

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.

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.

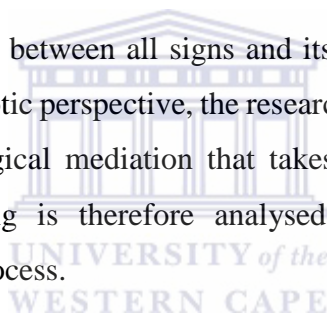
3.4. From multimodal to multisemiotic discourse analysis

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.

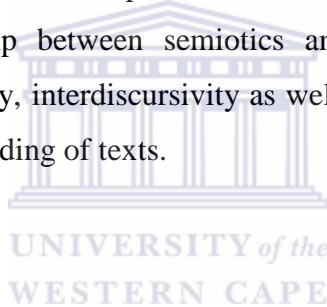
When two elements are framed together in a text, a relationship between them is implied (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011: 53). This connection can be signalled through physical vectors, colour or even proxemics.

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

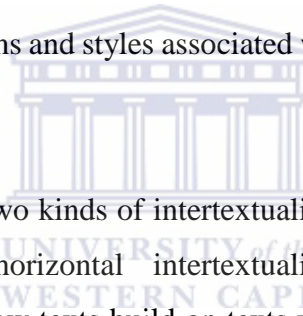
(1986/2006), Lemke (1985), Fairclough (1992), Scollon (1994), Lefebvre (1971) and Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park (2012). It refers to the relationship of texts with other texts in terms of form and content (Kristeva, 1986, Barthes, 1997, Foucault, 1974, Fairclough, 1992, Beaugrande and Dressler, 1994 and 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).

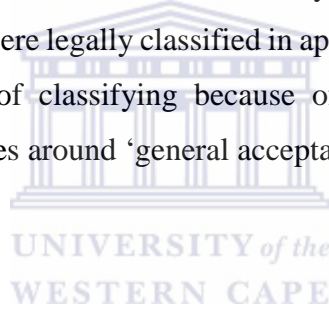
It is thus evident in Bourdieu’s conceptualisation that social origin and cultural capital are primary as both economic and social capital depends on them. The importance of social origin over accumulated capital over time is highlighted as determining factors for aesthetic dispositions (Bourdieu, 1986).

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.

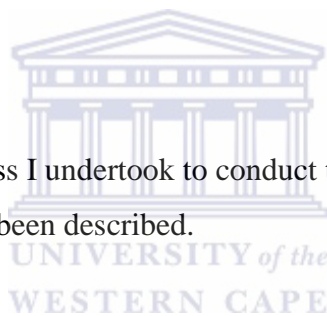
4.4 Ethical considerations

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).

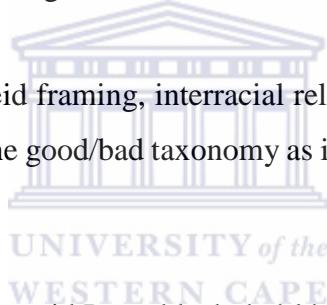
“The preservation of the pure race tradition of the Boere volk must be protected at all costs in all possible ways as the holy pledge entrusted to us by our ancestors as part of God’s plan with out people. Any movement, school, or individual who sins against this must be dealt with as a racial criminal 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 re-presented 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 overhaul, 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

