma's busy.

Elsie: Henry hit me.

Woman: Bye-bye.

Sandra: Bye. That's how [05:26] hey? He's sorry he hasn't written in so long, but he was arrested. I can't make out the next bit.

Sandra: Break it up! Break it! That's it!

Petrus: My dearest Ma, I think of you and Pa ==

Sandra: == You can't read my letters!

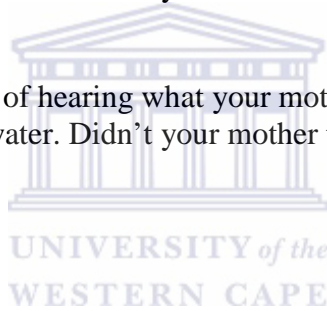
Petrus: It's the white man telling the kaffir what he can and what he cannot do.

Sandra: [to Elsie] Now watch carefully. This is how my mother taught me how to make ==

Petrus: == Hey! I'm sick of hearing what your mother. You want to make things grow? You need water. Didn't your mother tell you that?

Sandra: [pushes Petrus]

Petrus: Sandra!



Sandra: [to Ma Jenny] I'll keep in touch, I promise. You've been like mother to me.

Ma Jenny: A gogo maybe. We all have two gogos. But only one mother.

Sandra: Thank you.

Sandra: [to black lady] Hello, sister

Woman: Hello to you.

Sandra: Does Mrs Sannie Laing still live here?

Woman: I know you. UThembi. We played together as children. You taught me to swim.

Sandra: Thembi!

Thembi: Her father [shasha shasha]!

Sandra: Where did my parents go?

Thembi: Eh, Shasha went to [Bongola?]. There were relatives there. A cousin. Yes I think so.

White boy: [to Sandra] Hey do you uh want a lift? Lift your feet, kaffirs.

Sandra: Wait. Let me explain.

White lady: Go away or I'll call the police.

Sandra: I'm Sandra.

Sandra: [on phone] Ma?

Mother: Sandy?

Sandra: It's me Mamma.

Mother: Sandra.

Sandra: Please Mamma. I need to see you. I've left Petrus. Tell me where you are.

Abraham: Sannie. Who is it?

Mother: I'm sorry Sandra. Your father is very sick.

Sandra: I miss you so much! I love you Mamma.

Abraham: Sannie!

Mother: I have to go to him now. I love you too.

White lady: [to little girl on swing] Hold with both hands! Hold with both hands!

Abraham: Where is she?

Sannie: With Anna. In [Bongola?]



Abraham: Take me to her.

Sannie: No Abraham. It's not possible I'm telling you. You're too sick! I'm going to get your lunch and your tablets now.

Abraham: Ah!

Sannie: What the hell are you doing?

Abraham: I'm going to [Bongola?] I'm going to see her.

Sannie: You are going nowhere. No get back to bed. Doctor's orders.

Abraham: Sannie!

Sannie: All these years you've kept us apart. You didn't even want to see the pictures of her children. What has changed?

Abraham: Please.

Sannie: Why is it okay to go now?

Abraham: Please. I need to see her.

Sannie: *You* need to see her? I have needed to see her every day for the last ten years.

Abraham: Sorry I'm so sorry I was wrong. I... I have to tell her. Ah!

Sannie: Come on.

Abraham: Ah!

Sannie: You want her forgiveness? You don't deserve it! Neither do I.

Abraham: Sannie! I'm begging you.

Sannie: No. You made your choice.

[Johannesburg]

Elsie: Come on Mum.

Son: Let's do it.

News reporter: Could we ask some questions? Uh okay. Don't look at the camera. And um. Did you vote today?

Sandra: Yes.

Sound man: She needs to speak up, Hugh.

Hugh: Yes. Little bit louder this time, Sandra? Most people will remember your story. How do you feel, about the changes happening in South Africa?

Sandra: I'm happy for the country, but it's too late for me. I haven't seen my parents in nearly twenty years. I don't know where they are.

[Sandra's boss]: Special delivery.

Woman: Sandra! Sandra! Can I get your autograph?

Woman #2: The bitch! She thinks she's too famous for us.

Elsie: Henry! Come help me please!

Henry: Hi Mum.

Sandra: Hi.

Elsie: Hello Ma.

Sandra: Hi.

Elsie: Is it a secret admirer?

Sandra: It's from my mother. My father died of cancer. Two years ago.

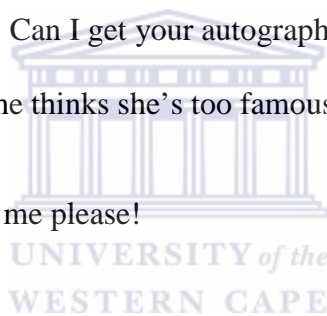
Elsie: I can read it for you, Ma.

Sandra: The money's from my father. The same amount he left my brothers.

Henry: Is that it?

Elsie: Are you going to write back, Ma?

Sandra: There's no return address.



Clerk: We cannot release that information.

Sandra: I thought this was the new South Africa. Haven't you heard of the Freedom of Information Act?

Clerk: Too many times.

Sandra: I'm not leaving until you give me my file.

Clerk: Sir there's a lady here by the name of Sandra Laing. She doesn't want to go. She's talking about this report...

Doctor: Sandra Laing? You uh won't remember me.

Sandra: Huh-uh. I know who you are.

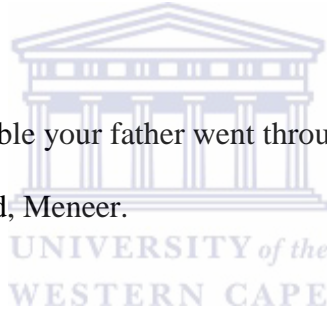
Doctor: I heard you got yourself classified coloured again.

Sandra: It was necessary.

Doctor: After all the trouble your father went through.

Sandra: My father is dead, Meneer.

Doctor: I'm sorry ==



Sandra: == Please. I need you to help me find my mother before she also dies.

Doctor: Sandra. We don't keep those records here.

Sandra: Where else can I go?

Clerk [pension's office]: This is a pension's office, not a detective agency.

Sandra: If she's alive, you must pay her a pension. Surely you have her details.

Clerk: Hmm. It's always me. This one's lost her mother. There's seventy other clerks here and it's always me.

Sandra: You got a kind face.

Clerk: No I don't. I have a fat face. People can't tell the difference.

Sandra [to maid sweeping]: Hello, ma'am.

Maid: Hello to you, sister.

Sandra: Does Mrs Laing live here?

Maid: Oh sorry sisi. The old lady left months ago. I heard she had a stroke.

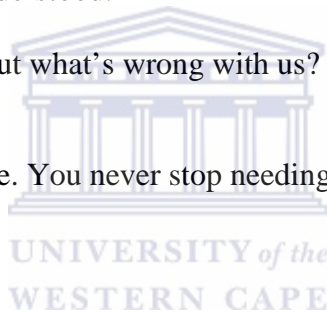
Sandra: Thank you.

Elsie: Is it really worth it, Ma?

Sandra: I thought you understood.

Elsie: I thought so too. But what's wrong with us? Aren't we enough for you?

Sandra: Of course you are. You never stop needing your parents. They're part of who you are.



[knock on door]

Sandra: Oh hello Gogo.

Gogo: Phone for you, Sandra. It better be serious.

Sandra: Thank you. [answers phone] Hello?

Doctor: Listen Sandra. I uh spoke to the chief of police. He made some inquiries.

Nurse: Sannie? Your daughter's here to see you.

Sannie: My daughter? ... Well. Aren't you going to say something? You had plenty to say to that TV reporter.

Sandra: I just told the truth.

Mother: You weren't the only one who suffered you know.

Sandra: I shouldn't have come.

Mother: Sandra! Is there a key in the dresser? No not there, the the drawer. No! The other one.

Sandra: Let me help you.

Mother: I can get it myself.

Sandra: Don't be so stubborn, Ma. Come.

Mother: Unlock that cupboard. That one. The box. I put it in storage so that your pa couldn't get it. ... Doves shit a lot.

Sandra: [laughs]

Mother: It's true. Your pa didn't like me swearing but, I enjoy it now. He wasn't a bad man. He did the best he could.

Sandra: Never give up.

Mother: I wish that I had never heard those words.

Sandra: No Ma. They kept me going.

[end]

