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**Surviving Separatism:
Persistent divisions among South African university students**

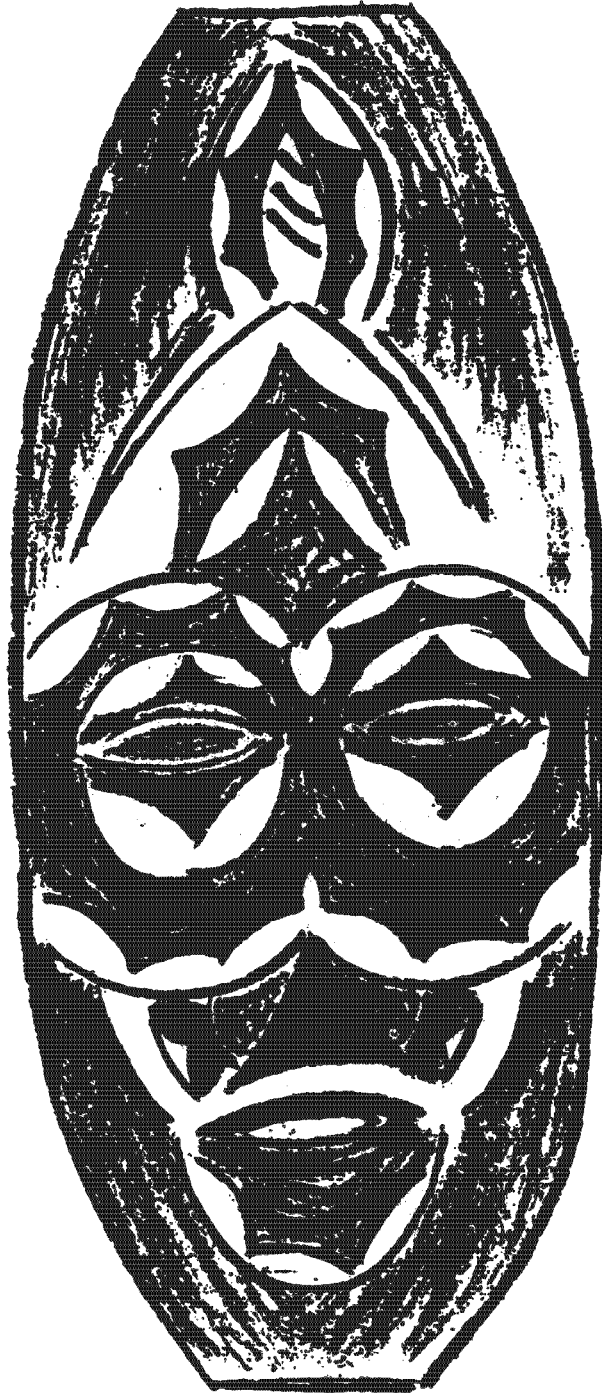
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**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities,
University of Cape Town,
in fulfilment of the requirements of a Masters Degree in Social
Anthropology (by dissertation)**

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As South Africans, we need to remove the masks we wear.

12/8/00
JWD

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To my Creator: Thank You.

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If I have forgotten to thank anyone, it is not intentional.

Joy (September 2000)

ABSTRACT

The initial conceptualisation of my research project focussed on friendship networks and the effects of race on the development of friendship within a small sample of the University of Cape Town students. I completed six months of qualitative research, using participant observation and interviews as primary research tools, within a Commerce Honours class at the University of Cape Town. I worked in-depth with nine consenting participants, while observing a class of 28 students on a daily basis throughout the 1998 academic year. The product of my investigation – this dissertation – is far removed from my initial research of friendship and race.

I discuss Gramsci's concept of hegemony in reference to South Africa – its creation and maintenance within South Africa – and the effects of the separatist hegemony so created on the University of Cape Town (chapter two), myself as a South African researcher (chapter three) and finally on the students in the Commerce Honours class (chapter four and chapter five). I chose to investigate the manner in which my participants created separatism within and without the environs of the classroom, rather than focus on the more salient marker of difference in South Africa -- race.

I consider identity markers such as dress code, language, interactive behaviours and exclusionary practices. I then conclude that the students could have used any possible identity marker as a marker of difference or similarity and that race was not necessarily used to differentiate between the dominant and subaltern cohorts which had been created within the Commerce Honours class. However, what is significant is that 'race' was an underlying theme in the discussion of each difference marker. The separatism created within the Commerce Honours class led to the creation of two cohorts of students – one racially homogenous (white students) and the other racially heterogenous (subaltern students).

I conclude, therefore, that the race paradigm continues to have reference to, and achieves salience in, the discussion of social relations within South Africa, even when one chooses to ignore its ramifications as an identity marker. Further research should thus explore how, and in what contexts or situations, race as a differentiator lends itself to being used as a tool for discrimination.

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Chapter One

From Coercion to Consent:

Applying the notion of hegemony to South African history

Instead of allowing diversity of race and culture to become a limiting factor in human exchange and development, we must refocus our understanding, discern in such diversity the potential for human enrichment, and realise that it is the interchange between great traditions of human spirituality that offers the best prospect for the persistence of the human spirit itself. For too long such diversity has been treated as a threat rather than a gift. And too often the threat has been expressed in racial contempt and conflict, in exclusion, discrimination and intolerance [especially in South Africa].

(Thabo Mbeki, 2000)

Introduction

The past decade has heralded a number of major changes and challenges in South African society. One of the most profound occurred when F.W. De Klerk, the then President of South Africa, made a speech in 1990 in which he unbanned the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and many other political organisations which had been classified as illegal. By so doing, he instituted far-reaching changes in South Africa and set up a number of challenges for its people, which included the need to create an alternate hegemony to that of separation and division. An essential first step in the creation of this alternate hegemony was the first democratic election in South Africa in April 1994, when the majority of the population, previously disenfranchised, democratically elected an ANC government. In an amazing turnabout, South Africa's apartheid years had ended with the election of South Africa's first black President, Nelson Mandela. A new era, where equity and reconciliation would be keywords, was announced. With it came the need to establish a new hegemony of integration and cooperation.

As noted by Gramsci, educational institutions are important tools for the institution of an hegemony (Boggs, 1976). Therefore, it was not surprising that one of the first tasks undertaken by the new government was the reconstitution of tertiary education so as to address issues of equity

and cultural diversity. Higher education was identified as a central contributor to the social, economic and cultural development of South Africa (Government Gazette, 15 August 1997). In anticipation of the government's initiative and with the adoption of a new Mission Statement in April 1996, the University of Cape Town (UCT) wrought its own transformation process -- a transformation process which would mirror the alternate hegemony of integration being created by the government.

In its mission statement the university was clearly reacting to the needs and challenges posed for tertiary education by the government. It recognised that it had, and still has "to address the challenges facing our society" by "taking an active developmental role in the cultural, economic, political, scientific and social environment of [South Africa], striving to transcend the legacy of apartheid in South Africa and overcoming all forms of gender and other oppressive discrimination" (UCT Mission Statement, April 1996). The mechanics of the transformation process at UCT have affected staffing policies at UCT. They have also affected students through the new design of curricula which are programme based; through faculty restructuring; and through concerted efforts to have a mixture of students that adequately reflects the diversity of the South African population, in gender, race, class and cultural terms. Concerns with disability are also reflected.

Aware of these changes within the university system my research question has been: how do *students* cope with specific aspects of the practicalities of the university's transformation process in their daily lives? And how have those patterns of behaviour been constructed by the historical hegemony of separatism in South Africa and the institution? I consider South Africa's history important to my thesis as:

- it contextualises my research methods, choice of research site and my theoretical discussion of hegemony;
- if one is to understand present relations in a micro-cosm of South Africa one needs to reflect on the process of hegemonisation within the country so as to track the influence of the past on the present. I am thus able to trace the effects of a separatist hegemony within South Africa on a small cohort of students in the Commerce Honours class of 1998¹.

¹ I am purposely vague in reference to my fieldwork site so as to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of my research informants.

An integral part of the separatist hegemony was the idea of separate and identifiable 'population groups' denoted by the terms white, coloured, African and Indian. I argue that my informants exhibit the effects of a separatist hegemony which, in part, finds expression in their identification of population categories and their identification of differences, including class differences, which curtail social interaction between them. This separatism can be understood, however, when one considers the import of the separatist hegemony specifically realised in twentieth century South Africa.

Chapter one introduces and explains Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony. I then apply the concept of hegemony to South African history considering the time period between the establishment of a settler settlement at the Cape in 1652 and the repeal of some apartheid legislation in 1985. It is my contention, in this chapter, that South Africa experienced two parallel hegemonies in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries and that they developed into a single hegemony by the mid twentieth century. This single hegemony was really an encapsulation of the two earlier hegemonies both of which encouraged separation and division between population categories (races) in South Africa. My discussion of South Africa and hegemony demonstrates how socio-cultural difference was essentialised and naturalised within the confines of South Africa by a minority of whites.

This white colonial minority consisted of Afrikaans speakers (Boers) and English speakers (Britons), although the two 'groupings' had been in conflict with one another for domination throughout South African history. The subordinated and disempowered masses -- the subalterns -- were black South Africans, or according to the categorisation of the apartheid government, African, coloured and Indian people.

I demonstrate how, historically, the hegemonising process was effected through compulsion and coercion. The Britons and Boers became allies through sharing the same basic ideology -- white domination or supremacy and black subordination. Blacks were coerced and compelled to 'accept' the hegemony by a barrage of laws, particularly apartheid laws. By the start of apartheid proper, the government was not only legislating its separatist ideology, but it was creating a separatist

hegemony on the social, political and economic level. A colour bar was being erected and maintained which graded whites as superior and dominant and blacks² as inferior and subordinate.

I use a discussion of Port Nolloth in 1968 to exemplify the practical effects of the government's separatist ideology. I demonstrate how the separatist ideology was accepted and used by whites in Port Nolloth as it privileged them socially, economically and politically. After this discussion I focus on black resistance with specific reference to the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) led by Steve Biko, which was probably the first moment that the subalterns first recognised how they had become subalterns and the extent to which they had the power to reverse that status by transforming their 'alternative' position as 'other' by reclaiming their own ways as normal and normative. Organised black resistance, particularly the BCM, thus marked the beginning of the end of the hegemonic apartheid ideology, as the South African masses declared their resistance to it through school boycotts and civil disobedience, and began to claim the right to be proud of their own ways. The apartheid government tried to squash the resistance through coercion. But these very acts of state coercion articulated the crumbling of the separatist hegemony within civil society and its eventual demise on other levels. As noted by Gramsci (Boggs, 1976 and Fontana, 1993), the maintenance of hegemony depends on compulsion -- the dominated giving their consent -- rather than coercion.

In chapter two I consider the effects of the separatist hegemony on the micro-context: the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town. The chapter not only contextualises my fieldwork site. It also provides a description of the job reservation policy exercised within the Western Cape region - the Coloured Labour Preference Policy. I highlight the apartheid government's attempt to create an ally of the coloured people by privileging coloured labour over African labour in the Western Cape.

I then consider the effects of separatism on race relations in the Western Cape, detailing, in short, how the antagonism which had been created between Africans and coloureds led to distrust between members of the two population categories. I comment on the attempts made to deal with this antagonism indicating that the work being done is on an interpersonal rather than structural level.

² My reference to blacks is a reference to African, Indian and Coloured population categories.

I narrow my focus in chapter two to consider the University of Cape Town's trials and tribulations during the years of its existence. I track and detail student reactions to the separatist hegemony from the 1920s to the early 1990s, concluding that students' angry vociferation at the injustices of apartheid and white domination climaxed during the 1970s and 1980s. I also relate university officials' often conservative reactions to student protests, until the Saunders administration in the 1980s that crystallised staff protests. I conclude that the university was never totally an ally of the separatist hegemony as there was always a number of dissenting voices, even if in the minority, to conscientise the rest of the student population with regard to social, political and economic injustices suffered by blacks.

Chapter three is integral to my thesis as it discusses my motivations in my research and it elucidates the reasons for my biased research procedure and my analysis. I consider my field persona in light of my hegemonic socialisation within South African society, partly instilled through educational institutions such as the University of Cape Town. Therefore the notion that hegemony is a process of subtlety which finds expression in social institutions -- institutions where one person, whether man or woman, would have to interact with 'other' people -- is central to my thesis.

My writing of chapter three is thus done reflectively and reflexively. I detail my attempts to distance my thinking, feeling, 'bagged' self from my researching self through a strict following of anthropological research procedure. As I practised anthropology -- choosing a research sample, negotiating access to my research participants, setting up interviews etc. -- my bagged self was marginalised while my research persona was foregrounded. In this state, I was able to deny my idiosyncratic reasons for doing the research at UCT, rather than any other tertiary institution.

The inevitable move to participant observation led to a disjuncture in my research persona as I was 'suddenly' faced, all over again, with my bagged self. In many ways the revelation and sudden foregrounding of my self ('I') occurred at an inopportune time, as the (unconscious) turmoil it created within the research persona affected the research project -- I could not attend external activities planned by my research participants. On another level, however, the revelation of 'I' could not have occurred at a better time. For it was at this time that I began to comprehend the extent of my own experience of separatist hegemonisation and how it affected my motivations for

my research. As a 'subordinated and dominated' person within the separatist hegemony I was trying to understand the external creation of 'me' as dictated by the dominant white society, and my own selfcreation: the creation of 'I'. The search for 'I' and 'me' became a search for the 'dominant' and the 'dominated' within the Commerce Honours class through a consideration of friendship and the effects of racial diversity on it.

I conclude the chapter with the realisation that the divisions between objective and subjective, here (home) and there (foreign) are relative to the individual anthropologist's understanding, fieldwork context and composite self ('I' and 'me').

Chapter four and chapter five, my two core ethnographic chapters, detail the creation and maintenance of a dominant white hegemony within my fieldwork sample -- a UCT Commerce Honours Class. The Commerce Honours class effectively mirrored the separatist hegemony that had been created in South Africa within the formal class environment and within the external environment on campus and off campus. In chapter four I focus on my observations of participants within the formal class environment. As I was investigating the effects of South Africa's separatist hegemony within the environment I focused on my participants' identity markers or difference markers. I argue that if my participants were aligning themselves to some while differentiating themselves from others, then there is evidence that a separatist hegemony was being effected within the Commerce Honours class.

I consider identity markers such as dress code, accents, conversational texts and interactive behaviours or exclusionary behaviours. Through a delineation of the identity markers, I trace the process of hegemonisation within the class environment, identifying how members of two 'opposing' cohorts excluded certain individuals while indicating their inclusion of others. The dialogic process between these two cohorts revealed a dominant hegemony which privileged white students' experiences and preferences over those of subaltern students. The dominant hegemony was thus one of separation rather than inclusion, as subaltern students further entrenched their separation from the white hegemony by resisting it. At times, resistance was self-created or culturally constructed. For example: when subaltern students excluded themselves from white interactions they indicated their self-created exclusion. They made a choice not to interact. On the other hand, with reference to a person's accent, subaltern students, who in the main spoke English as a second language, differentiated themselves merely by talking. Yes, they could have chosen to

assimilate their accents to the dominant white accent. But generally people 'stuck' to their accents within which they had been socialised. Accent was thus a cultural differentiator.

In essence chapter four indicates that the creation of hegemony is a dialogic process between the dominant and the dominated: a constant vacillation between coercion and compulsion from the dominant and consent or resistance from the dominated. I also demonstrate how complex the process of hegemonisation is, as it is created through a complex array of cultural difference markers such as accent and constructed difference markers such as dress.

Chapter five, like chapter four considers the manner in which my participants differentiated themselves, except that I consider their behaviours within what I have called the external environment: external to the formal class environment, but both on campus and, in some cases, entirely off campus. I consider my participants' emphasis, or non-emphasis, on academic work, attendance or non-attendance at social gatherings, income, and, finally, exclusionary practices. Here I show that the separatist hegemony reflected within the formal class environment was being mirrored within the external environment. And, as in the formal class environment, both white and subaltern³ students were defining, creating and maintaining the separatist hegemony. Subaltern students focused primarily on academic work while white students focused on their social lives -- these diverse emphases had also been reflected within my participants' conversational texts within the class environment.

As the creation and maintenance of hegemony is very complex, it is hard to state with certainty that separatism had been effected in the formal class environment initially and then influenced the external environment or vice versa: rather the effects of the external (South African) separatist hegemony on the class as a whole seemed simultaneous. However that is not important. What is important is that a separatist hegemony had been created and then maintained, and that this determined, and was determined by, students' interactions and behaviours. Members of each cohort of students communicated to each other and to the 'opposing' cohort's members their affiliation to a particular cohort by exhibiting particular behaviours with particular individuals.

³ I use subaltern to refer to those students who were subordinated and/or othered within the Commerce Honours class.

I conclude my thesis in chapter six by discussing how race ultimately underpinned all the other identity markers mentioned in chapters four and five, despite my earlier efforts to intentionally ignore the social phenomenon of race. I conclude that race remains not only a salient marker of difference, but also that it continues to direct social relations within South Africa as the legacy of the separatist hegemony which was based on racial classification -- separatism -- remains.

An explanation of Gramsci's hegemony and its attendant concepts such as consent and alliances

The concept of hegemony

Antonio Gramsci, writing within the tradition of Marxism, elucidated his theory of hegemony while imprisoned in Italy between 1926 and 1937. His theory and exposition of hegemony was not written for intellectual consumption but as a comment on the Fascist Italian government which, under the leadership of Mussolini, had imprisoned him.

In a letter written from prison to his sister-in-law, Tatiana Schucht, on 7 September 1931, Gramsci outlined his definition of hegemony:

My study also leads to certain definitions of the concept of the State that is usually understood as a political Society (or dictatorship, or coercive apparatus meant to mould the particular mass in accordance with the type of production and economy at a given moment) and not as a balance between the political Society and the civil Society (or the hegemony of a social group over the entire national society, exercised through the so-called private organizations, such as the church, the unions, the schools etc.)

(Letters from Prison)

Gramsci specifically excised the notion of coercion from his explanation of hegemony, stating “.. that (what is called) the moment of ‘hegemony’, [is the moment] of consensus, of cultural direction, to distinguish it from the moment of force, of coercion, of legislative, governmental, or police intervention” (Prison Letters, May 2, 1932). Thus, in defining hegemony, Gramsci distinguished between domination as pure coercion and hegemony as ideological control. In sum, the concept of hegemony could be defined as “an organizing principle or world-view (or

combination of world-views), that is diffused by agencies of ideological control and socialization into every area of daily life" (Boggs, 1976:39), or "a social group or class can be said to assume a hegemonic role to the extent that it articulates and proliferates throughout society cultural and ideological belief systems whose teachings are accepted as universally valid by the general population" (Fontana, 1993:140).

What these two interpretations of Gramsci's hegemony highlight is the processual and consensual nature of hegemony. Hegemony is all pervasive, as it is "exercised through private organizations such as the church, the unions and the schools, etc." (Prison Letters, 7 September, 1931). An individual cannot survive within society without participating in, or dealing with, the very institutions which create and maintain the hegemony.

Although the term hegemony is relatively easily defined, the explanation of its creation and maintenance within society is rather complex. Fundamentally, there are two levels upon which hegemony is created and sustained within society:

- the formation of alliances (*consent*) and
- the *coercion* and *compulsion* of acceptance.

As noted by Fontana (1993:141),

the supremacy of a social group is manifested in two ways: as 'domination' [compulsion] and as 'intellectual and moral leadership' [consent]. A social group is dominant over those antagonistic groups it wants to 'liquidate' or to subdue even with armed force, and it is leading with respect to those groups that are associated and allied with it.

Therefore, even though Gramsci's delineation of hegemony (as stated above by Fontana) does not include the notion of coercion, the *maintenance* of hegemony involves coercion, especially when the dominant needs the dominated to be subdued. As noted by Hall (1996:426), Gramsci had recognised that hegemony as leadership "has its 'coercive' aspects too", but that *true* hegemony is achieved through consent, rather than coercion (Buci-Glucksmann, 1982).

The formation of alliances -- achieving consent

The fundamental notion within hegemony is the notion of consent. To create an hegemony within society, the hegemonising "social group" needs to attract support for its convictions or beliefs.

This principal social entity would thus strive to convince other entities of its moral rectitude. For example: through 'moral and intellectual leadership', entity A (the principal entity) convinces entity B that the dominance and subordination of entities C and D are advantageous to both A and B. As entity B derives certain benefits from an alliance with entity A, entity B then consents to being led by entity A, and consents, by implication, to the subordination of entities C and D.

The above illustrates that even though Gramsci referred to *a* social group in his letter dated September 7, 1931, hegemony is not created by *one* social group (Fontana, 1993; Hall, 1996). As stated by Buci-Glucksmann (1982:120), "the hegemony of a class is not imposed: it is conquered through a specific intellectual and moral dimension, through a *politics of alliances* which must open up a national perspective to the whole society". Gramsci was therefore very aware that "each hegemonic formation [would] ... have its own, specific social composition and configuration" (Hall, 1996:424). Because of Gramsci's comprehensive expansion of the term social group, as a hybrid group, the Marxist understanding of the ruling class as a *homogenous* entity would not suffice as a description for the hegemonising entity (Hall, 1996).

Coercion and compulsion

As noted by Gramsci earlier, a social entity achieves social supremacy through the creation of hegemony and through the use of coercion. Coercion or force would be used by entity A and its ally entity B (mentioned in the previous discussion) on entities C and D -- the subordinated or dominated entities. Coercion would be necessitated if entities C and D were antagonistic and resistant to the hegemony created by entities A and B. As the maintenance of hegemony is most important to entities A and B (because of the derived and perceived benefits to entities A and B) the continuation of antagonism could lead to the rupture of hegemony and the power that comes with it (Boggs, 1976; Hall, 1996).

To diffuse this antagonism A and B would use a combination of coercion and compulsion. Many theorists (Boggs, 1976; Fontana, 1993; Hall, 1996; Sassoon, 1982), refer to Gramsci's notion of coercion in its most fundamental sense of force, while I argue that Gramsci used coercion in two ways:

- 1) its most direct sense of coercion through the use of force, and
- 2) a more subtle version of coercion, compulsion.

I make this distinction between coercion as force and as compulsion to show how Gramsci's explanation of the way in which hegemony was created and maintained was inclusive of all levels, rather than only the political⁴ level. It is at the level of civil society (most often) that compulsion rather than coercion is effected on those who are dominated or subordinated in society. As noted by Simon (1982:72), "A hegemonic class exercises power over subordinate classes in civil society [compulsion] in addition to the power which it exercises through its predominance in the state [coercion]".

The concept of hegemony applied to apartheid South Africa

Before I discuss the creation and maintenance of hegemony within my study population, it is important, for two reasons, to consider the history of South Africa:

- South Africa's history provides the 'backdrop' for my research, and
- as the past informs the present, it is imperative to consider the creation of hegemony within South African society, so as to understand the hegemony within a microcosm of South Africa -- the University of Cape Town and its 1998 Commerce Honours class, that was the focus of my fieldwork.

The following discussion, although brief, provides an historical analysis of the creation and implementation of a hegemony of division/segregation within South Africa. I have made predominant use of secondary historical sources, rather than primary sources, because my discussion of South African history offers the background to my fieldwork material, rather than being an issue of primary focus.

South Africa and Early Segregation

As noted earlier, hegemony occurs at a number of levels -- political, economic, social, cultural etc. Although the experience of hegemony is not uniform at all of these levels, it is important for the dominant social entity to maintain hegemony's cultivation at all levels of society, so that its members' domination and supremacy can be maintained. As hegemony is multi-directional, the hegemony created within South Africa during segregation and apartheid (discussed later) should

not be seen as originating from the political level only. Just as the political institutions informed other levels, so too did these levels inform political institutions.

Locating South Africa's hegemony: an analysis of General Hertzog's 1924 speech

The creation of hegemony is processual, rather than instantaneous. It seems to gather momentum as it moves to pervade all levels of society. As hegemony is subtle, its articulation occurs not only through legislation, but also in words, or more specifically in speeches. An example of this articulation is the speech made by General Barry M. Hertzog (founder of the National Party – the party which was ultimately responsible for the further elaboration on, and propagation of, separatism) at Malmesbury in 1926 (Kallaway et al, 1987:478-479). Hertzog won the general election in 1924 with the help of the Labour Party, after having formed an alliance (the Pact government) with them in 1923.

General Hertzog's speech is long, but I include it here in full as it articulates the underlying assumptions used in the design of a separatist hegemony. It also begins to demonstrate how the forerunner to the apartheid government created essentialised or naturalised divisions [differences] between whites and blacks in the early 1920s and how a separatist ideology was becoming part of the status quo and society's common sense. Separation rather than integration was becoming normal.

I have divided the speech into individual segments, each of which I have analysed both separately and in terms of how they reflect the various assumptions behind the separatist ideology that became apartheid.

In the first place I wish to draw your attention to the composition of our population. In round figures we can fix it at 2 000 000 whites against 6 000 000 natives ... Look ... at the difference in civilisation! Against a European civilisation which has its origin in a slow development which stretches back over a period of almost 2 000 years, stands the native, without civilisation, still on the doorstep of his development.

⁴ Here political refers to the level of the state.

The difference in number between the population categories assumed significance for Hertzog. He was subtly implying that the mass of 'native' people ('them') were far too unwieldy to be controlled by a group of (white) people ('us') who, in real terms, were a third of their number. As demonstrated here and in the sections below, Hertzog implied that in the 2 000 years of history that had passed, whites had progressed to a point far advanced from the situation of that of the native (African person) who was seen to be in a stage of infancy. At the start of his speech, Hertzog set up the notion that Africans required protection from their social superiors -- whites. In subsequent paragraphs, Hertzog developed this image of the native as child.

Next to the European the native stands as an 8-year-old child to a man of great experience -- a child in religion, a child in moral conviction; without art and without science; with the most primitive needs, and the most elementary knowledge to provide for these needs.

Here he was clearly portraying the native as wanting, needy and dependent like a child. He used the metaphor of the child in contrast to the implied metaphor of the parent (white), the provider. He elaborated on this further when saying:

If ever a race had need of guidance and protection from another people with which it is placed in contact, then it is the native in his contact with the white man.

Here Hertzog was trying to lead his audience to the logical (common-sense) conclusion that, in his infancy, the native needs a caretaker, a parent who is aware of what is 'right' for the child. And what is right for the child (native) is the protection (read separation) from the white man (also seen as the parent).

Yet what follows is a clear contradiction of the depiction of the native as an infant, as Hertzog stated that the native did have a "national character".

Another point of difference of the greatest importance, is that of national character and customs....How much this difference is something which will eventually disappear as the native becomes civilised cannot be determined with any certainty. We also cannot just assume that the native, in his development to civilisation, will

not follow his own national character with his own eventual and unique civilisation.

Difference in national character, national customs, national development and civilisation exists and will long exist, and, in proportion to this difference there will necessarily be a difference in national needs which demands difference in treatment -- and this affects legislation no less than administration.

My reading of Hertzog's reference to a national character raises the question of whether he was implicitly referring to African 'culture' and defining it as different from white 'culture'. If so he was clearly contradicting his earlier statement that Africans do not have a civilisation. Although this particular set of paragraphs seems to contradict the ideology that Africans are infantile and wanting, Hertzog's discussion of African national character reflected the more dominant hegemony which needed articulation: Africans and whites are so different that separate development is the only logical/rational policy to follow within South Africa. Hertzog was clearly using the rhetoric of difference to offer support to the notion of separate treatment (development) as there was a "difference in national needs". He assumed that his audience could grasp his meaning of the word "difference" and that they would accept the notion that differences exist between whites and Africans, as he did not offer evidence for his premises -- his audience was white, rather than multi-racial. His assumption of their approval demonstrates his further assumption that the hegemony he espoused was consented to by 'civilised' society.

To protest against this, as is done today by thoughtless people, as though such a dividing line is attributable to colour prejudice alone, is not justified. No! Not colour, but a definite difference in national character, development and civilisation, is the basis of the so-called colour bar.

In the first line Hertzog undermined the legitimacy of people who would contest separate development by declaring these people to be "thoughtless" and therefore of no real consequence. In so doing he declared that antagonists and any resistance movements which might seek a counter-hegemony were irrational. He assumed the moral high ground, thus characterising his separatist ideology as morally acceptable. He further contended that separate development was not merely

built on 'colour prejudice' -- something which could easily be denounced -- but rather the "difference in national character" (culture). Continuing, he stated:

In establishing the bar, in any particular instance, it is either the interest of the native, or that of the European, which makes it necessary and determines the decision. I say 'or that of the European' because people are only too inclined to think that the European has no right to protection against the native.

In the above passage Hertzog justified the existence of the colour bar by saying that it was beneficial to whites and to Africans. Since separate development was beneficial to both, there was no reason for Africans to question it. The real theme of his speech is elucidated in the following few lines:

The time has come for a fixed native policy; a policy that will do away with all uncertainty on the part of the native as to what his place will be in the political society during the time of his cultural immaturity. To take away the uncertainty, it is not only necessary that he realises clearly that equality with the European as regards political rights is impossible.

Here Hertzog, having established the ideological principles of a separatist hegemony, espoused the creation of a Native Policy which would keep the natives in their place; a place of lesser importance than the position of whites in South Africa. His use of the word "impossible" in the final sentence, lends a finality, and non-negotiable sentiment to it. Further discussion of 'equal rights' for 'the native' would not be tolerated. Hertzog's determination with regard to the issue of no equal rights for the native is further demonstrated when he states:

but in the clearest words the native must understand that the European is determined that South Africa will be ruled by the white man. Any discord about this will lead to the existence of false expectations and disappointment on the part of the native and to suspicion and bitter feeling against the native on the part of the European. The duty rests with Europeans to make the native understand unambiguously that his claim to dominance will never be fulfilled.

Again, there is a level of finality in the conclusion of his speech, as well as a hint of warning to the 'natives': any dissension from them with regard to the Native Policy would not be tolerated, as clearly the white man was superior. It is interesting to note that Hertzog interpreted the natives' quest for equal rights as a quest for dominance -- for hegemony -- a dominance which he believed was the inalienable right of the white man, who represented, in his mind, civilisation and modernity. Hertzog was clearly aware that resistance was a defiance of the white-controlled hegemony of separatism. Therefore this resistance had to be destroyed by Europeans unambiguously. My consideration of apartheid that follows will highlight the manner in which those who called themselves Europeans dealt with 'the natives' unambiguously.

Throughout Hertzog's speech it is apparent that he used the words "the natives" to cast African people as less important, subordinate and worthless in comparison to 'the European'. Hertzog was unashamedly creating a world for the white man, a world which in effect had no room for Africans. His political rhetoric rationalised the further promotion of segregationist policies, while simultaneously voicing the hegemonic feeling within the dominant strata of society at the time. His rationalisation in turn provided credibility to the practice of segregation, constructing it as natural and beyond refutation -- because of Africans' subordination to whites, it was morally correct for Europeans, the more superior entity, to protect 'the natives'.

However, as the Hertzog-led Pact government realised, simple rhetoric was not sufficient to inculcate full-scale segregation. This realisation culminated later in the further passing of laws of segregation (see Horrell, 1971 and 1981 for more details). After the 1948 election the National Party crystallised territorial and social separation with laws and the strict enforcement of these laws. This election heralded a particularly rigorous and controlled segregation of people -- apartheid⁵. 1948 was particularly significant as the Native Policy which was targeted specifically at Africans prior to 1948, was expanded to apply to *all* those seen as non-whites -- coloureds, Indians and Africans (Lintvelt et al, 1987).

⁵ According to Williamson (1997:13), apartheid refers to "a system of laws devised and enforced by the white population which prevented black South Africans from voting, living in a white area, entering a white area without a permit, marrying or making love to a white person, doing a job reserved for whites, earning what a white person earned, going to church or school or university with a white person and playing sport with whites." Yes, apartheid was very like segregation. However there is one important difference -- the era of apartheid saw a greater number of laws passed and the harsher enforcement of those laws. It also saw spatial segregation moved into wholesale political-economic segregation with the creation of bantustans.

Before I discuss the era of apartheid, it is important to take a step back and consider some of the events which led to Hertzog's bald 1924 statement of the hegemonic ideals behind the government's separatist policies. I take a brief retrospective look at South African history while applying the notion of hegemony to the events I have highlighted.

As noted earlier, hegemony is processual. Therefore I consider the process of South African history in order to understand the creation and maintenance of the separatist hegemony espoused by Hertzog. For convenience sake I start at the beginning of South Africa's written history. Please note that my discussion of events is not strictly chronological. Rather it is structured according to my argument of the construction of hegemony. My argument contends that two parallel hegemonies had been created through Dutch and British colonisation at various times in South African history. Each hegemony succeeded in subordinating the indigenous people of South Africa and black immigrants through slavery or the complete annihilation of a people. Fundamentally though, the existence of two hegemonies would become untenable as the concept of hegemony implies one dominant ideology not two. The following discussion thus deals with the vacillation of power between two competing hegemonies -- British hegemony and Boer hegemony.

The Early Years

South Africa, situated on the southern most tip of Africa, is bordered by Namibia to the north-west, Zimbabwe in the north and Swaziland and Mozambique to the north-east. The Atlantic Ocean forms a natural border on the south-west of South Africa and the Indian Ocean on the south-east. Since 1652, this unremarkable stretch of land has been the site of physical, social, political and economic contestation.

Although I was taught in secondary school that South Africa's history *started* with the arrival in Table Bay of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, the land was inhabited by a number of indigenous people - - Khoikhoi, San and Bantu speakers in the interior -- prior to his arrival. Aware of this inhabitation, the Dutch East India Company (the Company) placed Jan van Riebeeck under specific orders "to preserve peace with the indigenous people" (Oakes, 1995:36). In 1657, the Company released nine men from its service and gave them farming land, so as to decrease the costs incurred by the establishment and maintenance of the refreshment station established by van Riebeeck. These men, the first free burghers and foreign landowners, were "under strict

instructions” from the company not to enslave the local Khoikhoi (ibid.). As a result these new landowners sought to obtain and employ foreign slave labour.

By 1659, resistance to “Dutch” settlement and colonisation (a process of Dutch hegemony) was effected by Doman, a Khoikhoi leader. Having had a chance to interact with slaves from the Far East, he realised that his people could likely be enslaved, in much the same way as the indigenous people of Batavia (Java) had been (Oakes, 1995). The resistance to Dutch domination was not successful, and more and more foreign immigrants from France (1688) and Holland arrived to settle on the land. The French Huguenots who arrived in 1688 were given land in Franschoek without consideration of the needs or wants of the indigenous population there. Soon these settlers were moving further into the interior, away from Company control. By the latter part of the 17th century, part of the free burgher population was starting to agitate for their freedom from Company control and assuming their rights to ownership of native land. As these Boers⁶ (a population of mixed Dutch, French and German ancestry) moved further into the interior, they appropriated native land and enhanced their livestock numbers by stealing livestock from the Khoikhoi (Oakes, 1995). As noted by Lemon (1976:19) “three or four generations of unhindered movement with little effective government encouraged the trekboers (Boers) to regard all government as interference with personal liberty and to believe that possession of ample land was an inborn right of all free men”. Hence their often violent appropriation of land originated from a sense of entitlement on the part of these foreigners. The indigenous people, robbed of their means of survival, were forced into servitude for those who had robbed them (Oakes, 1995). Not only were the white foreigners laying claim to land, but they were also creating a system of ‘native’ domination by whites. This is not surprising as the Dutch had colonised a number of other countries in the East (Lemon, 1976), where similar principles of settler domination of native populations were used in the colonising process.

The continued move into the interior by Boers led to an ever-widening arc of appropriated land. By 1688 the ‘Dutch’ were farming “beyond the original Cape boundary” (Oakes, 1995:1). The encroachment on Khoikhoi and San land and the initiation of open trading between Khoikhoi and free burghers led to the impoverishment of the Khoikhoi and the San as they lost grazing land and game animals (Oakes, 1995). In an attempt to secure their livelihood the Khoikhoi and San raided

⁶ I use the term Boers for heuristic reasons in the following discussion, rather than historical correctness.

the “invading herds” (ibid.) of the Boers in 1701. The Boers retaliated by using their weaponry to secure victory over the Khoikhoi and San and the imposition of serfdom on members of these two indigenous populations. Endemic to the period between 1701 and 1776 was the continued fighting between the Khoisan⁷ and Boer settlers with the eventual victors being the white settlers.

In sum, during this early period *domination*, rather than hegemony through consent, was prevalent at the Cape. Not only were slave resistances violently suppressed, but Boer appropriation of native land was done forcibly. Hence, when force was used, obtaining consent from the dominated was negated.

The British Settlers

In 1795, Britain occupied the Cape per arrangement with the Dutch king (Lemon, 1976). After having recently restored the Cape to the Batavian Republic (Dutch colony), Britain realised, after just three years, that their trade with the East would be endangered if the “Cape were to remain in the hands” of a French ally (Lemon, 1976:10). Britain therefore annexed the Cape, retaining control over it until the 1910 establishment of Union saw the introduction of a government responsible for the whole new country.

A number of British settlers were settled in the Eastern Cape in 1820: to decrease unemployment in Britain and to “secure a safe eastern boundary for the Cape” (ibid.). Although 43 000 of the 47 000 white population at the Cape in 1820 had Dutch heritage, the smaller English community eagerly participated in the Cape’s economic system. The British brought with them “the social and physical features of English life, such as newspapers, debating societies, horse-racing and village-green cricket matches” (Oakes, 1995:95). The British also introduced the British judicial system to the Cape, incorporating Roman Dutch law, and they established English-medium white schools which catered mainly for the “better-off white population” (ibid.). Realising that language was important for the preservation of British culture, the British compelled the use of English in “schools, courts and Parliament” (ibid.), all institutions of hegemony. This enforcement of English as a means of communication was directly related to the Boer movement inland as they resisted a hegemony other than their own, and effected the creation of their own alternative parallel hegemony

⁷ As explained by Oakes (1995) differentiation between Khoikhoi and San became increasingly difficult as the appropriation of Khoikhoi cattle led to their surviving through hunting and gathering -- the San’s means of survival.

away from British control. As noted by Lemon (1976:25), "politically, the Great Trek was an essentially conservative movement, an attempt to preserve a way of life and the manner and thought of an age which elsewhere was quickly passing".

Many Boers who stayed in the Cape aligned themselves with the British, trying to form part of the European elite developed by the British after the settler arrival in 1820. Yet acceptance of the British hegemony did not oppose their own dominant ideology -- blacks, particularly Africans, were inferior to whites -- as the British held the same dominant ideology, although they expressed it differently to the Boers. Those who stayed in the Cape were eventually incorporated into the British elite. With their incorporation there was no longer a distinction between the hegemony of the British and Dutch elite, as the Dutch (Boers) had now been assimilated by the British.

Slavery

As a result of the Dutch East India Company's initial embargo on indigenous enslavement, slaves were imported from Eastern countries such as Bali, Java, Madagascar and India and from African countries such as Guinea and Angola. Housed in the Company's Cape Town slave lodge, also infamously known as the "town's leading brothel" (Oakes, 1995:50), many female slaves were known to have been forced to have sexual intercourse with white slave owners, farmers and sailors, despite the act having been prohibited in 1658 (Lemon, 1976). Some children from these 'mixed unions' were accepted within Dutch society while others were not. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, "they were becoming a people apart" (Lemon, 1976:14). It is documented that 75% of the child slave population had European fathers (ibid.).

Although slaves were not content with their positions of servitude, a major slave rebellion was never possible due to the diversity within the slave population, the fact that the population was so widely dispersed and the ever-present threat of the militia in the Cape (Lemon, 1976; Oakes, 1995). This situation created an easily subjugated mass, as the British *and* the Boers controlled their slaves through compulsion, rather than coercion. The hegemony of separation and class was taking root, through the domination of the slave population and the natives by the British and the Boers. Even though Britain had abolished slave trading in 1807, slavery was only abolished in 1834 at the Cape (Oakes, 1995). But even then, many Boer slave owners continued to follow punitive practices without any fear of reprisals from government as most of them were spatially removed from the government in the Cape and were thus not accountable to it (Lemon, 1976).

The Boers, angered by British slave abolition, disagreed further with the British on the manner in which slaves were to be treated. As noted by Lemon (1976:25), “the Boers were retreating from a government which interfered with the relationship between master and servant, and was responsible for the freeing of the Hottentots in 1828 and the slaves in 1833”. Also, the presence of emancipated slaves at the Cape was particularly problematic to Boers as most urban trades were filled by these people. Therefore ex-slaves, although unable to aspire to elite class positions in South African society, were becoming part of the class occupied by the Boers -- the artisan class. As a result most Boers’ sons decided “there was no occupation worthy of an Afrikaner (Boer) but that of landholder” (Lemon, 1976:14). Hence some Boers, upon embarking on their journey inland, would not only search for land, but also construct an alternate hegemony which placed *them* in positions of power over others, rather than be part of the ‘undifferentiated’ subjugated mass dominated by the British.

The Trek: creating the kernel of later provinces

The Eastern Frontier

As the Boers moved east, they encountered the Xhosa, a dominant force in the eastern area. There was no immediate friction between the two, as they developed a relationship of mutual advantage -- the Boers traded with the Xhosa and the Xhosa offered the Boers their labour (Oakes, 1995). However the understanding was soon dissolved as competition for the same grazing land, and the superior attitude of the Boers -- the Boers’ attempt at constructing their hegemony -- led to conflict.

The colonial proclamation of a new border in 1780 led to an eviction of Xhosa farmers from fertile pastures in the Zuurveld in the Eastern Cape, while giving unlimited access to the Boers. As individual Xhosa polities made a stand on the frontier, a commando of whites⁸ and Khoikhoi decimated parts of the Xhosa population, gaining 5 330 head of cattle in a blitz known now as the First Frontier War. After this war, a number of truces between whites and Xhosa were agreed and peaceful coexistence occurred. But, by 1858, after a further seven frontier wars in which the

⁸ Note that my use of ‘whites’ is a reference to the British and the Boers.

British together with the Boers 'protected' the frontier, and the Xhosa's mass killing of their own cattle, the Xhosa were finally broken (Oakes, 1995).

In this period of frontier wars the British and the Boers, despite their competing hegemonies -- each entity tried to assume dominance over the other and over the blacks -- formed an alliance to fight the Xhosa population for their land. The occurrence of these wars indicates that the British and the Boer attempts at establishing cultural hegemony within the Eastern Cape were not successful, as the use of coercion was necessitated. However, the alliances between the British and the Boers were indicative of the stirrings of a single hegemony; as was the final Xhosa accession to white power.

Natal: British Colony

As noted earlier, the movement of Boers into the interior was effected as a result of their fear of English domination and the competition offered by ex slaves in the Cape for certain jobs. A further reason was the impetus provided by the Frontier Wars. As the Boers were not a homogenous population, some travelled in a westerly direction while others moved northwards.

In the 17th century, the south-east African coast had become part of a trade network to the east. However, by 1800, Natal remained relatively "independent of European rule" (Lamplough, 1988:204), and hence independent of European hegemony. Although traders were interested in the harbour, the small British settler population at Port Natal could not attempt to conquer the powerful Zulu leader, King Shaka, as their numbers were insignificant. The British settlers worried the British government to annex Natal, but the government was unwilling. By 1834, Boers under the leadership of Piet Retief investigated the area as a possible site for Boer settlement. Here too therefore, the white populations were en route to a collision of hegemonies. The British, trying to extend their control and maintain their hegemony over the fleeing (resisting) Boers, passed the Cape of Good Hope Act in 1836, which effectively established "formal British presence in Natal" (Lamplough, 1988:209). Again through legislation, the British identified their ideology as the dominant one.

Permanent settlement by Boer and British was denied by the fighting spirit of Dingane (Shaka's successor). However, after a war between Boers and Zulus at Blood River, where the "musket

triumphed over the assegai” (Lampough, 1988:210), the Republic of Natal was established in 1839, based on a concession given by King Dingane. Yet, as noted by Lampough (1988:210),

the Africans who signed concessions were frequently ignorant of the contents ... they often had an understanding of land tenure which was different from that of Europeans: the African view was that an agreement granted the use of the land, while the European understood it to mean outright ownership.

Noting this, it would be impossible to state that Africans had *consented* to their domination and hegemonisation by the Boers (in this instance). Their ‘consent’ was based on a fundamental cultural misunderstanding which favoured the Boers.

Natal became a British colony in 1842, after the British had intervened when the Boers attacked the Bhaca, killing many and taking children as ‘apprentices’⁹ in December 1840. These abductions were condemned by the British as slave raiding and, after violent clashes with the Boers, the governing body of the Republic of Natal acceded to British authority (Lampough, 1988). Under the British, 10% of Natal was given to those Africans not required as labourers on white farms, while 90% was made available for white settlement. This statistic is indicative of the similar attitudes held by the British and the Boers. Even though the two fought over land and the principles of slavery and servitude, it was apparent that the land allotted to Africans was based on the underlying assumption that Africans did not require land, as they would be working on white owned land. Slowly the African population was becoming a landless class, while the British and the Boers became land-owning elites.

Orange Free State: Boer Republic

Seeking new pastures, the Boers traversed the Orange River (known as the Gariiep River by the Khoikhoi) travelling into Transorangia in the 1820s and 1830s. Here they met two other groups of people vying for settlement -- the Griqua (descendants from European and Khoikhoi and from Khoikhoi and runaway slaves) and the Basotho. The land was already settled by the Basotho, but by 1845 there were approximately 300 Boer farmers in the area: farmers “who regarded themselves as owners of the land they occupied and, in some instances, even ‘sold’ it to other Boers” (Oakes,

1995:139). Besides appropriating land from the Basotho, the Boers were also buying land from the Griqua who shared the Boer understanding of land ownership. Due to disputes and ongoing strife between Basotho chiefs and the Boers, the British intervened and the Bloemfontein convention, which paved the way for the establishment of the Orange Free State, was signed in 1854 (Oakes, 1995). In effect this convention 'allowed' Boer domination and hegemony, beyond the control and influence of British. The Boers had now reached a period where they could construct and implement their own hegemony of Boer superiority, alongside the British hegemony of British dominance in the Cape and Natal.

In sum, not only were the Boers contesting and rebelling against British domination and hegemony, they were also competing with them for the ownership and control of native land. The British and the Boers obtained land through the formation of alliances with one another against native chiefs; through the formation of individual alliances with native chiefs; through treaties or through outright force. These alliances, particularly between Boers and British, can be understood as attempts to bring two powerful forces into the construction of a particular hegemony by both. The battles fought between British and Boers and between whites and blacks all attest to the resistance from blacks or Boers or British to a certain hegemony -- whether it was that of Boer or British superiority or white superiority. At various times the Boers were trying to assert their domination over the British and blacks. While at other times, through resistance to the Boer hegemony, the British achieved and possessed the power of the hegemonising entity. Ultimately, British and Boers alike realised that the formation of alliances with one another created a stronger hegemonising entity and thus most of the alliances, even though episodic, were formed *between whites against blacks*. Even though it may not have been recognised fully at the time, the competing alternative hegemonies of Boers (the Boer domination of Britons and blacks) and Britons (the British domination of Boers and blacks) effected the same results: white domination of blacks.

Mass urbanisation

As the mid nineteenth century had realised the creation of what later became South Africa's four provinces, it seemed inevitable that towns and cities would be created. And as the Industrial Revolution in Europe began to influence the world's market economies, South Africa began its move to industrialisation during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

⁹ These children were 'condemned' to a life of serfhood, often expected to work on the land appropriated

From about 1870, South African society began moving towards a “modern industrial economy” (Kallaway et al, 1986:230), because of the discovery of minerals and precious metals in Kimberley in the 1860s and the Witwatersrand in 1886. According to Kallaway et al (1986) this industrialisation had two important consequences. Firstly, the industrial revolution shifted politics from the rural to the urban areas, where conflict was to take place between workers and owners and “between white and black mineworkers, as they jostled for an advantaged position in the labour market” (Kallaway et al, 1986:234). Secondly, the largely agricultural subsistence economy was destroyed and “a new economic and political dispensation dominated by whites” (ibid.) was realised. South Africa was becoming urbanised as many workers, enticed by higher wages in the cities, migrated from the rural areas to the urban areas. Similarly, European and African immigrants who came to prospect for minerals and gold increased the urban population.

Circa 1906, “despite the absence of formal segregationist laws, most towns had locations, which were occupied solely by blacks... Locations were really an extension of the compound¹⁰ system -- where blacks were allowed to stay in an urban environment because they provided the labour essential to the functioning of industry” (Kallaway et al, 1986:250-1). Without realising it, those Africans who participated in the labour system were being led into more punitive subjugation than that experienced in the era before industrialisation. However the situation was more complex than this, as there were those who accepted the hegemony being imposed (that African workers are inferior to white workers), while there were those who planned resistance by equipping themselves with guns to defend themselves against whites and other African chiefdoms.

Ultimately though, the African population felt obliged to participate in the burgeoning industrial economy as they migrated to the towns to earn cash wages with which to pay their taxes. Similarly “people were acquiring new needs and wants” (Kallaway et al, 1986:254). In short, Africans were becoming willing participants in the industrial economy because of the apparent advantages to be gleaned from such participation. The shift from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy was creating an African population accepting of British (most of the large businesses were British-owned) hegemony. But their acceptance was not consensual. Rather it was compulsive as the

by the Boers – their ancestral land.

British had created a market economy which compelled African participation in these markets. The hegemony was, of course, always beneficial to the dominant -- the owners of the means of production created great wealth for themselves, while those "without political and economic power" suffered tremendously (Kallaway et al, 1986:204).

The South African War

In the 1890s tension erupted between Boers and Britons as the gold mines in the Transvaal, a Boer Republic known then as the South African Republic, were predominantly British owned. As the Cape continued to solicit support for the creation of a united British dominated colonial state, rather than the maintenance of four autonomous states, Paul Kruger, the president of the South African Republic, maintained his position of non-federation, fearful of the threat posed to the sovereignty and new wealth of the Boer Republic by the British. As the British feared the "emergence of a powerful Republican bloc in South Africa" the polarisation of forces became inevitable and war between the Boers and the British broke out in 1899 (Kallaway et al, 1986:308) -- the South African War (also referred to as the Second Anglo-Boer War) had begun.

After much loss of life on both sides, and the detention of Boer women and children in concentration camps, it was apparent to the Boers that they were losing the war. By 31 May 1902, the Boers surrendered at Vereeniging, giving up their autonomy and acknowledging the authority of the British monarchy (Kallaway et al, 1986). This surrender marked the end of the war and the beginning of the rebuilding and unification of the country. The Boers and the British had finally ended their parallel journeys of mutually exclusive hegemonies. They were embarking on a single hegemony where the Boers and the British would rule together, as a hegemonising elite, over the subordinate blacks.

Boer Politics

After the South African War (1899 - 1902), an uncertain calm prevailed during which a single 'unified' government was constituted through the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Kallaway et al, 1987). After two and a half centuries of settlement and expansion, the South African War, fought between foreigners (descendants of Dutch settlers -- Boers -- and the British)

¹⁰ An "enclosure of living quarters in which African mineworkers were housed; usually attached to the mines" (Oakes, 1995:532) separate from other population categories -- originally developed in the Kimberley diamond fields.

over the control, and ownership of the land, left the British victorious. But even though the British had won the war, the Boers would achieve *political* ascendancy in the ensuing years and come to be the controlling force in the new (yet familiar) hegemony of separatism.

In the September 1910 election, the South African party (SAP) triumphed and almost immediately the party effected the legal promulgation of segregationist policies on the statute books of the Union of South Africa, policies that had previously been in place only in the two Boer Republics. The SAP's political ascendancy would be important for the reinforcement of a separatist hegemony, as the Boers needed coercive and compulsive power: not only would they be in control of the policing services (the threat of violence and imprisonment for blacks, especially Africans, was ever present), but they also had access to legislative power -- a structure to legalise their domination over black people. The policy issues emphasised by the SAP (Kallaway et al, 1987:430), were as follows:

- conciliation or *hereniging* (reunification) between the 'white races' (the term used at the time) in order to remove the bitterness of the past [tensions that remained between Boers and Britons after the South African war];
- equality of the English and Dutch languages [foreign languages -- not the languages of the indigenous people of South Africa];
- a non-party and 'non-doctrinaire' approach to 'Native Policy' [There was no single Native Policy, as each of the different provinces had its own legislation regarding 'the natives'.]
- an end to Indian immigration; and
- rapid economic growth and modernisation.

The above policy issues emphasised the political and economic growth of white 'foreigners' in South Africa rather than native South Africans or other than white foreigners, while also crystallising the creation of white domination over blacks. This claim is substantiated by the emphasis placed on non-native languages, the reconciliation of the 'white races' in South Africa and the explicit attempt to halt non-white immigration. In and of itself, the above policies cannot be seen as wholly discriminatory or racist, except for the control of Indian immigration. But when they are contextualised within that which had gone before (the subordination of the native people of South Africa and the continued appropriation of their native land) and the subsequent laws which were passed, it seems clear that policies such as the above were used to subjugate the 'natives' to

benefit the 'foreign white races'. Not only would the ensuing legislation concretise the relationship between dominant and dominated, but it would also create and crystallise a statal hegemony which had its beginnings prior to the Union of South Africa. As whites were accustomed to appropriation of African land and the enslavement of blacks, the statute books of the white government would reflect the predominant societal (hegemonic) will.

As is apparent from the above, there is no time restriction to processes of hegemonisation. As indicated, British hegemony had long rivalled that of Boer hegemony. At various times, each settler entity followed particular strategies which were akin to the hegemonic strategies described for earlier periods:

- British and Boers formed alliances, whether with one another or with African populations -- Xhosa or Griqua;
- they gained 'consent' from the ruled to be ruled, even if this consent was based on a cultural misunderstanding;
- the use of coercive power -- the wars fought between the Boers and the British; between whites and Africans like the Xhosa; the appropriation of land by force or the annexation thereof; the promulgation of laws which, when backed up by a political force, compelled obedience or subordination to British and/or Boer power.
- the use of compulsive power -- compelling Africans to leave the rural areas to seek employment on the mines, so as to pay taxes in cash; or creating needs and desires which were particularly attached to the industrial economy; compelling Africans to wear European clothes or to use the Dutch or English languages.

Ultimately the consequence of all of these strategies was the creation of a divided society whose members accepted the notion of naturalised difference and inborn superiority of whites over blacks. Even though Britons and Boers had fought for dominance, they agreed on one created aspect of South African society (i.e. that whites were superior to blacks); and they managed to compel or coerce many blacks into believing that that was really the case.

Apartheid

Creating the foundations for apartheid

A plural society based on racial divisions and class divisions, where the 'natives' were the dominated and 'the foreigners' dominant, had been created. Within ten years of the end of the South African war, the Boers had entrenched their political ascendancy through passing a number of laws. Threatened by the perception of an increase in African labour which was cheaper and more controllable than white labour on the mines, the SAP government was encouraged by its deputy leader, Jan Smuts, to pass a number of laws. These laws not only curtailed the movement of blacks, but also enforced the deprivation of the black population. In short, the belief espoused by Hertzog in 1924 that "blacks could never be equal to whites" (Oakes, 1995:343) was being impressed on the minds of all South Africans and an hegemony of separation and division engendered. The promulgation of the Native Labour Regulation Act and the Mines and Works Act in 1911 codified the subservience of African miners to white miners and entrenched the classification of Africans as unskilled labour, which ultimately meant that few African miners would be able to move beyond the unskilled labour category (Horrell, 1973). The Acts ensured an abundance of *cheap* labour as Africans were unable to obtain certificates identifying them as skilled labour (Oakes, 1995). Therefore, as Africans were categorised as unskilled, the cost of their labour remained negligible.

Further subjugation of Africans occurred with the passing of the Natives' Land Act in 1913, which "provided the base for territorial separation of white and African" (Oakes, 1995:316) and effected the eviction of African farmers from white farms. African farmers were thus restricted to farming within the newly created Reserves¹¹. Effectively, the majority population was forced to accept that it had land rights on only 7% of South African land (Horrell, 1971; Kallaway et al, 1987; Oakes, 1995). Ten years later, in 1923, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was promulgated to extend control over Africans to urban areas. This act was based on the presumption that "the urban areas" had been created by whites and that blacks would only be allowed to enter these areas if they were willing "to enter and minister to the needs of the white man" (Kallaway et al, 1987:432).

¹¹ Reserves refer to tracts of land set aside by a white government for African occupation. The reserves were later referred to as homelands and "bantustans" (Oakes, 1995).

With the passing of this one Act, local authorities were given the power to marginalise Africans by restricting them to the outskirts of “white urban and industrial areas” and, most importantly, the “critical function entrusted to the local authorities was the administration of tougher Pass¹² laws: Africans deemed surplus to the labour needs of white households, commerce and industry, or those leading an ‘idle, dissolute or disorderly life’, could be deported to the Reserves” (Oakes, 1995:316).

By promulgating and enforcing the above laws, the white SAP government entrenched the notion that Africans were inferior to whites. The races were being separated territorially and the “SAP [was making] significant moves towards protecting the interests of white workers in the face of African competition” (Kallaway et al, 1987:436). Separation not only fuelled anger towards and distrust of people of other population categories, it also created a scenario where people’s assumptions of one another could not be tested. As South Africans were being separated territorially as well as economically, myths and stereotypes about one another were encouraged and nurtured by the SAP government: recall my analysis of General Hertzog’s speech in Malmesbury in 1924 earlier in the chapter.

Having created a number of laws which were particularly discriminatory, it was important for the SAP government to form alliances with other powerful social entities so as to assure their continued dominance in South Africa. One ready ally was the British. It is ironic that the Boers’ foe in the South African war would be their first ally in the creation of segregation. However, fundamentally, the British were not perturbed by the concerns raised by the African elite (see my later discussion of Black resistance) as they held similar sentiments to those of the Boers with regard to Africans. As noted by Oakes (1995:266), Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner in 1902, also believed in the superiority of whites. As he articulated in a speech, immediately after the South African war, in 1903,

A political equality of white and black is impossible. The white man must rule, because he is elevated by many, many steps above the black man; steps which it will take the latter centuries to climb, and which it is quite possible that the

¹² Pass laws restricted the movement of Africans in white urban centres. Africans were compelled to carry passes (also referred to as reference books) which detailed their personal details such as residence and their working rights (Oakes, 1995).

vast bulk of the black population may never be able to climb at all (Oakes, 1995:266).

Reading this short extract, one would be forgiven for believing that one was reading a draft – over twenty years earlier – of General Hertzog's 1924 speech. Comparison of the two speeches indicates the similarity of their sentiments. By the 1920s and 1930s the two opposing hegemonies of Britons and the Boers had converged and a 'white race', where there was no clear distinction between Britons and Boers, was born – note Milner's, and Hertzog's earlier reference to *whites*, rather than Britons or Boers.

Segregation: the basis for apartheid

Trying to create unity

In 1907, Smuts had legislated the use of an individual's home language as the medium of instruction in "lower primary government schools" (Kallaway et al, 1987:488). But from grade five English would remain the medium of instruction unless contested by parents. Many Boers were dissatisfied with this decision and, as a result, Hertzog's Oranje Unie (Orange Union) introduced a bilingual education system in 1907. Hertzog's determined support of his policy ensured the disintegration of the SAP in 1913. As noted by Gramsci (in Forgas and Nowell-Smith, 1985), one of the fundamental ways in which hegemony is created is through the ubiquity of the hegemonising entity's language. It is not surprising therefore that Smuts (aligned to the British) and Hertzog argued about the primary medium of instruction within schools.

In 1914 Hertzog, Tielman Roos (Transvaal) and D. F. Malan (Cape) formed the new National Party (NP) -- again a reunification of Boers and Britons. "On 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany and for the next 35 days South Africans waited, debated and wondered whether the Union would choose neutrality or follow suit and declare war itself" (Oakes, 1995:301). On 8 September Botha (the then Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa) affirmed that South Africa was going to war on the side of Britain and in so doing hinted at the power of the British in South Africa. In 1919 with the death of Botha, Jan Smuts was elected Prime Minister.

In 1929 the NP (Boer party) won the black peril (*swart gevaar*) election which was contested fervently by the SAP and the NP. The NP "fought and won [the election] over the colour

decision by Barry Hertzog, then the Prime Minister of South Africa, to join his foe Jan Smuts was largely influenced by the economic depression within which South Africa found itself and the NP's inability to make adequate provision (Oakes, 1995). The UP (the Fusion of SAP (Smuts) and NP (Hertzog)) had been constituted on the principles of white domination (hegemony) and "political separation" (ibid.).

The UP set about creating a society where white domination was legislatively crystallised within South Africa. But five years later the UP was split over the decision to join the allies in World War II: by 1939 the government had decided to "support a declaration of war on Germany ... and two days later Jan Smuts was Prime Minister" (Oakes, 1995:348). Hertzog, banished from the UP, joined the "Herenigde (Reunited) National Party [HNP]" (ibid.). Hertzog was avenged on 28 May 1948 when the HNP won the white general election (blacks had been disenfranchised in the early 20th century) with a "promise to preserve white power in general and Afrikaner power in particular" (ibid.).

The National Party and its Acts of Separation

One of the first tasks undertaken by the new HNP government was the promulgation of a number of Acts which would entrench social and cultural separation of race-based population categories. The preceding governments had legislated broad territorial separation, but the NP government¹³ went a step further by legislating social separation between all race-based population categories when it promulgated the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949¹⁴ and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act in 1953. The first of these Acts not only outlawed marriages between whites and blacks, but effectively warned the South African population that miscegenation would not be tolerated by the government. As noted by Oakes (1995:392) the Act intruded on family relationships, "[erecting] humiliating and grievously painful barriers in communities". The NP government, under Boer direction, had finally embarked on a political campaign to enforce a separatist hegemony which would influence social, political and economic relations within South Africa. The Act communicated, however indirectly, that whites who were 'superior' were not to lower their standards by marrying outside of their population category.

¹³ From 1948 the HNP was known as the National Party (NP).

¹⁴ The Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 "rested on a Hertzogian precedent [which] bann[ed] marriages between whites and Africans" (Davenport, 1987:362).

Africa. The Act communicated, however indirectly, that whites who were 'superior' were not to lower their standards by marrying outside of their population category.

In 1950, the NP passed an amendment to the Immorality Act of 1927 which had been passed by Hertzog's Pact government. No longer did a ban on extra-marital sexual relations apply only between whites and Africans, but *all* sexual relations between whites and all blacks (coloureds and Indians included) were outlawed. Not only did this Act humiliate those who fell foul of this new law. But, during the 1960s, when implementation of the Act was most rigorous, the police service was reduced to voyeurism -- "policemen [with] binoculars at the ready [hid] in trees to observe offending couples" (Oakes, 1995:376).

The most pernicious Act to be passed by the NP was the Population Registration Act (No. 30 of 1950). The Act was amended several times, as the government tried to design "a rigid system of race classification based on appearance and general acceptances and repute" (Horrell, 1971:9) by creating a population register and identity cards which indicated racial classification.

The promulgation of the Population Registration Act in 1950 created three distinct population categories: white, African and coloured (Kallaway et al, 1987). Even though the government was dominated by Boers, the government maintained its alliance with Britons through non-differentiation within the white category. There were, however, a number of possible definitions for other population categories: black (first referred to as Native then as Bantu) could be further defined into ethnic groupings according to geographic area: North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Ndebele, Tsonga, Swazi, Zulu and Xhosa (West, 1988). The category coloured could be divided into Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, Other Asiatic and Other Coloured (Oakes, 1995). Effectively the further division of the coloured and black population categories divided the 'resistance' base in the sense that no commonality was said to exist *within* or *between* the categories. Therefore, with no common cultural traits, it was assumed that blacks would not be able to resist the white hegemony as a collective force. Hence, through dividing the potential resistance base, whites could continue to dominate while maintaining their powerful positions.

The Group Areas Act (1950) and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) were passed to fulfil the apartheid objective of complete separation between the population categories. "Through

an array of detailed racial definitions and regulations, each group [was restricted] to its own residential and trading sections of cities and towns" (Oakes, 1995:376), which spatially disrupted and destroyed communities which had previously coexisted harmoniously.

Enforcing the principles of the Group Areas Act (1950) in 1955, the "bulldozers moved into Sophiatown" (Oakes, 1995:419), a poor but bustling and music-enlivened suburb in Johannesburg. Eleven years later, an area in Cape Town known as District Six was declared a white group area. "The elimination of a community of 55 000 people in the name of "orderly progress" (Oakes, 1995:433) had been legislated. Through force, the government was instilling the notion of its omnipotence: not only did the government control the areas in which people lived, but it controlled whom people slept with, whom they married and eventually which ablution facilities they used.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act passed in 1953 provided "separate and unequal public facilities" (Oakes, 1995:376) for blacks and whites. These facilities included beaches, parks, drinking fountains, offices, benches and even toilets. As noted by P. W. Botha¹⁵ in 1953, "to gain a clear view regarding fair treatment and the rights of non-Europeans, we should first answer another question and that is: do we stand for the domination and supremacy of the European or not? For if you stand for the domination and supremacy of the European, then everything you do must be in the first place calculated to ensure that domination" (Oakes, 1995:377). Here, Botha's words demonstrate that the government itself was not the primary origin of hegemony, but rather that the hegemony within South Africa was a dialogic process between governed (blacks) and the governors (whites). The government could not maintain the white hegemony on its own: its constituents had to believe in and thus maintain the hegemony. Botha thus sought the acquiescence of the empowered governed (white constituency) to assist in the maintenance of a hegemony which would ensure European domination.

Hegemony at work: the example of Port Nolloth

Before I consider some of the black resistance effected against the separatist hegemony I consider the hegemonic experiences of the inhabitants of a small town in South Africa, Port Nolloth. Although West's anthropological study of Port Nolloth started in 1968, 18 years after the promulgation of the Group Areas Act, Immorality Act and other Acts mentioned above, his study

¹⁵ In 1978 he became first Executive State President.

demonstrates the hegemony effected in a small town. As noted by West (1987:ix) "what I was witnessing [in 1968] was the beginning of the implementation of the 'separate development' phase of apartheid". Although West (1987) does not consider his observations in terms of hegemony, his observations in Port Nolloth illustrate the emerging hegemony of the 'right to white domination'.

West (1987:18) notes that the Group Areas proclamation in 1967 in Port Nolloth effected the movement of "almost one half of the total coloured population in the town" whereas "white residents had been protected". West (1987) comments that there were two reasons that resistance to white domination from the coloured population was not realised:

- some of the older coloured people 'respected' whites; and
- 'a few coloured leaders' made use of apartheid structures to further their own ends.

The above reasons are indicative of black compulsion and consent. Rather than resist or rebel against the dominance espoused by whites in Port Nolloth, some coloured people 'bought into' the expressed hegemony because of the benefits that they would reap -- although they had been categorised as subordinate to whites, they were perceived as 'better' than Africans. As a result they had access to better job opportunities and better housing than African inhabitants. Whites in Port Nolloth had thus found an ally in the coloured community.

Similarly, as West (1987) reports, a "show of force", rather than actual force, was often an effective means of white domination. He reports an incident where some coloured men, nominated to positions on an advisory council, were "summoned to" the police station and interrogated. West (1987) notes that it was not the questions asked, but rather the demonstration of police [government] force, which was intimidating. Ultimately, "however much they [coloureds] dislike[d] the status quo, they [felt] they [had] no alternative but to co-operate" (West, 1987:35).

Compulsion of Africans in the town was demonstrated by the fact that even though most African workers had an understanding of English, "they [were] often met with hostility from Afrikaans-speaking whites if they [spoke] English" (West, 1987:51). Even though the white population spoke English and Afrikaans, it is clear that the Boers' language dominated within their interactions with coloureds and Africans (see discussion of Bantu Education on page 39).

West (1987:59) contends that people from all population categories in Port Nolloth recognised and accepted that whites were ranked superior to coloureds and Africans; coloureds were ranked

between whites and Africans, while Africans were ranked at the bottom. Within these rankings there were also class differentiations. But, fundamentally, whites were perceived to be superior to blacks. Thus, P.W. Botha's much earlier articulation of white domination had been 'accepted' within Port Nolloth.

It is clear from West's (1987) study that even though the government had imposed segregationist and apartheid laws, whites in Port Nolloth had made the concepts their own as they had political and economic power in the area. Not only had they assumed these positions of power, but they used it to enforce and maintain the hierarchical structures within the area -- hierarchical structures which privileged them. Therefore, the hegemony of the state was realised within a small town such as Port Nolloth, without much resistance from coloureds and Africans. Rather, certain coloureds were known 'to work the system' by forming a tentative alliance with whites. Black resistance was effected, though, in other areas of South Africa.

Black Resistance to Apartheid

The African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress

As stated by Horrell (1971:35), a number of further Acts were passed which, in conjunction with the Group Areas Act, would inevitably lead to the control and restriction of African movement in South Africa [see Horrell (1971) for a further discussion on the laws and Acts passed in South Africa to further control over blacks]. Yet, the government met with strong resistance from blacks. Part of this resistance was initiated through the creation of African resistance organisations such as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912, renamed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1922 and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) established in 1959 as a breakaway movement from the ANC.

On 26 June 1952, 40 years after its inception, the ANC launched its Defiance Campaign: a signal of their recognition that change from an apartheid and totalitarian state to a democratic society would not be effected through negotiation alone. Blacks demonstrated in the Witwatersrand, Eastern Cape and Natal by "walk[ing] through 'forbidden' areas without Passes, [breaking] curfews, walk[ing] through 'Europeans only' entrances [and standing] at 'Europeans only' counters and waiting rooms" (Oakes, 1995:385). The government had received 'notice' of black intentions.

In 1953 the ANC leader in the Cape, Z K Matthews, called for the drafting of a Freedom Charter "for a democratic South Africa" (Oakes, 1995:387). It saw the light of day between the 25 and 26 June 1955 at a "Congress of the People ... held in a field at Kliptown near Soweto" (ibid.). Five years later, 300 former members of the ANC under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, formed the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC): an organisation which "was convinced of the strategy of boycott politics and determined not to allow the principles of African nationalism to be compromised by co-operation either with white liberals or with the limited political institutions created by the white authorities for Africans" (Oakes, 1995:399). In 1960 the ANC and the PAC were banned and their leaders fled into exile to take up the struggle for freedom from bases in foreign lands.

Until the 1930s the ANC had relied on sending delegations to Europe and the Americas to invoke sympathy and action to deal with the oppression of Africans. As an elitist group, however, the ANC was primarily concerned with the oppression of the African mission-educated elite of the time. But, in 1944, the newly established ANC Youth League began to focus on all classes of black oppression. The Youth League added impetus to and popularised the resistance movement by advocating "mass boycotts and civil disobedience campaigns, believing that this would create the basis for the majority of the people to support the organisation" (Kallaway et al, 1987:543). By 1961 the ANC had mounted a campaign of armed resistance against the apartheid government, which was to extend into the early 1990s.

The Black Consciousness Movement

In 1969 the establishment of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) under the leadership of Steve Biko furthered resistance to the apartheid government (Woods, 1978) through tertiary educational institutions (Oakes, 1995). Unlike the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement's leader, Steve Biko, and its members, propagated non-violence in their resistance to what was referred to as "the System". To Biko the System referred to the whites-only government and its vanguard -- the Security police (Woods, 1978). The Black Consciousness Movement was a black student movement, established alongside the creation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in 1969 as a result of the intensification of apartheid and the realisation that the liberal, mostly white, membership of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was an inadequate mouthpiece for black students and their lived experience in an apartheid context. For Steve Biko this realisation was no

more apparent than when black students were not accommodated in residences at Rhodes University, the site of the NUSAS conference in 1967 (Woods, 1978).

Ultimately, the Black Consciousness Movement focused on the experiences of the 'black man', and the innate worth of blacks as human beings. According to Biko:

Students took a decision that they would no longer use the term 'non-white', nor allow it to be used as a description of them, because they saw it as a negation of their being. They were being stated as non-something, which implied that the standard was something and they were not that particular standard. They felt that a positive view of life commensurate with the build up of one's dignity and confidence should be contained in positive descriptions, and they replaced the term 'non-white' with the term black (Woods, 1978:157).

As stated by Kallaway et al (1987:560), "They [Black Resistance Movement members] defined black not as a colour but rather as a term for all those who were oppressed". Thus, Indians, coloureds and whites who believed in the anti-apartheid struggle felt encouraged to invoke the description of themselves as black, rather than invoke a racial identity imposed by the state.

Crisis in Bantu Education -- Pupils rise up

Although blacks had been resisting the hegemonic practices of whites since early colonisation, resistance had never been spearheaded en masse by pupils as on the day of 16 June 1976 -- the start of the Soweto uprisings. To understand the events of 16 June 1976, one has to consider the events leading to the creation of Bantu Education in 1953.

A year after its election victory, the National Party investigated the mission schools which were considered a danger to white hegemony -- these schools were said to "[feed] dangerous and liberal ideas ... into untrained minds" (Oakes, 1995:379). The mission school system posed a threat to white domination as it did not train Africans for their supposed station in life, but rather advocated the accommodation of westernisation. If natives were to become westernised they would demand the status and positions (power) -- which belonged to whites -- commensurate with their westernised teaching. As a result the mission schools had to be destroyed.

Hendrik Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in 1953 strongly supported the achievement of this task stating:

The school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands which the economic life ... will impose on him ... What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? ... Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life (quoted in Oakes, 1995:379).

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act No. 47 legislated, among other things, the empowerment of the Minister of Education to “make regulations governing the control of schools, conditions of service of teachers, syllabuses [and] media of instructions” (Horrell, 1968:9). The power granted in this legislation would be used 22 years after its promulgation by the Minister of the Bantu Education Department in 1975, M.C. Botha. He ordered the equal use of Afrikaans as a means of instruction in secondary schools. Earlier attempts at Afrikaans-medium instruction had been thwarted by a lack of Afrikaans teachers and Afrikaans textbooks (Oakes, 1995). But by 1975, M. C. Botha was confident that no objections would be raised to Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, as “the system he had administered had been designed specifically to condition Africans to accept the role of menials in a white man’s country” (Oakes, 1995:445). For Botha, the process of hegemonisation had been realised.

Signs of defiance became apparent, however, when teachers and school board members refused to implement the use of Afrikaans in Soweto classrooms. After numerous school boycotts and some outbreaks of violence in the Soweto area, hundreds of pupils marched on 16 June 1976 in the streets carrying placards which read “Down with Afrikaans” and “Afrikaans is a tribal language” (Oakes, 1995:446) to protest the use of Afrikaans as a pedagogic language in their schools. What started out as a peaceful march soon degenerated into chaos in a rain of bullets from police and a hail of stones from pupils. Outnumbered, the police retreated and the pupils went on a rampage in the streets of Soweto, killing two West Rand Administration Board¹⁶ employees and destroying “143 vehicles and 139 buildings” (Oakes, 1995:448).

This Soweto uprising marked the primary moment of disintegration of white hegemony as big businesses, including the all-powerful Anglo-American Corporation, realised that South Africa's economic growth was dependent on the creation of an African middle class as an ally for the whites and a "bulwark against socialism" (Oakes, 1995:450). Similarly, as stories and photographs of the Soweto mayhem were published and broadcast around the world, condemnation of apartheid through sanctions and the withdrawal of investments increased and the South African economy began to go into economic decline. Blacks continued mass action, while resistance movements such as the ANC and PAC which had been forced underground, bolstered by the BCM, continued with acts of armed resistance.

Conclusion

In conclusion, even though the Boers had lost the South African War, they achieved and entrenched a political and socio-economic hegemony which dominated the South African landscape for 46 years (1948 - 1994). The British, the victors in the South African War, had lost (by consenting to their loss) their 'right' to create a dominant British ideology. However, the Boers created an undifferentiated white population which by virtue of their 'race'¹⁷ was marked as superior and dominant over the black masses. This white race would continue to rule, dominate and oppress blacks for 46 years before resistance from blacks and whites and from local and international businesses, necessitated a peaceful resolution to South Africa's economic and social woes, and the apartheid government's realisation of the futility of their continued propagation of a 'separate but equal' policy.

The repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act in 1985 by President P. W. Botha marked the first moment of the unbundling of apartheid's Acts and the government's indication of an alternative to the use of brute force to control its people. A new era had been born, in which the National Party, led by F.W. de Klerk the then president of the apartheid government, met with Nelson Mandela, an executive member of the ANC. Their meetings initiated peace talks and the eventual realisation of the first ever South African one-person-one-vote democratic election in 1994 (Cachalia and

¹⁶ The West Rand Administration Board was the local agency representing the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in the region that included Soweto.

¹⁷ I use the term race as a shorthand for 'population group' as defined by the Population Registration Act. As Kallaway (1987) and West (1988) demonstrate, it was not just skin colour or other physical attributes that were used to categorise people into 'population groups'.

Suttner, 1994). South Africa had finally started its journey towards what was intended to be a new hegemony of tolerance, equality and integration.

Chapter Two

Hegemony in the macro-context of the Western Cape Province and the micro-context of the University of Cape Town

Introduction

In the previous chapter I provided an analysis of the fundamental separatist hegemony prevailing in South Africa. In this chapter I consider the effects of the apartheid hegemony on the immediate context of my sampled cohort of students -- the Western Cape Province. In addition I focus on the effects of the apartheid hegemony on the University of Cape Town -- the micro-context. I focus on these two contexts as they are ever-present backdrops within which I analyse my fieldwork material. The following discussion is important to the overall comprehension of my thesis as it shifts the focus from the general -- the South African context -- to the particular -- the University of Cape Town.

Hegemonic effects of segregation and apartheid on the Western Cape Province

I begin with a discussion of the socio-economic circumstances of the Western Cape and Cape Town [capital of the Western Cape Province]. By doing so I aim to highlight some of the consequences of segregationist and apartheid legislation for the Western Cape and thereby to provide a context in which to analyse my subsequent observations of the lives and behaviour patterns of students at UCT. The Western Cape Province was the election stronghold of the National Party in 1994 -- the political party directly linked to the creation and maintenance of an apartheid hegemony. In that respect, it was the one province in the country that appeared least likely to be inclined to shift away from some of the basic ideas of separatism. To understand why separatism would remain in the Western Cape Province one should understand some of its history with particular reference to the attempts made by whites to form an alliance with one of the subordinated population categories -- coloureds.

The Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP)

According to the 1996 census the population categories in the Western Cape can be tabulated as follows:

Table 1 -- 1996 Population Statistics in Western Cape, Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu Natal

Population Category	Western Cape	Gauteng	Kwa-Zulu Natal
Africans	826 691 [20.9%]	5 147 444 [70%]	6 880 652 [81.7%]
Coloureds	2 146 109 [54.2%]	278 692 [3.8%]	117 951 [1.4%]
Indians	40 376 [1.0%]	161 289 [2.2%]	790 813 [9.4%]
Whites	821 551 [20.8%]	1 702 343 [23.2%]	558 182 [6.6%]
Unspecified/Other	122 148 [3.1%]	58 654 [0.8%]	69 423 [0.8%]
Total	3 956 875 [100%]	7 348 423 [100%]	8 417 021 [100%]

Source: Census 1996

Perusal of table 1 highlights a significant statistic -- the Western Cape has the highest percentage of coloured people in South Africa. This percentage can be partly related to the advent, in the early 1950s, of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) which effectively led to:

1. "the exclusion of Africans
2. the employment of coloured labour within the Western Cape" (Evans, 1985b:2)

The preference for employing exclusively coloured labour in the Western Cape was initially mentioned by Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs in 1954, when he expressed a concern about the influx of African workers into the Western Cape region. Already identified as a predominantly coloured area by the National Party government, the CLPP was embodied in the "amendment to the Black Labour Regulations Act in 1965" (Evans, 1985a:24). The Black Labour Regulations Act compelled employers to employ only coloureds registered with the Department of Labour or the closest magistrate's office. According to Horrell (1978:253), the

Department of Bantu Administration announced [in 1966] that no new applications for the introduction of African contract labour into the Western Cape would be considered for certain categories of work, including vehicle

drivers, floor sweepers and cleaners, domestic servants, garden workers, newspaper sellers, ice-cream vendors.

As a result, employers who wished to employ African people to undertake these tasks had to prove to the provincial administration that there was no coloured labour available to do the tasks. In conjunction with a number of other administrative procedures such as the "official freeze on African family housing in the Cape Peninsula" (Evans, 1985a:26) and the freezing of the "African labour complement of Western Cape employers" (ibid.) in 1966, the CLPP secured or reserved jobs for coloureds within the Western Cape area. Although the CLPP did not enforce non-employment of African workers, it restricted African access to employment and educational opportunities in the Western Cape.

In terms of the maintenance of the separatist hegemony, it was imperative for the National Party government to form alliances. By the 1960s the English-speaking white population was a firm ally, but the government needed another ally to affirm its supremacy and stave off internal and external pressure to abandon its apartheid hegemony (see chapter one), as South Africa experienced an increase in internal conflict in the 1960s due to the ANC's armed resistance and other mass uprisings in African townships (Oakes, 1995). The CLP Policy effectively created an upwardly mobile coloured population "assist[ing] the [Western Cape] coloured population to rise into professional and semi-professional, clerical and supervisory categories" and "confin[ing] [Africans] to unskilled labour and concomitant low wages" (Evans, 1985b:3). The apartheid government was maintaining its separatist hegemony by making some coloureds a part of the relatively 'advantaged'¹ population. For as noted by Evans (1985a:18) "the ideological platform for the execution of the CLP policy in the Western Cape is to be seen not as the creation of economic opportunity for the coloured population, but more so an economic protection against African labour".

If one was to consider Table 1 again, it is evident that the CLP policy, in trying to curtail an influx of African workers into the Western Cape was but one of the apartheid government's policies

¹ I have placed advantaged in quotation marks, as the coloured population remained an oppressed population as a result of the further Acts passed by the government such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Groups Areas Act (see chapter one for further details).

Western Cape a fundamental question remains unanswered: how does an employer recognise people who were previously disadvantaged in the province? Would the adjective disadvantaged refer to African people or to coloured people? If the answer is 'to both', then a further question would be posed: who enjoys preference? Given the Western Cape's particular history it would be reasonable if Africans rather than coloureds were given preference in an affirmative action policy in the area. However, as discussed in the Cape Argus (30 July 1998), the situation is more complex than a mere decision as to who should enjoy preference.

Race Relations² in the Western Cape

The Cape Argus, one of the daily newspapers in the Cape Town area, recently ran a two-page spread entitled "The Cape Divided" (30 July 1998). A number of people from diverse backgrounds, including a student, a psychologist and a building inspector were reported to have gathered to discuss race relations in the Western Cape. According to the newspaper report, the conclusion reached at the end of the discussions was that "...race relations in the Western Cape have deteriorated since the official end of apartheid in 1994. This region seems to be lagging behind in terms of *reconciliation* and *integration*" (Cape Argus, 30 July 1998:14). The Cape Argus articles report an increase in animosity between African and coloured people which derives from a number of reasons -- the re-election of the National Party (by a majority coloured population), affirmative action that is perceived to privilege Africans, and the continuing desegregation of neighbourhoods, particularly those previously reserved for coloureds, into which African people have begun to move.

However, the article articulates a positive aspect of race relations in the Western Cape when it reports that there are a number of initiatives, created in primary and high schools in the region, that deal with interaction between African, coloured and white pupils. As reported by Yazeed Fakier (1997), a Cape Times reporter, a number of teachers in primary schools situated in the Mitchell's Plain area (a coloured 'suburb') and Nyanga (an African 'township'³) have resolved to encourage

² As used here, race relations refers to the interaction, or non-interaction that occurs between people of different races as previously categorised by the apartheid government within the context of South Africa.

³ The terms suburb and township are remnants of the apartheid ideology which created a hierarchical system in which coloureds were portrayed as legal residents in the Western Cape, while Africans were categorised as illegal and temporary residents.

visits from schools racially defined as 'other' to their own primary school (Fakier, 1997). At each initial interaction an air of apprehension and tension has been reported amongst the pupils. But, as the day wears on, they invariably interact with one another. Fakier (1997) reports that the abundant curiosity and enthusiasm exhibited by Grade 1 children always seems to win the day (Fakier, 1997).

Such school-based initiatives aside, after six years of democracy, the Western Cape region still remains racially polarised. The anti-racist initiatives which have been initiated are at an interpersonal rather than a structural level. The persistence of divisions indirectly comments on the subversive and persistent nature of the apartheid hegemony within South Africa.

In the following discussion I focus on my fieldwork site -- the University of Cape Town. I discuss some of the university's illustrious history with reference to the consequences of segregation and apartheid for the university and its students. The discussion is of particular importance as it demonstrates the university's present struggle to be an institution of learning for people of *all* races, rather than an exclusive and elitist institution for whites only. It also demonstrates the reaction of the university administration and students to times of tension and racial apartheid during the university's existence which led to it being referred to as 'Moscow on the Hill', a reference to its liberal tendencies, by conservative outsiders (Esau, 1998).

The micro-context and fieldwork site -- the University of Cape Town

The Early years

It should be noted from the outset that the events and processes discussed below reflect or mirror those which occurred in the broader contexts of the Western Cape and South Africa. As a part of South Africa, the university, its staff and students, had to come to terms with an ever-changing political climate. The University of Cape Town was established with the transformation of the South African College (SACS), a co-educational university college, into a university on 2 April 1918. Today, for many ordinary people in the Western Cape, the University of Cape Town is perceived as a liberal institution, a direct consequence of the university's actions with particular

reference to student activism in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, some of which I document below.

For a while, however, the early history of the university was not liberal, but rather conservative. The university catered exclusively to the broader English speaking middle-class white population in South Africa, although a number of Afrikaans speaking white people was also admitted. When Phillips (1993) discusses the interaction between the university and the people who lived in the surrounding areas of the university, he observes that the first decade of the university's history was marked by the extension of the university's ties to the white population of these areas. In the early 1920s the University Council admitted that "it would *not* be in the interests of the university to admit native or coloured students in any numbers, if at all" (Phillips, 1993:114). This decision reflected the general white feeling that blacks should be educated for the subordinate positions they were supposed to hold in society. Yet, the university seemed ambivalent with regard to the entry of black students, as at the time of this statement, the Medical Faculty was considering accepting black students. The university was intent on following the "SACS tradition of a "broad [white = British and Boer] South-Africanism" (ibid.). Ultimately the university was following the dominant hegemony provided by the political sphere in the 1920s (see chapter one) which meant that "the new university [would] help to build a united, white South African nation, characterized by English-Afrikaans co-operation within an essentially British mould" (ibid.).

Nonetheless, the first coloured student, Harold Cressey, had been admitted to the South African College (the forerunner of UCT) in 1907, as a result of the Cape Town City Council's *threat* to decrease the grant to the college if it did not admit him (Welsh, 1979:24). Although black students were not accepted by the Medical Faculty, coloured students were allowed into the faculties of Arts and Education in 1925/6. By 1929, five had graduated with teaching degrees. Although the number was insignificant, UCT was perceived as a progressive institution merely by allowing coloureds entry into the institution (Phillips, 1993). The entry of coloured students, rather than African and/or Indian students, once again reflected an attempt at the creation of an alliance between whites and coloureds. As I noted in chapter one, the creation of an hegemony is dependent on the hegemonising entity acquiring the consent of the subordinated entity or entities.

Conservatism continues

During the 1930s a number of further Acts was passed in South Africa so as to control the nature of natives' occupation of rural areas. For example, the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 increased the land given to the Reserves in 1913 from 7.5% to "just over 13%" (Oakes, 1995:292) and it extended the application of the Natives Land Act of 1913 to the Cape Province, which had earlier been excluded (Horrell, 1978). Effectively, the Natives and Land Act of 1936 further entrenched the separatist ideology of designated land areas for designated population categories. Thus Africans were provided with more land in 1936 so as to ensure their exclusion from designated white areas. However the land provided was of poor quality as "the best land and stock went to white South African settlers" (Oakes, 1995:463).

Some students' reaction to this increasing territorial, or spatial, separation of the races led to a division in the student body -- politicised and energetic minorities and an uncommitted and inert majority. A poll with regard to the admission of "Non-European students"⁴ (Varsity, 1 November 1937) to the National Union of South African Students' (NUSAS) functions revealed that UCT members were content with the status quo.

Table 2: UCT's results of NUSAS poll on 'Non-European' attendance at NUSAS functions

Admission		Academic Discussions		Social Gatherings		Sports Functions		Accommodation Arrangements	
F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A
141	346	294	189	87	395	131	354	63	415

[F= For A= Against] Source: Varsity, 1 November 1937

Students were only willing to accept blacks within discussion fora. The suggestion of activities such as sports activities or living in the same residence -- where white students would have to interact with black students on a physical level or more intimate level -- was vetoed. One should remember that although apartheid proper had not been initiated at this time, that it was accepted that each race had its place -- whites were dominant while blacks were subordinate.

⁴ Non-European students as used here refers in particular to African students.

Yet despite the 'general consensus' that "non-Europeans" should not enjoy the privilege of attending university, 40 African and coloured students were admitted to the university during the 1930s. Of these, 10 were placed in the Faculty of Medicine. However they did not obtain their degrees, as most patients tended to in the local hospitals by interns in the Medical Faculty were white. The hospitals would not allow black students to examine white people, as interaction between different races was not sanctioned by most whites as a result of their prejudices. As a result, tactile interaction, even if clinical, between black students and white patients was not tolerated. The University was unable to change this 'unwritten' policy of the hospital (Phillips, 1993). The above example illustrates the effectiveness of the apartheid hegemony in separating South African people and the general adherence to this hegemony by whites and a white-dominated institution. Similarly, the university probably failed to object to the situation as it either agreed with the general ideology of separation or it was cognisant of the consequences attached to defying 'popular' opinion. A further example of the university's conservatism and acceptance of the separatist hegemony was the active exclusion of coloured and Indian students from the annual Hospital Rag fundraiser, (today referred to simply as Rag) and the annual Inter-varsity rugby match held between UCT and Stellenbosch University (Phillips, 1993) in the 1930s.

Opening up?

During the 1940s the university seemed to demonstrate a hint of tolerance with regard to the "colour bar" as the servicemen who had returned to university at the end of World War Two (middle 1940s) advocated for the "remov(al) (of) formal colour bars" (Phillips, 1993:234). Also, the presence of African and coloured students at the university helped to cultivate UCT's progressive reputation (ibid.). Yet, the university reverted to its conservative stance when the university's administration prohibited a planned inter-racial dance in 1944. The following cartoon, entitled "UCT Dances -- The Future", (from Varsity, August 1944) bears witness to the strong feelings which were aroused by this decision.



Despite the criticism of the decision most students were content with the status quo already established in the 1930s: no social mixing (Phillips, 1995). Phillips (1995) comments: “the university’s black students would have been among the first to endorse the accuracy of the [cartoon]. Socially they were pariahs, barred from official social and sporting activities by custom and even [briefly] by SRC edict” (Phillips, 1995:233) – reminiscent of the results of the NUSAS poll in 1937.

The social colour bar

It was really only during the 1950s that ‘the social colour bar’ issue achieved salience within university structures – SRC – as a separate issue and also as an aside to the threat posed by the new apartheid government to the university’s authority. In 1951 the following motion was put forward during an SRC meeting and passed:

1. “the SRC can in no way discriminate against students solely on the basis of colour, creed, or conviction;
2. the SRC is bound to defend the rights and privileges of all students irrespective of colour, creed or conviction” (Varsity, 26 April 1951:3).

By passing this motion the SRC seemed to state that the covert discrimination practiced on the university campus would no longer be tolerated.

However, two months later, in a mass student meeting heralded by a Varsity newspaper headline "University faces crisis: Today's meeting the gravest ever. Status of the Non-European student" (Varsity, 11 June 1951) the above motion was put to the vote and the students voted in favour of maintaining the status quo [maintaining the social colour bar] -- 570 votes to 437. Certain individuals on the SRC seemed to openly defend the separatist hegemony of the time as Mr de Beer (SRC member) countered the motion above by saying:

Seconding it, Mr Malherbe said he regarded UCT as South Africa in miniature, and that he had to take into account the position in the country as a whole. This motion of Mr Kinkead-Weekes was premature. Whatever solution there is to racial difficulties, it must be a slow and careful one to avoid disruption. If we rush this, we may satisfy the Non-Europeans, but we shall cause a reaction to liberalism in the minds of Europeans who aren't ready for it (Varsity, 11 June 1951).

Mr de Beer's statement underlines the dominant hegemony of the day: since whites are superior to blacks, whites should be careful not to disturb them (whites) by favouring black concerns over white concerns. Those seven SRC members who disagreed with Mr de Beer and the decision to maintain the social colour bar resigned from the SRC.

By September 1952 the discussion of the colour bar issue had been halted as the student and staff populations at the university focused on the threat, posed by the government's consideration of its policy on 'mixed' universities, to the university's autonomy. The social colour bar issue was revisited in 1953 and barely two years after the initial motion was defeated, the SRC recognised the importance of the individual rights of all students as students at the university (Varsity, 30 April 1953). While the then still quite new apartheid government fashioned its university policy by creating Commissions to investigate the feasibility of segregation at universities, the entire university population demonstrated its opposition to academic segregation by "passing a resolution condemning the government's proposed legislation on academic segregation in Wits and UCT" (Varsity, 5 February 1957). This resolution was followed by activism, in April 1957, when 2000 UCT students observed a minute's silence against the proposed Universities Bill at a mass meeting,

and then, in June 1957, when the then Chancellor of the University, A van der Sandt Centlivres, led a protest march through the streets of Cape Town. As he commented:

The object of the procession is to emphasise that the governing body of the University of Cape Town, the teaching staff and present and past students are firmly of the belief that it will be disastrous, not only to the cause of higher education but also to the best interests of our beloved country, if the university were to be deprived of the right, which it possesses in common with other universities in South Africa and the western world, to determine solely on academic grounds who may be admitted to study within its walls (Varsity, 7 June 1957).

Although this display of activism was not considered a major threat by the government, it did augur the beginning of UCT students' resistance to academic segregation which would ultimately lead to protests against the apartheid government's separatist hegemony in the 1960s and later. The government promulgated the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 in 1959 (Horrell, 1978) despite "strong protests from the English language universities [including UCT] that they wished to continue admitting black students" (Oakes, 1995:379). The Act directly affected the autonomy of the university as it authorised the government to set and impose racial admissions criteria. Blacks would attend their 'own' colleges or universities in their 'own' areas. However, a number of loop-holes present within the legislation were used to undermine it. For example, black students in their final year of study were allowed to complete their course at the university; and, if black students wished to do a UCT course that was not available at one of the "black colleges", they might have been granted permission by the National Education Minister to undertake their studies at the Universities of Cape Town or the Witwatersrand⁵.

The irony of the 1950s and early 1960s at the university was that social segregation remained intact while the university campaigned against academic segregation. As noted by a reader of Varsity in 1959:

⁵ Courses such as Comparative African Government and Law at UCT were used to enable some students to register with Ministerial permission.

During the past few weeks the SRC has been holding consultations on the resolution passed by Council forbidding mixed dances, as to how far the conditions of this 'edict' apply to other spheres of social activity (Varsity, 18 June 1959).

Rising up

The 1960s saw an increase in UCT student protest, a possible result of increased vociferation of angry black voices against the apartheid system from black student movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement and the South African Students Organisation in the wider South African arena. The beginning of the 1960s saw Dr. Albert Hertzog, a Minister in the NP government, declare the open universities -- the University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) -- "enemies of South Africa" (Varsity, 11 May 1960:1). He claimed that they were conspiring "to stab the white man in the back" (ibid.). This statement was the first strongly worded statement by a government official that demonstrated that student activism at UCT and Wits had been acknowledged by the apartheid government.

The 1960s heralded a new era in student protest at UCT as students started to react to detentions without trial through hunger-strikes and signing of petitions such as the one calling for a mass meeting at which students would:

1. "condemn the state of emergency in South Africa and demand that it be ended immediately and that detainees be released or charged;
2. call upon the government to consult the people of South Africa with a view to fulfilling our demands for freedom; and
3. demand the establishment of a truly democratic form of education in this country" (Varsity, 8 June 1960:1).

Varsity editorials also began to call for co-operation between students *across* the colour bar -- something which was not thought possible in the 1940s and 1950s.

If co-operation and contact is to be the watchword of this university, we must maintain at all times one principle of this university -- NO RACIALISM (even if this principle is sometimes more apparent in our ideas than our actions). We

can shout and scream for 'co-operation' as loud as we like, but it must not be co-operation on one side of the colour bar (Varsity, 10 August 1960:2).

Despite increased student vociferation against apartheid, the university administration maintained its low entry rate of African and coloured students into the university. It seemed as if the university's administration was content to "take refuge in the fact that the final decisions regarding admissions were not the university's prerogative" (Esau 1998:16). Added to this, the administration withdrew its support for mixed dances, by notifying the Students Representative Council in 1964:

To be explicit about dances: University premises are not available for mixed dances, and the name or the badge of the university must in no way be associated with a mixed dance held anywhere else (Amoore, as quoted in Lennox-Short and Welsh, 1979).

The university administration seemed to be supporting the maintenance of a separatist hegemony while some of its students actively resisted it. A divide, not along racial lines, but rather along ideological lines, was being created on the university campus.

Later, in 1968, students articulated their vehement protest against the University Council's decision not to employ Archie Mafeje in a senior lectureship position in Social Anthropology by staging an eleven day sit-in, in the first ever student sit-in, within the halls of the university's administration block, Bremner Building. The student protest was not, however, supported by the entire staff complement of the university, nor by most students⁶ (Esau, 1998).

Showing solidarity

The link forged with Wits University during the 1950s and 1960s, with regard to academic segregation, continued in the 1970s with UCT students reacting to a call issued from Wits to join a national protest to "draw attention to the shocking conditions in education and the injustices suffered daily by the majority of the people of South Africa" (Varsity, 15 April 1970)

⁶ Because of the administration's failure to employ Mafeje, the then Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor Pope, resigned his post in the Department of Classics and his Deanship (Varsity, 12 March 1969).

Like the beginning of the 1960s, 1970 started with protest: a week of protesting attended by the University Principal, Sir Richard Luyt, against the detention of 22 people in solitary confinement in a South African prison. As the university staff and students united against the passing of the Extension of the University Education Act in the late 1950s, so did staff and students unite in this endeavour. During the 1970s the student newspaper Varsity, became more overt in its criticism of the apartheid state and the university's conservatism. UCT students seemed to realise that the apartheid government's maintenance of hegemony was moving from compulsion to blatant coercion:

When the Nationalists systematically disenfranchised the non-white majority it was obvious they would need laws forbidding freedom of association, speech and peaceful protest. When they banned all political parties opposing white supremacy, not surprisingly they needed bannings and detention without trial to crush underground resistance (Varsity, 27 May 1970)

And, within the same awareness, NUSAS realised that a student revolt would have to be spear-headed by black students rather than white students (Varsity, 1 June 1972).

In 1972, Varsity likened UCT to the NP government's whore. In an article entitled "Students in a sick society" the university was criticised for its seeming acceptance of the apartheid hegemony.

The article noted that the university was guilty on three levels:

1. "rape with consent" -- threatened by closure of the university if it did not cease its resistance against the Extension of the University Education Act, the university capitulated
2. "doing it for money" -- the university received monetary rewards for each student at the university
3. "then she started to enjoy it" -- the article ended with a direct attack on the university's integrity (Varsity, 15 June 1972).

The 1970s were thus marked by student activism especially in student leaders' demonstration of solidarity with organisations fighting against the system of apartheid. Just as the process of separatism had started with white colonisation, so was the process of de-hegemonisation aided by

white English-speaking students. The alliance mentioned in chapter one, between English and Boers, was being dismantled from within.

Liberalism comes to UCT

It was during the 1980s that the university truly earned its reputation as a liberal institution, as more and more staff joined students in protest. It was with Stuart Saunders's appointment to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Cape Town in 1981 that the university opened its residences to all races, in direct defiance of the continuous enforcement of the Group Areas Act. In a similar gesture, 1983 saw the Saunders administration divert from the previous administration's non-participation in protests. The administration and activist students were united in their protest against the government's proposed amendment to the Extension of the University Act, dubbed the 'Quota Bill' (UCT News, Vol. 23 no. 1, August 1996) which, while it would allow students of colour into the universities, restricted the number of students of colour in the university. The 'Quota Bill':

to a certain extent restored the right to determine admissions to universities, while at the same time empowering the Minister of National Education to lay down quotas that would regulate admissions on a racial basis to different universities and even to different faculties within universities (Esau, 1998:22).

The solidarity shown in the protests over the Quota Bill by students at UCT, Wits University, Rhodes University and Natal University, led to the non-enforcement of the Act (UCT News, Vol. 23 no. 1, August 1996).

In 1985 the university adopted a Mission Statement which committed the university to non-sexist and non-racist policies, further inscribing the university's critical stance of apartheid. During the 1980s the majority of the student population, together with some staff, became more vociferous and vehement in their protests. According to Esau (1998:23):

The 1980s was largely characterised by mass meetings, marches, demonstrations, detentions without trial. Feelings ran high on many campuses including UCT. Very

often speakers and lecturers at the university who did not share the prevailing liberationist mood were prevented from speaking or [were] hounded off campus.

A photographic exhibition⁷ in 1998, put together by UCT's Student Affairs Secretariat, pays a visual tribute to the concerted efforts of students against the apartheid system, between the most tumultuous years of the university's existence (1960s – 1980s).

The end of an era

The early 1990s were still volatile, with joint pupil and student protests against continued apartheid being held on the Grand Parade⁸. However, in 1994, the first democratic election was held in South Africa putting an end to anti-apartheid student protests. Two years later the first African woman Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, a former student activist herself in the 1960s, succeeded Dr. Saunders. In 1996 a Mission Statement was accepted and cheered by a University Assembly and in early 1997 the words "a World-Class African University" were accepted as the description of UCT's vision. According to Dr. Ramphele, the concept African "at UCT ... is an inclusive concept that recognises, values and respects diversity" (University of Cape Town Vice-Chancellor's Report, 1997). In comparison with earlier decades, student activism had declined in the 1990s as there was a feeling of apathy in the student body. As commented by Esau (1998:27):

It is equally clear that the nature of the protests has changed, as have the things that have been prioritised as worth protesting against. Gone are the days of long mass meetings and covert operations to thwart the state (and University Administration!). Students appear to have become nearly completely apathetic, choosing to become involved only when the issue at hand affects them directly.

In sum although the university had started as a whites-only institution in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the final two decades have seen the (re)opening of the university's doors to all races, particularly African students. The following tables, which indicate the number of students by population category in the university's senior and junior residences between 1994 and

⁷ Some of the photographs from the exhibition can be viewed in the new SRC Offices at UCT.

⁸ A Wednesday and Saturday market area in the city centre of Cape Town.

1999 [Table 3] and the number of students by population category enrolled at the university in 1996 and 1997 [Table 4], is a testament to the non-racist policy of the university.

Table 3: Total students in residence by population category between 1994 and 1999

Year	White	Coloured	Indian	African	Total [100%]
1994	938 [25%]	204 [5%]	190 [5%]	2451 [65%]	3783
1995	911 [23%]	185 [5%]	170 [4%]	2612 [68%]	3873
1996	793 [19%]	166 [4%]	167 [4%]	3017 [73%]	4143
1997	811 [19%]	139 [4%]	189 [4%]	3058 [73%]	4197
1998	915 [21%]	160 [4%]	198 [4%]	3156 [71%]	4429
1999	1022 [22%]	172 [4%]	211 [5%]	3177 [69%]	4582

Source: Student Accommodation Office (May 1999)

From the above statistics it can be extrapolated that most student enrolments in the university residences are African students. There are a number of possible reasons for this reality. As noted earlier, the majority of people in the Western Cape are coloured, which, by extrapolation, could mean that most coloured students live in the surrounding area of the university which negates their need for residence in any of the university residences. Conversely, the fact that there are more coloureds in the Western Cape, could mean that many African students come from the other eight provinces in South Africa and it is also the university's policy to offer accommodation to all African students if they need it. From these statistics, and those which follow, it could be said that the university residence system has to cater for a diverse student population, as all African students do not have the same cultural background or even come from South Africa.

Table 4: 1996 and 1997 Faculty Enrolments

FACULTY	1996		1997	
	Proportion of Total UCT Enrolment	Black ⁹ Students as overall Proportion of Faculty's Students	Proportion of total UCT enrolment	Black Students as overall Proportion of Faculty's Student Registration
Arts	8.2%	40%	8.5%	40%
Commerce	22%	39%	22.9%	41%
Education	3.7%	68%	3.2%	73%
Engineering	13.2%	53%	13.2%	55%
Fine Art and Architecture	4.1%	29%	4.4%	31%
Law	4.4%	40%	4.8%	37%
Medicine	14.6%	39%	14.7%	41%
Music	1.9%	42%	1.8%	42%
Science	11.2%	43%	11.9%	43%
Social Science	16.6%	62%	15.5%	61%
Total	100%	46%	100%	47%

Source: UCT Vice-Chancellor's Report (1996 and 1997)

From the above table it is evident that the university is trying to increase its intake of black students with every academic year. If the intake increases, however marginally, the university staff and its students will have to contend with a racially diverse population. Students have had to, and will have to, interact with students of different races, in a country which still has the vestiges of the old apartheid system: the residential areas in the country are not yet practically desegregated; schools, particularly government schools, are not completely multi-racial and many South Africans maintain covert racial prejudices.

⁹ Black as used by the university refers to African, coloured and Indian students. This was verified through personal communication with the university's Student Records Office and UCT's Department of Communication in 1999.

Conclusion

In conclusion, UCT's history has been illustrious and vexed, and it has remained intertwined with the general occurrences within South African society to the extent that students reacted to the political situation within the broader South African society. Like a mirror of the broader context, the university mirrored and perhaps even predicted the changes taking place in South Africa. It reflected the strength of the apartheid hegemony from the 1920s to the early 1960s, as students seemed content to observe and accept social separatism, while advocating academic equality and university autonomy. The university also reflected the slow change to activism and resistance against the apartheid hegemony from the late 1960s to the early 1990s.

More and more students joined protests against oppressive Acts such as the Extension of the University Education Act, against detentions of students and civilians without trial and to mark solidarity with protests at Wits and "Bush Colleges"¹⁰, such as the University of the Western Cape. Finally, students were becoming socially aware as Varsity ran articles such as "Police shadow students" (Varsity, 10 June 1970), "The secret history of South Africa" (Varsity, 26 August 1970) and "A tangle of Barbed laws: the effects of migratory labour and the pass laws on the individual" (Varsity, 9 September 1970).

By the 1990s the university had truly become more of "a replica on a small scale of the country which it serves" (Van der Sandt, 1979:18). Therefore it seemed possible that a present understanding of social relations within South African society could be garnered from the observations and analyses of student social relations within the university. And hence the reason for choosing UCT as my fieldwork site. I turn to the findings of my research at UCT after first discussing the methodological problems I faced.

¹⁰ Students referred to universities which were meant to accommodate black students as Bush Colleges.

Chapter Three

The Research and I¹

Since Malinowski's time, the "method" of participant-observation has enacted a delicate balance of subjectivity and objectivity. The ethnographer's personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognized as central to the research process, but they are firmly restrained by the impersonal standards of observation and "objective" distance.

(Clifford and Marcus, 1986:13)

The formal ethnography is the one that counts as professional capital and as an authoritative representation; the personal narratives are often deemed self-indulgent, trivial, or heretical in other ways. But despite such "disciplining," they have kept appearing, kept being read, and above all kept being taught within the borders of the discipline, for what one must assume are powerful reasons.

(Pratt, 1986:31)

To be reflexive, in terms of a work of anthropology, is to insist that anthropologists systematically and rigorously reveal their methodology and themselves as the instrument of data generation.

(Ruby, 1980:153)

Introduction

Although the concept of hegemony as explained by Gramsci in 1932, has only received academic recognition in the late twentieth century (Boggs, 1976; Fontana, 1996; Forgacs and Nowell-Smith, 1985), Gramsci's notion is very apt in describing the process of obtaining power in a social, political, economic and cultural context. Most simply, Gramsci uses the

¹ Although the title of this chapter is grammatically incorrect, I have named it as such so as to foreground my self within my research.

term to comment on how a particular socio-political entity achieves and maintains social, cultural, political and economic dominance within a state. Even though Gramsci applied his notion of hegemony to macro-level contexts such as politics, I argue (as did he) that the fight for dominance or supremacy also occurs at the micro-level -- within social relations between people representative of certain social entities; inside social institutions: work environments, government buildings, universities etc.

Experiencing two parallel hegemonies

By conducting my research I was compelled to work in two parallel hegemonies. One hegemony was imposed by the pedagogic environment of UCT and the other was the effects of the previous government's apartheid hegemony. In this chapter I consider my experience of these two hegemonies simultaneously. Here I articulate my naive struggle to come to terms with the influence of these two hegemonies and my earlier ignorance of their influence and hegemonic effects.

The pedagogic hegemony is one of status, superiority and British culture. The central architectural structure on UCT's campus, Jameson Hall, oversees the vast expanse of the university's grounds and the focal statue of Cecil John Rhodes. There are a number of architectural designs reminiscent of the English manor -- large wooden windows in tall and imposing ivy-covered buildings -- and the ivy-league English universities.

During my own undergraduate years (1993-1995), the apartheid hegemony of separation and division was ever-present for me, as students gathered or interacted with other students according to what seemed to be the recognised population categories in South Africa. Today, in the year 2000, a superficial look at student interaction reveals the same pattern, as that which obtained in 1993 -- my first year of undergraduate studies -- and in 1998 when I conducted my fieldwork.

This chapter is the most difficult one to write for two reasons. Firstly, I analyse myself as a subjective participant within my own research rather than as an objective researcher. As a result I have to articulate my own biography in South Africa as it affected my choice of research site, research participants and research topic. Herein lies the second difficulty. In articulating my biography, or in less polite terms, 'my baggage', I have to admit to my

subjectivity and in so doing articulate the mistakes I made in pursuing an investigation of race² within South Africa, a place I know intimately and yet seem not to know at all. The subjective articulation exposes my human-ness and my fallibility as I came to realise that I could never be an objective, scientific researcher. My use of reflexivity – the acknowledgement of my idiosyncrasies and personal baggage – is there to strengthen my dissertation through exposing the anthropologist's subjective analysis, rather than hold onto a falsehood which reveres the anthropologist as an objective scientist.

In undertaking my self-exposition I place myself as a living, breathing, thinking and feeling 'actor' in the analysis of my research project, focusing on my subjective perceptions of, and responses to, the dialogue between myself and the environment and myself and my research participants. Therefore, this chapter foregrounds me as a participating and thinking subject. In some ways the writing of this chapter argues against an anthropological convention which marginalises reflexive discussions of the discipline and its literature. Often reflexive writings are relegated to research conference papers (Jackson, 1987); to a compendium of papers (Golde, 1970); to an entirely separate book (Dumont, 1978) or to an exposition of self in a self-effacing manner or in parody (Barley, 1986 and 1987 and Bowen, 1964) rather than being expressed or explained within an actual piece of ethnographic writing. In consideration of this, this ethnography tries to re-order the placing of the self in reference to the other participants in the anthropological meta-drama, which social scientists refer to as the process of fieldwork. Hence my title for this chapter -- the research and I.

The chapter discusses 'me' within the context of the University environment, my research site. While delineating the reasons for my choosing particular research methods and not others, I reflect on these choices thus providing a reflexive analysis of the consequences of my choices. This reflexivity emphasises the importance of my individual, peculiar and particular personality and background. As stated by Herdt and Stoller:

.... it is the ethnographer's personality, behaviour and communications that underlie the use of those [research] measures, their acceptance by the natives, the responses we get from them, and how we interpret them. We can never calibrate this instrument.....the ethnographer's or the clinician's personality. All information must be transformed. The bottom line, as

² I embarked on my research without a real awareness of the process of hegemony. However this was soon remedied by my 'rebellion' (discussed later) in the field.

Devereux (1967:xviii) said, is that all this means that the final act of interpreting is done in the ethnographer's biased, meaning-laden head. And it is communicated via the biased, meaning-laden head of our interpreters [participants] (Herdt and Stoller, 1993:363).

and

Whenever research aims at understanding human behaviour, researchers' personalities – idiosyncrasies, styles, neurotic conflicts, cultural background, biology, social status, education etc., etc. become part of the data (Herdt and Stoller, 1993:401).

Therefore, the chapter considers how the research proceeded through my eyes, my subjective emotions and my peculiar way of thinking. Having said this, I have to caution that my rendition of my way of thinking, feeling and seeing, and my rendition of others' thoughts and feelings, is by its very nature a representation and a version of my experienced reality. As a result a reading of this ethnography will always be partial, as a reader's comprehension of my explication is based upon his/her subjective understanding – his/her ideological and anthropological baggage – of my interpretations.

The chapter is structured around two sub-themes: 1) the distancing of myself from my research project through *practising* anthropology, and its implications; and 2) the immersion of myself in my research by *doing* anthropological research. Both sub-themes are discussed reflectively and reflexively³. The first sub-theme has a number of sub-themes within it. Together they constitute one argument that posits the following: even though the methodology of anthropology and/or the preparation needed for a fieldwork trip offers respite from immersion in the field and hence a distancing from one's reflections, every action performed and every method used in the field is influenced by the researcher's pre-conceptions. Hence the need for reflexive writing.

The second sub-theme of the chapter – self-immersion in my research – also includes a number of sub-themes. Here, the 'connecting wires' linking each sub-section is my acknowledgement that in-depth research, especially participant observation, compels reflexivity as it exposes the mind, thoughts and feelings – the anthropologist's self – behind the construction of the research in all its facets. Ultimately then, the chapter is by its very nature reflexive and

³ Steier (1991:5) distinguishes between being reflective and reflexive. He contends that by being reflective we should open "ourselves to ourselves" and by being reflexive the researcher is conscious of herself as she sees herself.

reflective. What follows is a systematic consideration of my applied methods *in the field*, a field in which I found myself in a unique position as I prepared for the field, while being situated (t)here.

Distancing myself: Practising Anthropology

The Research site

The study of methodology must begin with questions concerning the life histories of researchers and the embedded norms, values and beliefs of the institutions, communities and movements they build, stabilize and transform.

(Stanfield and Dennis, 1993:33)

My two primary motivations for studying social relations at UCT were born out of my personal experiences at the university as an undergraduate and a postgraduate student. Coming from a homogeneous 'coloured' high school and community, I was quite apprehensive when contemplating tertiary studies within a new environment which, for me, was predominantly 'other'. Not having had previous interactions with these others my friendship forays were of a particular racial nature -- they were restricted to coloured people, albeit with the odd exception. Unknowingly, I was articulating the teachings and the effects of the apartheid hegemony -- separation between population categories was normal and acceptable.

Throughout my undergraduate years I was, however, particularly intrigued by my perceptions of the reality of social interactions at the University, and developed the desire to understand 'everyday' ordinary social interactions within the context of the University from what I increasingly felt to be my own insider's/outsider's point of view.

In my first piece of ethnographic writing, produced in my honours year (Owen, 1996), I wrote *against* a predominant notion in South African society (as produced by the hegemonising process) that coloured people, particularly coloured males, were gangsters. I felt duty bound, as a coloured anthropologist, to delineate the reasons for my coloured male participants' possible forays into criminal activity. By exposing my person to 'male' contact in the field I implied, bodily, that coloured males were not criminals. I reasoned that my safety in their company would demonstrate, to white and black lecturers and colleagues alike, that coloured males did not necessarily harbour any criminal intent.

In retrospect I have realised that my deconstructive writing was not for my colleagues and peers (who always cautioned my contact with coloured males in Riverlea⁴ – the research site), but rather for myself. I had to negate or discount my own stereotypes which, I now reluctantly admit, cast the category coloured males as gangsters. In unconsciously trying to question the hegemony in South Africa, I had therefore to acknowledge or affirm them in order, albeit indirectly, to comment on my own coloured identity. This experience, and my later analysis of it, compelled me towards an investigation of race at the University of Cape Town.

Unconsciously, I now realise, my reaction to the Riverlea experience was a reaction to perceived racism⁵ within my earlier Riverlea study and my academic peer reception of that study. Many academic colleagues and peers were not particularly content with my Riverlea analysis, as few were convinced that there were no gangsters in the Riverlea area, given the high unemployment rate. Unwittingly, my need to understand race and its manifestation at the University was compelled by my previous experiences of, and within, the institution.

A further motivation for my present research was a project completed by Hall, Rex and Sutherland (1995) which investigated social interaction across cultural and social boundaries at the University. As reported by Hall et al (1995:33), less than half of the 266 University of Cape Town students who had been interviewed reported that they had friendships across the colour line or with people from other countries. My own previous experiences, coupled with my reading of the results of Hall et al's 1995 project, compelled my research within the confines of UCT of social relationships across what I perceived to be a salient social barrier – race.⁶

Choosing a Research sample

Choosing my research site was much easier than choosing the research sample. As stated by Bernard (1984:80), a study based on a representative sample of the population is “often better than one based onthe whole population”. However how was I to find a representative

⁴ In retrospect I am surprised at my naivety with regard to the creation of the Riverlea site – a township created for coloureds outside of the urban centre of Cape Town – Riverlea was a creation of the apartheid state.

⁵ Here I use racism to refer to one's latent or manifest thoughts and behaviours which discriminate against someone defined as racially different from one.

⁶ I have only realised the importance of hegemony during the writing process.

sample? Was there one course offered at the University which could be an appropriate sample? To answer this question I needed to know what constituted my research population -- the University of Cape Town per se, or the wider South African population? The resultant answer seemed to be that it was both, as educational institutions are often referred to as microcosms of the wider social population (Wilcox, 1982:279). However, the demographics of the University are not a precise reflection of the demographics of South Africa. According to the 1996 census, 76.7% of South Africa's total population is categorised as African, 8.87% as coloured, 2.57% as Indian and 10.9% as white (Central Statistical Services, 1996). Yet, the overall proportion of black students at UCT in 1997 and 1998 respectively was 47%. I was concerned about this, as it was apparent to me that my study might not refer to, or comment on, the broader social context of the University -- i.e. South Africa. However, as explained by Steedman (1991:55) in his exposition of the construction of meaning, meaning is both produced by the individual and the "social context which creates the individual". Hence I assumed that even with a small non-representative sample the articulated thoughts of my research participants would reflect the broader social reality of the South African context, as they were all resident in South Africa.

According to Bernard (1984), one increases the external validity (representivity) of one's research sample if one chooses to sample one's participants through probability sampling⁷. This would have been the ideal situation. But, as a result of the distorted demographics of the institution, I undertook purposive or judgement sampling (ibid.). In using judgement sampling, the researcher decides what purpose the research participants will serve and then finds a sample based on that decision. According to Bernard (1984), the disadvantage of this method is that the results so obtained are not readily generalisable. The advantage, though, is that a combination of this technique and the information obtained from fieldwork data increases the credibility of the study.

As stated previously, I intended to investigate relationships or interactions between students of different races so as to detail the 'reality' of multi-racial relations in the university and South Africa at large. My introduction to a student in a Commerce Faculty post-graduate class afforded me the opportunity to practise judgement sampling. I was wandering around in a bookstore *cum* coffee shop one day during 1998 when a colleague of mine caught my attention. She introduced me to Santana, a friend of hers, and we were soon conversing about our

⁷ Probability sampling refers to a technique which ensures that the whole population has the possibility of being sampled (Bernard, 1984).

individual research projects. I intimated that I was really interested in some of the conflict that arose in a multi-racial environment and Santana communicated that her class would be a perfect study. She had recently encountered some upheaval in her class with regard to the cancellation of a test, and her analysis was that some of the 'aggro'⁸ in the class was based on fundamental misunderstandings of one another. She elaborated further saying that there was a number of white students who were not too accommodating of people such as she and that she often felt that this was a result of their animosity towards what she saw as the 'minority' students. Santana identified the 'minority' students as black South Africans and other African⁹ students.

Based on my underlying research objective, my discussion with Santana provided me with the research participants I needed in my chosen research site. At the time of our discussion I was not concerned about the composition of the class. Rather I had found what I was searching for -- a class of UCT students which exhibited inter-personal tension which could possibly be related to racial differences. I understand now, though, that my quest for a research site which exhibited racial conflict was encouraged by my personal experience of the apartheid hegemony -- the ideology of apartheid was said to be beneficial to all population categories as it *decreased* the possibility of racial conflict. Therefore when people representative of the various population categories met one could only expect conflict -- this supported the creation of racially segregated schools; racially segregated living areas etc.

Negotiating access to my research participants

I was now interested in using the particular class of Commerce Honours students of which Santana was a member as my research participants. I therefore hastened my request to conduct research in the class to the then Faculty of Social Science and Humanities (now part of the Humanities Faculty). Following university procedure I attached my research proposal and the proposed participant's consent form¹⁰ to my request. The faculty forwarded my request to the UCT Code of Ethics for Researchers' Committee, which indicated that, with a number of changes to the consent form, I would be able to pursue research in the Commerce Honours

possibility of being sampled (Bernard, 1984).

⁸ Aggro refers to aggressiveness.

⁹ My use of African here refers to people from the continent of Africa, rather than referring to people categorised earlier as native, then Bantu (West, 1988).

¹⁰ See Appendix 1.

class. Having made the necessary changes to the consent form and gained approval from the Committee, I approached the Head of the Commerce Department¹¹ offering the programme in which Santana was enrolled with the request that I use that class as my research site. Having read my proposal, he approved my research study in what I hereafter describe simply as the Commerce Honours class. I was told, however, that I would have to gain access to each of the modules, as they were co-ordinated by various staff members in the department. The post-graduate Commerce programme was divided into modular work to be completed per semester. In the first semester students were compelled to complete two semester modules, while in the second semester the students were allowed to choose two modules besides completing a compulsory module.

My further quest for access had to be negotiated on two levels: 1) with the students, my eventual participants, and 2) with the lecturers of the individual modules in the Commerce Honours programme. The first lecturer I approached approved my access to the students in her class, as well as my personal introduction of myself and my research objectives to the class. My introduction to the students was particularly angst-provoking as I assumed the worst case scenario: that no students would be willing to participate in the research. It seemed as if the worst had happened when, after I had introduced my research objectives, one of the white male students, Johan, commented "Why do you want to do research in this class? All of us are friends".¹² Stunned by his statement, but still keen to continue, I provided some arbitrary reason, negating my own subtle awareness of a possible reason for his question -- resistance to my presence in the class. By ignoring his implication, I also ignored the tacit approval of his statement by the rest of the students, which was articulated in their expressed silence at his comment. I thus continued with my introduction, asking students to complete consent forms if they were willing to participate in my research.

I was allowed easy access to the various modules in the first semester, but I encountered some problems in the second semester. I was told by one lecturer that the students would not feel comfortable with my presence in the class. I regarded this with suspicion as I believed that the students were accustomed to my presence by then. However, my access to that particular module remained denied.

¹¹ Please note that my promise of confidentiality to my participants necessitates my vagueness in identifying the department in which I conducted my research.

¹² Initially, I focused on friendship networks within the Commerce Honours class.

My attempts to gain access to my research participants made it apparent that research within organisations is often fraught with bureaucratic procedures and is often blocked by institutional gatekeepers. It is therefore important to remain amicable with all role-players in the research area, as one can never be sure when one will need their help. As stated by Taylor and Bogdan (1984:32), "although the gatekeeper may have consented to your study, others may resent your presence". To this I would add that gatekeepers might even remain suspicious of the researcher's intentions, especially if they have not been approached early on for their approval of the study.

It is my experience that questions of entry into a community, although negotiated repeatedly at people's front doors (Barley, 1984), is often less harrowing than speaking to institutional gatekeepers. The denial of my entry by a lecturer excluded access to the cohort of people I was studying, with its specific group dynamics. This particular dynamic does not reproduce itself, even if the cohort reassembles elsewhere, as the dynamics in other contexts are different because of different circumstances. In this case there were differences in how students interacted with each other in the presence of each of the various lecturers, and I was interested to see how it changed with the contextual change.

Usually the person one meets at the front door in a suburban 'community' study, although seemingly representative of the household, does not inevitably deny access to other members of the household by his or her refusal to be interviewed or observed. My previous research experience in Riverlea's small coloured community (Owen, 1996) demonstrated that a person's refusal to be interviewed did not preclude access to other members of that person's household (Owen, 1996; personal communication with Constance Yose and others in the 1996 Social Anthropology Honours class).

My exclusion from the one module's class by the lecturer, although frustrating, was not surprising. Every research endeavour is fraught with difficulties and hence I was almost ecstatic when the blockage manifested as I was now practising anthropological research and experienced all its blunders. Through struggle I was moving towards the privilege of being one of the elite few who had survived *the rite de passage* of anthropological research which is not research, according to some, if it is not fraught with difficulties (Turnbull, 1961 and 1972; Barley, 1986 and 1987).

My Research Participants

Having gained access to the students in all but one module, I was struck by the predominance of white and South African students in the class. Table 5 presents the nationality, racial and gender distribution of the 28 students in the Commerce Honours class. Even though the class composition fluctuated as a result of the various modules that people completed, the larger compulsory classes attended in the first and second semester consisted of 15 women and 13 men.

Table 5: Racial, National and Gender Demographics of Commerce Honours Class

Gender	Race					Nationality		
	Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Tot	South African	International	Tot
Women	2	10	0	3	15	10	5	15
Men	3	7	2	1	13	9	4	13
Total	5	17	2	4	28	19	9	28

Source: Personal Communication with Student Records Office, 1998

The official UCT Student Record of the class reflects a disparity in the racial classification of people from what its members told me. For example, while one Chinese student is classified as white, the other is classified as Indian. In the general context of South African history, the inconsistency within the racial categorisation of the official Student Records is indicative of the problems experienced with the ascription of a racial 'identity'. Based on the information provided by the Commerce Department and the students themselves, I can record that 19 of the students were South African and nine were foreign citizens.

After my initial introduction to the class, and my introduction of my research intentions, 16 students signed my formal consent form. At the start of the third quarter 1998, one further research participant consented verbally to participate in my research¹³. Of these 17 students, 12 were female and five were male. Thirteen students were South African and four were

¹³ For a while her verbal consent rather than written consent was a source of worry as we had not followed the formal procedure as set by UCT's Code of Ethics Committee. This incident highlighted the inanity of trying to restrict the provision of consent to a moment, when consent would and should indeed be negotiated continuously (see below).

foreign. Of these 17 students, 10 were white, two were Chinese, three were black and one was Indian (see Table 6).

Table 6: Gender, National and Racial Categorisation of the 17 Participants

Gender		Nationality		Racial Categorization			
Women	Men	South African	International	White	Chinese	Black	Indian
12	5	13	4	11	2	3	1
Total: 17		Total: 17		Total: 17			

Source: Personal Communication with Student Records Office, 1998

I was able to observe my 17 research participants in the various classes that they attended and in which they interacted with those students who had not signed the consent forms. Of these 17, I was able to work in-depth with nine during the academic year of 1998. Although I still had the full complement of research participants at the end of my research, I was unable to complete the research process with one of the nine students, due to her departure overseas prior to our final interview session. These nine students comprised eight females and one male. Male representation is thus insignificant. The reason for this is that two of the five males who had initially signed the consent form said later that they were too busy to accommodate any interview sessions or individual observation sessions (see below). The other two were taking supplementary courses in the general Commerce Honours course, and, as a result, their attendance at the Commerce modules I was observing was minimal at best. The inclusion of further male representivity in the sample became near impossible as I became ever more embroiled in the progress of my research.

I was forced to focus on nine participants as I had to complete a large amount of observation in a short space of time. The nature of the pedagogic enterprise, especially at Honours level, is particularly difficult and time-consuming and participants had little time to give me. As noted by Hays (1988:401) one of the challenges to friendship in college is time expenditure. As implied here, students do not have much spare time within a tertiary institution. Thus, at times when I approached certain individuals for interviews, they often asked me if they could reschedule. As this did not fit into my schedule I was not able to accommodate them. The nine participants I focused on were consistent in their participation, and they were willing to give me personal time for interviews and observations. The nine participants I focused on were those

who were least bothered by my constant presence in their environment. The racial, national and gender breakdown of the nine participants follow (table 7).

Table 7: Gender, National and Racial Categorisation of the Nine Participants

Gender		Nationality		Racial Categorization			
Women	Men	South African	International	White	Chinese	Black	Indian
8	1	5	4	4	2	2	1
Total: 9		Total: 9		Total: 9			

My choice of participants and my sexually skewed sample was unintentional. A perusal of the total class proportions would indicate that there were 15 females and 13 males. However, of these 13 males, only five signed the consent forms. And, unfortunately, of these five, only one was willing to participate freely in my interview sessions. In hindsight, though, compared to my struggle to come to terms with the effects of working with a hegemonising entity, my decision not to pursue my male participants for interviews was a peripheral concern.

The above sub-section has alluded to the notion of informed consent. However I have not discussed its meaning or implications. The following sub-section considers the notion of informed consent and the broader theme of ethics to which informed consent refers.

Informed Consent -- the ethics of doing my research

The ethical problems facing social scientists have changed over time and have probably become more difficult to resolve as the *contexts of social research have changed* and as the balance of power has altered between social scientist, sponsor, gatekeeper, citizens and government. (Ackroyd, 1984:13: my italics)

The change Ackroyd refers to is no more apparent than in a situation where the researcher is 'studying up', as was the case here. Particular to my research was the debate concerning informed consent. As I was conducting research within the environment of the University I was obligated by the UCT Code of Ethics for Researchers Committee to draft and produce a formal consent form, which each potential participant signed. Before the students signed the consent form, I had to explain what my research was about, what it entailed and how I would use the

results of my research. Thus, when my participants signed the consent forms it was assumed that their decision to do so was an informed one.

Even though I have indicated earlier that my research was tending towards investigating race relations, this was not always the conscious objective of my research. Perusal of the appended consent form will indicate my foregrounding of friendship, rather than race in my research. Now, more than a year after the completion of field research, I understand, upon reflection, that my use of friendship rather than race not only guaranteed my entry to the class but also guaranteed relatively uncontentious entry. At the time of my fieldwork, I acknowledged that race might influence social relations (friendships) within the Commerce class, but I did not accord it a dominant influence. However, the process and the outcome of my research -- I eventually came to recognise race as a dominant signifier of difference in the Commerce Honours class (see chapter 6) -- implicate my 'unconscious' mind in a denial of my own motivations in my research. This realisation leads to the interrogation of my ethics.

Was I proceeding ethically in my research? At the start of my research, as well as through the field research process, I believe that I maintained an ethical standard, as I informed my participants of the shift in my focus from friendship to race. I gave each participant the opportunity to decline further participation in the research. This constant informing of participants highlighted the continuous and negotiated nature of informed consent, and the inherent problems which exist in any participant's provision of informed consent. It also highlights the absurdity of having participants sign a consent form at the beginning and assume that this document will cover the entire research process.

As asked by Sapsford (1993), how much information is sufficient for a potential research participant really to know what the research entails and what the consequences of participation will be? How many researchers can truly say that they are completely aware of all the research techniques they will use in their research? How many can forecast the exact use of the information obtained through observation? And what about the promises of confidentiality and anonymity given to research participants? What do these promises really mean? Are they a means for us, as researchers, to gain access to a situation where access is often tenuous?

In an ideal research situation, most social scientists would follow the deontological approach to ethics (May, 1993). A deontological approach posits that the discipline's Code of Ethics would have to be followed religiously, with no regard to the context of the situation. However, in the world of research, the ideal is hardly ever attained. Therefore, consequentialism, which is more concerned with the context in which researchers find themselves and the consequences of the

researcher's chosen behaviour (May, 1993), is often followed by researchers. If the researcher followed the tenets of consequentialism, she would not follow a set of 'doctrinal' regulations. Rather she would ensure that her participants were not harmed by the consequences of her research.

It seems inappropriate to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each of the approaches here. But we must recognise that each researcher needs to be bound by a set of rules. It makes sense for each discipline to have a Code of Ethics, so that each practitioner's ethical behaviour is standardised, thus ensuring, at least, a minimum of ethical behaviour for all practitioners. Therefore, I conclude that no matter what the individual researcher's penchant, it is important to recognise that "...ethical absolutists (deontologists) and relativists (consequentialists) alike agree that the onus for making decisions in practice rests with the individual researcher" (Ackroyd, 1993:154). Finally, in the words of Neuman (1991:428), "The researcher has a moral and professional obligation to be ethical, even when research subjects are unaware of or unconcerned about ethics".

In trying to maintain an objective and distanced stance in the research process, through the careful production of a consent form and adherence to the Code of Ethics provided by the Code of Ethics for Researchers' Committee, the messiness of fieldwork was exposed. My research proper had not yet started and I was already bombarded with bureaucratic procedures which had to be followed.

Interestingly, the emphasis on correct procedure itself exposed an aspect of UCT's hegemonising process within academia. If I did not adhere to the stated rules and constraints I would have jeopardised the completion of my research at the university. I was thus obliged to follow the rules – rules that I have had to accept as appropriate. The emphasis on ethics proved to be advantageous. My consideration of the Code of Ethics ensured the 'safety' of my participants and, in writing this dissertation, I have remained bound by the confidentiality and anonymity clause in the consent form, thus maintaining my participants' 'safety'.

AM/PM Schedules

After approximately two weeks of class observations, I asked my participants to complete what I have referred to as am/pm¹⁴ schedules. I made the request because I believed that my

¹⁴ See Appendix 2.

participants' production of a detailed account of his or her day would offer objective data. The schedules I hoped would generate a body of data, uninfluenced by my presence and interpretative impositions. The am/pm schedules were meant to document the activities of my participants through the day: the kinds of activities they did; with whom they did these activities; and whether those persons were regarded as friends or acquaintances¹⁵ etc.

This am/pm schedule is similar to the log-interview approach where participants are asked to maintain a record of a particular time period (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). Of the 16 that I distributed, only three were returned. Although the idea, I believe, was a good one, the academic demands placed on my participants relegated the am/pm schedule to the status of something of no consequence. Moreover, it might have been too soon in the research process to expect my participants to trust me with the personal information which they were expected to provide on the schedules.

Further, as a result of my participants' attendant time and academic constraints, and the poor response rate for the schedules, I did not feel comfortable requesting their maintenance of a daily diary, or even a weekly diary. I was not prepared to violate their right to privacy, as I was also acutely aware of their resistance to my delving into their personal lives -- three returns out of a total of 16 dispersed am/pm schedules did not engender any faith in me to demand my research participants' compliance with my request. I must also note that my awareness of their resistance was cause for concern, as I worried about their possible complete withdrawal from my research. In this sense, my participants differed from other 'classic' participants in anthropological research (Barley, 1986 and 1987). They had signed the consent forms and were thus well aware of their right to decline further participation in my research at any time during the research process. Their knowledge gave them power, especially during the earlier periods of my research.

Those niggling problems researchers hate

Besides the more thought-provoking problems, there was a number of minor niggling problems in the research. I was unwilling to rely solely on my memory and thus I decided to record and transcribe all my interviews. I also hoped that the unmediated recording of the interviews

¹⁵ At this stage in my research, participants completed the am/pm schedules without my interrogation of the attributed meanings they might attach to friend or acquaintance.

would construct me, as the objective researcher, devoid of any subjective feelings and judgements with regard to my participants' expressed thoughts and emotions. Moreover, I did not want to miss any vital information articulated by the participant, as "a tape recorder allows the interviewer to capture so much more than he or she could, relying on memory" (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984:103).

However, I learnt a harsh lesson with my initial taping. The tape recorder I used initially did not work appropriately and, as a result, an hour-long taping remains indecipherable. This was quite ironic, considering the reason for using the tape recorder in the first place. Fortunately I had taken notes throughout the interview, and I was thus able to recover much of what was discussed. The second interview proved no better, as the noise level on my newly purchased tape recorder was set too high. As a result, some of what was said below this level was often not captured or, when captured, the dialogue was a mere murmur.

During my earlier interviews some of the participants demonstrated their anxiety at seeing the tape recorder, even though it was quite small. However, as each particular interview progressed, they visibly relaxed, often ignoring its presence. One participant, however, refused to be recorded throughout the research and I had to rely on my memory and the copious notes taken during those interviews to reconstruct the contents. It was hard to maintain the semblance of a conversation with her as I was often scribbling away, unable to maintain long periods of eye contact. I feared she might assume that I was disinterested. However, she had completed some undergraduate anthropology courses and that gave her some understanding of my situation. She often joked that she was truly exercising my anthropological skills in obliging me to write, talk and listen simultaneously.

I transcribed each taped interview as soon as possible after the actual interview. The transcription time allotted to each hour of taping varied from 6 hours to 8 hours, depending on the speech pattern of the interviewee. Transcription was particularly difficult when an interviewee was very expressive. How does one describe a sigh? Anger? Joy? How does one convey meaning so that the text does not remain a blank, lifeless, monotonous dialogue? These questions remain rhetorical and the answers dependent on the individual researcher. But they are significant when one considers the importance of giving participants a voice that is as true a reflection of their character/personality/thoughts possible.

Another frustrating consequence of working with human participants is their forgetfulness. At times my participants forgot the arranged time or places of our meetings. And there were times when I forgot to bring the interview schedule. Luckily, each 'forgetful' problem was dealt with

positively. With a bit of rescheduling the 'transgressor' and I were always able to set up another more convenient time, and I was able to remember the core questions in each interview.

In conclusion, all of the 'objective tasks' in practising anthropology were not as meaning-less or objective as I had initially thought they might be. Even though, "it has been easier for researchers to rationalize and legitimate their logical positivistic claims by constructing *supposedly value-neutral* methods of data collection and interpretation than to acknowledge the intrusions of their life histories and cognitive styles in research processes in race and ethnicity studies" (Stanfield and Dennie, 1993:25: my emphasis), the call for reflexivity (Clifford and Marcus, 1986) in the early 1980s necessitated my reflection on my research methods as it has been identified that our choice of methods is always subjective and value-laden. Each processual moment in my research project, from the writing of my research proposal to the actual taping and transcription of interviews, was mediated by my own thoughts on how to do anthropology proper. In practising anthropology I tried to distance myself from the research project as I began to grasp the possible influence of race on the social relations within the Commerce Honours class. This recognition was disturbing, as I had convinced myself during the preparation of my research proposal, that friendship was my *only* focus. A focus on race, I feared, could possibly lead to another Riverlea experience with further exposure of myself as a racialised entity in South Africa, devoid of any agency. However, the UCT experience proved to be more thought-provoking as I was 'studying up', rather than studying down as had been the case in Riverlea.

Immersing myself: Doing Anthropology

Participant Observation -- to participate or to observe?

Participant observation is undoubtedly the mainstay of anthropological research (Dumont, 1978; Mehlwana, 1996; Okely, 1992). Anthropological research is never deemed anthropological if there is no participant observation. Ideally, emphasis is placed on a balanced combination of the two activities -- participation and observation. However, as all social scientists know, the world with specific reference to the fieldwork site, is never 'perfect' and hence fieldwork is often more of the one activity than the other. This, however, is hardly ever noted in ethnography. As noted by Taylor and Bogdan (1984:39):

The participant observer walks a thin line between active participant --
"participant as observer" -- and passive observer -- "observer as participant"

... There are clearly times in which it is best not to be accepted as a genuine member of the setting or group.

In my own research, my emphasis was on being a passive observer rather than an active participant. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, the university environment generally, and the Commerce programme in particular, is teaching orientated. As a result, with most of my observations taking place during formal class time, I was more often an observer than a participant, as my command of the Commerce discourse and content was minimal.

During the first two weeks of my research, acquainting myself with students' names was near impossible, as I was bombarded by a language unfamiliar to me. Although the lectures were given in English, I was convinced I was listening to another dialect. I was often distracted in my observations as I had to grapple with concepts such as monetisation, capital markets, exchange rates and aggregate demand. I then decided that it would be easier for me if I ignored the content of the lectures. Of course, deciding to ignore the lecture substance and actually doing so are two completely different processes. At the end of four weeks, I resigned myself to the fact that I was not going to understand much of the lectures. However, my field notes continued to be peppered with economic terms -- my unconscious vain attempt to decipher this foreign language? Or an unconscious acknowledgement that what was important to my participants should be important to me too? A consequence was that I was unable to participate in most class discussions (but see below).

Secondly, I was more of an observer than a participant because I focused primarily on the time students spent together on campus, rather than off campus. The obvious disadvantage of being the observer was that I was often unable to participate in the creation of students' informal social interactions. Here I should further explicate my reasons for my focus on interaction on campus, rather than on interaction off the university campus. The reasons for my focus are more personal than a serious problem with the research participants or the research site. These reasons do, however, express the true nature of the remark that the anthropologist carries her baggage with her to the field, no matter where the field might be situated, as well as highlighting the effect of an hegemony on the hegemonised.

I knew from the outset that any research into the *social relations* of South Africans, even if it emphasised friendship, would be very arduous, precisely because 'race', which is so salient a feature of social relations in South Africa, has become a discursive non-issue -- a subject that must not be broached in polite company (Vestergaard, 2000). According to South Africa's particular history I had, as a 'coloured', been categorised as an 'other' in comparison to whites.

For three quarters of my life I had been disempowered by virtue of my skin colour and its attendant connotations. At the time I was unaware of this on a conscious level. However, my otherness was no more apparent than when I was conducting the research for this ethnography. It seemed quite incongruous that a formerly disempowered person had claimed a form of power over empowered (white) people by virtue of her status as the researcher. Whites were empowered by virtue of their skin colour -- their whiteness -- and its attendant connotations in an apartheid South Africa, since 1652 while I, by virtue of my skin colour had been subordinated.

In my first few days, I tried to ignore the trepidation I felt in pursuing my research objectives by appropriating the power the researcher is thought to have (see below). However, the few hours I spent with my participants created so much distress that I welcomed the reprieve offered in my going home. Given South Africa's history, it might seem that my aversion to informal contact with participants could only refer to the white students in my sample. Yet this was not the case. I maintained a distance between myself and those participants who were similar to me because I was unwilling to confront my own socialisation. Discussions with these 'similar others' could have led to a resonance with my own experience of otherness in my own country. This resonance would not have been particularly helpful as my research might then have become a process of self-analysis.

Given my biography, my presence as a coloured woman in a predominantly white class, especially as a researcher, made an already uncomfortable situation, for me, feel untenable. As stated by Taylor and Bogdan (1984:43):

Age, gender and race and other features of personal identity can have a powerful influence on how participants react to the observer (Warren and Rasmussen, 1977). Liebow (1976) conducted his study of black street corner men as a white researcher. Although he developed strong and friendly relationships with his participants, Liebow (1967:248) does not pretend to have overcome the barriers to insider status imposed by race: "In my opinion, this brute fact of color, as they understood it in their experience and I understood it in mine, irrevocably and absolutely relegated me to the status of outsider".

Liebow's statement (quoted by Taylor and Bogdan, 1984) reflects my own feelings during my time in the field. I was very aware of my outsider status, especially when it came to conversing with the white students in their own constituted small group. I was able to communicate with

them on a one-to-one basis, or with those with whom I had already built up some rapport. But even the one-to-one relationships were often anxiety provoking. I often felt intimidated. Yet, trying to explicate the reason for that was difficult. I felt it was unjustified and irrational. Yet, no amount of rationalisation or cajoling myself with the words 'a real anthropologist is never intimidated' could force me to extend my observation of students to areas off campus. To me, being an outsider meant feeling 'other' in relation to those I perceived as insiders, the 'objects' of my focus. Yet, they were also the subjects of my own sense of insecurity and inadequacy. As noted by Baca Zinn (quoted by Andersen, 1993:41) "relationships with research subjects are never equal, and as a researcher [you] can't alter the political contexts in which research takes place".

My awareness of the unfriendly behaviour exhibited towards black South Africans and internationals within the class -- factors that had drawn me to choosing it as my research focus -- added to my insecurity and uncertainty. I believed, and still do, that, although I could have adopted the role of the 'objective and aloof anthropologist' at some of the off-campus social functions that were planned by the white students, the identity that these students ascribed to me would not have been that of the researcher but that of a non-white¹⁶ person whom they had felt obliged to humour. I recognise that these feelings are the product of our respective socialisations within South Africa. Yet, I could not overcome them. The identity I tried to invoke could not (in my view) change what I thought would be their perceptions.

Although my non-observation of off-campus events could be seen as a shortcoming, the importance of Taylor and Bogdan's (1984:79) revelation that my informants' "role[s] [were] not simply to reveal their own views, but to describe what happened and how others viewed it" became apparent. With regard to outside events or informal time my participants became 'my eyes and my ears'. Through informal discussions and formalised interview sessions I was able to glean information from my participants. Often their perception of a particular event led to vigorous discussion with regard to a participant's particular way of perception and interpretation. I was able to see through their eyes, to hear through their ears and to feel through an articulation of their subjective feelings.

It is true that my feelings of inadequacy and disempowerment could disdainfully have been

¹⁶ I use the term non-white here to refer to African, coloured and Indian people. I specifically use the term non-white, rather than black, as I try to juxtapose the term against the previous connotations attached to white. In so doing I try to voice the pervasive apartheid ideology inherent in the classification that those referred to as non-white are non-persons (Woods, 1979).

relegated to the status of irrational thought. Yet I could not simply divest myself of those feelings because they were repeatedly affirmed by my own experience of feeling unwelcome.

The above discussion hints at some of the difficulty native anthropologists experience when studying 'home'. In this situation the division between the native [the person the anthropologist studies] and the anthropologist [the person doing the studying] becomes blurred (Weston, 1997). It is impossible for the native anthropologist to 'jump disciplinary ship' for he or she is 'the native'.

Natives are the ones who are always there, always embodied, always open to scholarly inspections. Ethnographers are the ones who go there ("the field") to study natives with every intention of returning here ("home"), whether "here" lies across the seas or in a co-op apartment on the other side of town. The odd anthropologist out has been known to jump disciplinary ship by "going native", but that hardly counts as an option for the ethnographer already located as a native (Weston, 1997:174).

I often questioned my position as the anthropologist -- the one doing the study. At times my 'insider' knowledge led to my drawing particular conclusions with regard to my observations. On the other hand, my participants, aware of my insider status -- South African citizenship and upbringing -- often took this as a reason not to expand on their comments within individual interview sessions. Paradoxically, my insider status was not too clear either. Although I was the same in one aspect -- nationality -- as the majority of the participants and other students in the Commerce class I was also 'other' with regard to race -- they were white and I was coloured. Similarly I was 'other' as regards disciplinary knowledge and discourse, to both white and black participants.

In academia there are a number of assumptions with regard to the anthropological persona. It is (was?) assumed that the anthropologist is a western white, middle-class individual, and that his subjects are clearly 'other' -- non-white, African or Asian and/or of a lower class status (Mehlwana, 1996; Okely, 1996). This unequal situation often renders the anthropologist as powerful and other in relation to her subjects. However, as noted by Stanfield and Dennis (1993:9), this assumption makes 'anthropological life' difficult for the anthropologist of colour, as she has to contend with a dual persona of native and other:

The dilemma of outsiders studying "the Others" does not stop at the threshold of research projects involving the racially dominant attempting to

pierce the cultural and social veil of the racially subordinate. It also involves the perplexing fact that, given their credentials and the norms of professional community membership, [native] researchers of color who study their own communities are also outsiders, owing to the class divide.

Therefore the native anthropologist is never only native or other, but a postmodern construction of the 'other native'. As a result of this dualistic persona, I was influenced during my research by two worlds – the anthropological world and the world of the native. I find that this influence continued in the writing of this dissertation as the one cannot be divorced from the other. Through the writing process I seem to have re-assumed the authorial power of the anthropologist, which I had anticipated would be mine as researcher in the research environment. It is in the writing of this dissertation that I have decided who speaks and who does not. I am thus able to communicate my thesis without any controversion from my participants. However, the very process of writing and the production of my ethnography have once more reaffirmed the existence of a persisting academic hegemony – writing for an academic audience I have had to maintain specific academic conventions: distinguish between my words and that of another author; I have had to maintain the correct English grammatical structure: the verb has to correspond in number with the noun it qualifies and so on. My writing – this ethnography – is thus an hegemonised product as I have been 'compelled', by my supervisor, to submit to the demands of academia and standardised academic English: if I do not comply the receipt of my degree is jeopardised. Hence the power which I hold as the native writer is constrained as I am compelled to submit to the requirements of academic ethnography as embodied by my well-intentioned supervisor and colleagues and the university's ivy-covered buildings and its graduation ceremonies. I once again therefore, sense a degree of subordination.

Despite my dualistic persona of native and other I had assumed a relatively neutral mindset with regard to my otherness by the time I started my 'day observations'¹⁷ of my participants. I ignored my musings, concentrating on completion of each day observation.¹⁸ With each day observation I was able to observe haphazard interactions and obtain information about a 'typical' day for one participant. My presence influenced the individual participant's interactions, and it was often interesting to observe the explanations they offered to others with

¹⁷ Taylor and Bogdan (1984:45) would refer to this as tagging along.

¹⁸ In the final three weeks of the second semester of the study, each of the nine participants allowed me to spend a whole day with them on campus.

regard to my presence. Their explanations ranged from the truth -- that I was 'following' them for the day; to total silence, which seemed to border on denial of the reasons for my presence.

Lolah honestly explained the reason for my presence at her side.

Surprisingly [to me] she and her friends behaved as though my tagging along was a normal occurrence, continuing to chatter away. Santana, a friend of Lolah, noticing my reluctance to follow them, quipped quite audibly --

"Where is your bodyguard?"- when the two of them walked off together. I laughed and responded "Not far behind" trying to catch up to them. Serena, unlike Lolah, remained silent about the reasons for my presence. At times it seemed as if she was purposely ignoring my presence. Her behaviour was not surprising, as many people would not assent to being the object of overt and 'in-your-face' observation. The thought strikes terror into most people and I was aware of Serena's anxiety. She bombarded me with a number of questions when I first enquired about her availability for a day observation session. I did find, though, that my participation in her company at appropriate times, made the day observation experience a little easier for her. For example: when Serena and some of her classmates decided to go for coffee after their class, I joined them. I did not sit with my research implements and I participated in the general banter, which occurred between them, thus minimising my researcher status, while accentuating my 'likeness' to them -- I'm also a student.

Manifesting my overt participation

As implied in the previous sub-section, researching inter-personal relationships is complex as the researcher is a relating/interacting person in any interaction that she observes. Passive participation,¹⁹ does not necessarily exclude the researcher's influence on the observed interaction and the role players within it. It was intriguing to note that, while many of the students were comfortable with my presence, some of the lecturers expressed anxiety at my obvious non-participation in their classes. One included me as a participant in his module,

¹⁹ Although Taylor and Bogdan (1984:39) use the term passive observer to refer to the 'observer-as-participant', I prefer the term passive participant. In using passive participant I want to imply that I remained a participant by thinking through each interaction and behavioural event as it occurred. I was 'there', and as a result I was using my senses to experience my being there.

although he was cognisant of my reason for being there. I had carefully taken the most inconspicuous looking space in the room – a small ledge which was on floor level and out of direct view of the students. Yet my obvious silences had become deafening to the lecturer. My presence was not part of the normal pedagogic landscape. The hegemony which was, and is, that of the educator educating scholars took (and takes) precedence as the empowered person in the classroom situation, the lecturer, used (uses) his power.

The lecturer customarily assigned students to groups which would prepare and present a seminar to the class. I was taken aback when he included me in one such group. One moment I was a passive participant and the next I had become an active participant. Those students who were aware of my researcher status/role were just as surprised as I, and of my acceptance of his instruction. In some odd way I welcomed the participation as I knew that I would have access to students on a different level; and yet I was terrified as I had never done a Commerce course before.

After the lecture, I followed him to his office where I politely asked him if he remembered the reason for my presence in his class. He replied that my stated objective did not exclude my participation in his class. For the first time in my research, my continued presence in a particular class was directly endangered. If I refused to participate, I would be ruining my future observational prospects in his class. But by accepting his 'challenge' I could become closer to the members of the group and maybe the class as a whole. I accepted the challenge for, as stated by Taylor and Bogdan (1984:38), "When active involvement in people's activities is essential to acceptance, then by all means participate".

Having decided to participate I was baffled by the lecturer's placement of me with two Chinese students – Michael and Eden. Why not place one of the more knowledgeable white students in this group? I felt that his knowledge of Michael's²⁰ inarticulateness in English should have convinced him that a more knowledgeable Commerce student would be a far better addition to the group than me. A neophyte to the discourse could surely not be a boon. However, it is important to consider that my inclusion with Michael and Eden may have been seen as a result of what many non-white students saw as favouritism shown to white students. Many of the non-white students had expressed feelings of marginalisation in this particular class. As Hope, another Chinese student noted, "Lecturers pick up on the bright students who tend to be the

²⁰ It was Michael's first year at an English tertiary institution. His previous tertiary experience had been in China.

white students. And then they treat the others as less. Look at AB". She particularly felt that lecturer AB portrayed a 'chumminess' with white students which he did not exhibit with non-white students. For example, I often observed AB in animated conversations with Johan (white male) or Sam (white female), while in the class. His attention to Michael, Eden and Hope (three Chinese students) was minimal. This could have been as a result of their reticence to speak in the class. However, their perception that he did not pay them much attention was encouraged by his 'constant' attention to the white students.

I never asked the lecturer the reason for his placement of me with the Chinese students, as my experience at the university had not encouraged me to question white male lecturers, and my earlier socialisation had encouraged 'submission' to the 'white man'. As indicated earlier, I did not feel the power that anthropologists have been said to have in other research situations. The lecturer's arbitrary inclusion of me in a group with Eden and Michael conveyed, to me, that I was in his class and thus dependant on his goodwill to continue my research in that class. Clearly in this situation he held the power -- power bestowed on him as a result of his role as a gatekeeper.

My group was given five days in which to prepare and complete an oral seminar and a written seminar paper. We worked as a team, dividing the work equally amongst ourselves. While researching the topic together we experienced some problems in obtaining relevant material. Together we approached the lecturer. Initially I was concerned with our level of communication, as Michael was not completely comfortable expressing himself in English. However Eden provided the solution by often translating what both Michael and I said for the benefit of the other. It was intriguing to note that, on occasion, Eden absentmindedly spoke to me in Chinese, fully expecting me to comprehend what she had said. At this moment I felt a comfortable acceptance. It was revealing to observe how our initial barriers -- language and nationality differences -- vanished as we were compelled to work together for the greater good of the group²¹. As noted by Douglas (1983), a level of inter-dependence is created amongst a group of people who are coerced into working together and it often results in team members working together for the greater good.

My fellow group members seemed not to expect me to work as hard as they, as I would not be graded on my performance. I knew, though, that I would be graded internally by the group

²¹ This finding suggests that UCT's Centre for Higher Education Development needs to examine the potential of small-group classes and workgroups to assist in overcoming social barriers.

members and by Eden's friends and classmates who were also participants in the research project, as she had apprised them of the situation: a situation which they thought extremely funny. For a fleeting instant, then, I knew what it was like to be 'one of them' as I answered numerous questions from participants and other students, about the progress of my seminar paper and the availability of relevant literature. This experience was one of my research highs for two reasons: 1) the opportunity improved my rapport with my research participants; and 2) probably more importantly for me, the constant 'power balance' between my participants as knowledgeable and me as ignorant, had waned while I worked with Michael and Eden. If it is accepted that the lecturer placed me with them because of my command of English, then they needed me.

Even within this interpretation however, there is some ambiguity. On one level I was made their equal. But that was not really the case as I did not have a command of the commerce discourse. On another level, I was placed on a higher plane as I was not compelled to work as hard as they did. I would not be assessed academically. The experience proved that finding a balance between observation and participation is exceedingly difficult, as doing one intensely often leads to the marginalisation of the other.

Forging Friendships²²

Although my experience of being one of 'them' was short-lived, I felt that my relationship with Eden had progressed beyond that of researcher and researched. When dividing the workload, we had decided that we could possibly use the internet as a research tool. Since Eden was particularly studious, we started the internet search as soon as we left the lecturer's office. We spent four hours together searching for relevant material. Together with Michael, we divided the seminar paper into three sections and agreed that we would each produce a paper, and transparencies, for our own section to be used in our individual presentations. After the weekend, Eden and I met early Monday morning in the computer lab. Sitting together, we formatted our documents and then transferred the information onto the transparencies. (Michael arrived later.) The work we produced was a combined effort and I believe this experience opportuned the development of a relationship of mutual liking and respect between Eden and myself. Hence, even since her return to China, our relationship has been maintained via electronic mail

²² When I use the term friendship in the following paragraphs, I refer to a relationship between two people which is based on mutual respect and liking.

and written letters. The development of our relationship is indicative of the possibilities inherent within a situation where people are compelled to interact. As aptly stated by Douglas (1983:49):

If the goal is important (i.e. superordinate), then individuals will be willing to sacrifice other important personal issues in order to co-operate with others in its attainment. While co-operative endeavour is in progress, a state of mutual inter-dependence increases and there is a tendency to reduce hostility and prejudice and to increase friendliness and attentiveness to others.

Based on my experience with Eden I would say that one qualitative interaction, especially when it involves intense working together, can easily lead to friendship. The forging of any friendship depends on the context -- time and place (Duck, 1983 and Hays, 1988). But, more significantly, it depends on the willingness of both parties to build on a relationship that has the potential to develop beyond mere acquaintanceship.²³

I also formed a close relationship with Hope. This relationship was extraordinary, as she had initially 'froze(n) me out'²⁴ and, secondly, because our encounters differed from those I had with Eden. Initially, Hope exhibited a wariness in our encounters, especially when I tried to approach her within the class environment. However, the following excerpt taken from my fieldnotes shows how change occurred in the kinds of interactions we had:

Santana, another member of the class, sees Hope sitting alone in the lounge area of the Sociology department and, instead of walking past, she stops and asks Hope if she would like to join Lolah and herself for lunch. Hope declines the offer saying that she would like to complete some of her reading -- the front cover of the book has Chinese script, so I assume that it is a Chinese novel. Santana tries to convince her that spending some time with Lolah and herself would be of benefit to all three. Adamantly Hope declines. Throughout this exchange, Lolah has slowly moved away from the two discussants. Eventually she comments that it is advisable to leave Hope to

²³ Here I use the term acquaintanceship to refer to a relationship which is based on a superficial acquaintance with another person. At this stage the relationship could develop further or it could disintegrate.

²⁴ "Froze me out" refers to her tendency to ignore me in the research situation and to ignore my requests for her to become a research participant.

her book. After they have gone Hope strikes up a conversation with me. I am surprised, as I was impressed by her apparently obvious need to be alone (her discussion with Santana). The length of our conversation -- an hour -- indicates that she wanted to talk to someone, but not Lolah or Santana. During the ensuing conversation it is patently obvious that Hope is not particularly happy in the competitive university environment, as she intimates that her friends are obsessed with their academic work to the exclusion of personal relationships. To Hope this situation is untenable as she intimates that she is a 'people's person'.

Two days after the above discussion, Hope asks me "So when are you going to interview me for your research?" I had not expected this comment, as the relationship Hope and I had cultivated was devoid of any pressure from me on her to capitulate to participant status in my research project. Now it seemed as if our mutual friendliness had occasioned a change in her initial perception of me and hence her decision to reverse her initial refusal to participate.

In hindsight, it is relatively easy to understand my affinity to Eden and Hope. They were both of a different nationality to me and therefore unknown. When dealing with South Africans, whether of a different race or not, I had to contend with our shared hegemonic understanding of what they should be. The situation, as discussed earlier, was worsened when dealing with a white South African student as our mutual history dictated who was powerful and who was powerless. In that instance I was powerless as I am coloured. It must be understood that my struggle to understand my own behaviour was not then conscious. Therefore my unease in my interactions with South African students (white and black) was an articulation of my unconscious desire to understand the power of a hegemonic socialisation which intended to direct and control my existence from the cradle to the grave. Similarly I formed friendships with Hope and Eden as they too held a marginal position in UCT -- they too felt they were outsiders.

Although Chinese people could be categorised as white (if race was merely a matter of skin colour) their obvious phenotypical differences to whites in South Africa (and the connotations these differences held for me) and their categorisation as "coloured" by the apartheid government, made them less threatening or fear-provoking to me than white South Africans did. It was easier to interact with someone from a different nationality than with a South African white person, as there was no historical reason to feel antipathy towards him or her. As indicated earlier in this chapter, my relationships with white students were not without

ambiguity, especially in terms of my own perceptions of who held the power.

In reference to 'western culture' and South African white culture, Chinese culture is 'other'. Therefore in terms of South African categorisation, Eden and Hope were deemed 'other' in the predominantly white Commerce class. Hence I felt a shared level of similarity as I was and felt 'other'.

Interviewing my participants

I supplemented all my observations with formal interviews. Based on the observations that I conducted during the first semester of 1998, I drew up a draft interview guide (see Appendix 3), which I refined as I applied it during the process of interviewing. The interview guide was also used as a means to obtain short life histories from my participants. For example, the interview schedule included questions about my participants' high school; the number of siblings they have; their parents' occupations and so on. The interview was open and yet relatively structured (Bernard, 1984). Although I had certain core questions which I asked all participants, I provided my participants with the opportunity to expand on their answers. The preparation and use of the interview guide ordered my thoughts while focusing my attention on the questions that needed to be asked. As noted by Bernard (1984:205), "you should build a guide and follow it if you want reliable, comparable qualitative data".

My first formal interview guide enabled me to elicit my participants' understanding of the concepts of friend, acquaintance and friendship. I did so to corroborate some of my observations and to consolidate my understanding of what I had observed. I later constructed a second and final formal interview (see Appendix 4) built on the foundation set by the initial interview questions. By that point I had a clear intention to gather further information on the possible influence of race on social relationships within the class environment and I emphasised questions which would elicit some articulation of my participants' thinking around race and its influence on social interaction in the class.

As previously noted, discussion of race and its connotations within South Africa is very sensitive. Herdt and Stoller (1993) advise that a researcher should never ask a question that makes her uncomfortable. But, as discussion of race was important to my comprehension of the social relations within the Commerce Honours class, I concluded that I had to ask uncomfortable questions. I often found that my self-awareness of my coloured identity made the discussion of race with a white person more distressing than having the same discussion

with a black person. Upon reflection, I realise that I held certain assumptions with respect to what would be said by white and non-white students. I expected non-white students to discuss personal or group oppression at the hands of white people and to refer to the South African struggle for democracy. In contrast, I was not too certain of what to expect from white students, but I believed that they would be hesitant when discussing race and its connotations in South Africa. As a result of my assumptions, I found that I was always careful to preface my questions in the second interview with an acknowledgement of the sensitivity of the discussion of race. At this point I always offered my participants the opportunity to decline participation in the second interview. Fortunately everyone said they felt 'comfortable' enough to discuss the concept of race and its implications. I acknowledge that that may be because I managed to convey a sense of ease in the interview.

Interviewing the participants -- dealing with my own identity

I believe that my anxiety over race was, in part, a consequence of the work completed by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission²⁵. The Commission has been particularly instrumental in highlighting atrocities perpetrated by whites and blacks throughout the apartheid era. In many instances it has highlighted stories of trauma and pain suffered by black people at the hands of a white government and police force. My concern was whether my white participants would be contrite or if they would be anxious to move on from a situation which lay most of the blame for apartheid squarely at the door of white people.

My interview with Lily, a white woman, who expressed regret and the wish to repent for a situation that she did not inflict or consciously sanction, was one of terror for me. I was asking Lily the questions set out in my second interview schedule when she surprised me with her comments. She said that there were times when she felt that she had no right to be in South Africa and that, although this was her birthplace, she had no rights, she said, to citizenship. I was particularly surprised at her openness and honesty as I thought that the discussion of race would make her uneasy. Given my earlier experience of her careful and reticent behaviour in the first interview, I had expected her to be even more reticent in the second.

Her forthright discussion of race placed me in an awkward position. How could I respond? What was the appropriate behaviour in a situation of 'confession'? Should I simply listen? Or

²⁵ At the time of my research the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was conducting hearings with regard to atrocities committed by the State against ordinary South African citizens during apartheid.

should I provide some words of forgiveness? Even more importantly, was she confiding in me so as to obtain 'forgiveness' from me? Stated differently, was Lily speaking to me as a researcher or as a coloured South African female? Someone whom she might categorise as 'other' relative to her and as one of South Africa's race-oppressed people? I was baffled and indecisive. I felt compelled to state that she was not directly responsible for what had happened in South Africa. I said that white people had as much right to be in South Africa as did blacks and that, although South Africa's history did not portray fairness and justice, every person had something positive to contribute to the country. In this specific interview my role as an 'objective' researcher was severely undermined as I articulated thoughts which were particular to my social and political understanding of South Africa -- my native understanding. It was disturbing to deal with a white person, who had obviously benefited from the previous apartheid government's policies, on a level where her pain was more salient than mine.²⁶ I was placed in a position of power over her -- one not experienced before -- as I could offer forgiveness, or withhold it.

Yet, on another level I clearly understood her need for acceptance in South Africa. It is a need that many whites had not manifested prior to 1994. At the end of my research, and through the process of writing, I have become increasingly aware of Lily's pain as well as my own when discussing race. I have come to understand how my knowledge of white oppression, although limited to anecdotal accounts by family members, was so close to me that it would have seemed more appropriate to be less forgiving. However, my own 'colouredness', and all its connotations, was not the source of her expressed 'pain'. Rather it was her 'whiteness' which signified to other South Africans, whether consciously or not, that she was privileged, and, as a result, not one of the now affirmed disadvantaged or oppressed, but rather the oppressor.

Conclusion

Practising and doing anthropology are experientially involved processes, especially for a native anthropologist who is not normally one of the holders of power in the geographical context in which she lives and works. Although the anthropologist can never be one of the natives (the

²⁶ This particular discussion of my interaction with Lily makes me uncomfortable, as the analysis borders on a popular psychological analysis. My interaction with her also sounds like I am pontificating. However, I am hard pressed to describe the interview without imposing psychological interpretations, as this particular interview was more intimate and personal than any of my other interviews with my participants. I felt very present in this interview, and it was very hard to assume a distanced approach.

researched) as she always assumes, accepts and appropriates a position of otherness (by definition s/he is the researcher), I expected to feel at home within my own backyard. And I did so precisely because my familiarity with the research site informed me of my South Africanness. By the same token, however, I othered myself by trying to control my intellect and my feelings in my social interactions with my participants. Had I not done this, the overwhelming feeling of sameness (South Africanness) could have led either to the discontinuation of my research, and/or a half-hearted attempt at pop psycho-analysis.

My reflection on the research process and the self-reflexivity espoused within the writing of this dissertation can only make this work anthropologically stronger. By delineating my motivations, interests, angst, trepidations etc. I attempt to allow the reader to understand the context of my research to have been racialised, gendered and nationalised. By exposing a partial self (myself) I challenge the reader to acknowledge his or her own baggage and theoretical grounding in reading, thinking about and evaluating my research methods, data and ethnography. Fieldwork, writing up, conceptualising, reading and evaluating are never neutral processes, as "no-one reads from a neutral or final position" (Clifford, 1986:18). I implore you, the reader, to be self-reflexive in your reading of my ethnography. I end this chapter with the following quote:

No matter the logic of inquiry preference or its technical capabilities, researchers who engage in racial and ethnic studies are involved in a highly controversial venture. For decades, much potential sobering knowledge about racial and ethnic issues has been either lost or distorted because researchers have failed to reflect on the implications of their life histories and cultural backgrounds as ideological intrusions in this emotion-laden field of study. (Stanfield and Dennis, 1993:33)

Chapter Four

Differentiation within the Commerce Honours class environment – the effects of South Africa’s separatist hegemony

Introduction

As I noted in chapter one, hegemony is created, maintained and supported on a number of levels – political, economic, social, cultural etc. – all of which bolster the perpetuation of the hegemony so created. In chapter one I also considered the macro-context of my research site – South Africa – and detailed the creation and maintenance of a separatist ideology in South Africa. And I discussed the domination of South Africa’s indigenes by Europeans in the late 17th century, proceeding to discuss the eventual domination of blacks by whites under apartheid in the early and mid-twentieth century. In chapter two, focusing on the micro-context, I detailed the University of Cape Town’s initial involvement in, and perpetuation of, an hegemonic ideology and discourse, and the university’s eventual resistance to South Africa’s separatist ideology from the 1950s to the early 1990s, by staff and students. In chapter three I narrowed my analytical focus further, considering my own ‘unconscious’ reaction to the apartheid state’s hegemonisation, as revealed through my participation in the Commerce Honours course.

Here, in chapter four, I expand my focus to consider my informants *within* the formal Commerce Honours’ class environment so as to ascertain whether and how a separatist hegemony had been created and maintained in the Commerce Honours class and, if so, who the proponents of this hegemony were. In chapter five I turn to consider my informants’ behaviour outside the formal classroom environment, thus ascertaining the hegemony and its proponents within the *external*¹ environment. In chapters four and five I thus investigate whether hegemonisation had been created by a particular cohort of students, whether the cohort formed a group, and whether this cohort was racially exclusive or not. By demonstrating that the cohort was indeed a racially exclusive group I am able to reach the conclusion that the

¹ My use of ‘external’ refers to the general university environment outside the formal classroom environment.

separatist ideology espoused by the apartheid government had found articulation within a microcosm of South African society.

Here, as in chapters five and six, I use Gramsci's notion of the subaltern (Ghazoul, 1999, Sears, 1995) to refer to those students who were not only subordinated but also othered in the process of separatism which occurred in the Commerce Honours class. Hence when I discuss 'subalterns' I refer specifically to black and international students. By using the term in this manner I demonstrate the complexity inherent in the use of the concept -- not only does the term refer to the subordination suffered by blacks in South Africa, but it also refers to the subordination which occurs through the othering of international individuals. The concept is, thus, not only linked to a discussion of race², but also to a discussion of nationalities as it refers specifically to the *processes* of subordination and othering. The concept was appropriated in the early 1980s by a group of historians who initiated the Subaltern Studies series so as to document subalterity --subordination -- within their studies in India. As a result the term has gained wider usage in post-colonial writings (Chatterjee and Pandey, 1992; Guha, 1983).

The notion of markers of difference (Thornton, 1994), or what I refer to as identity markers, is central to my discussion in the present and next chapters. Identity markers are observable characteristics or behaviours that differentiate one person from another and one social category from another. These markers include dress code, language, race, ethnicity, religious affiliation, behaviours etc.

The discussion of identity markers is central to my argument in chapters four and five because an analysis of these difference markers enable me to demonstrate the divisions or boundaries -- the "hard edges" -- within the Commerce Honours class, a microcosm of South African society (Thornton, 1994:6). A demonstration of the persistence of divisions or boundaries within the Commerce Honours class would show the pervasiveness of the separatist ideology that was spawned first by colonists and then by the apartheid government in South Africa. I note that the creation of an hegemony is a dialogic process between the dominant and the dominated: a constant vacillation between coercion or compulsion from the dominant and consent or resistance by the dominated. I also demonstrate how complex the process of hegemonisation is, as it is created through a complex array of 'natural' difference markers such as accent, and constructed difference markers such as dress. Therefore, in the process of recognising an identity marker as a differentiator, the person observing the identity marker makes a statement

² Please see chapter six for a definition of race.

about him/herself to those observing him/her. Ultimately an identity marker could be a differentiator or an indicator of similarity.

I start chapter four with a consideration of my introduction to, and initial observation, of the Commerce Honours class. This consideration contextualises the rest of my fieldwork data and my analyses thereof, and it provides the reader with the 'opening act' to my sojourn in the Commerce Honours class. Having thus contextualised the fieldwork material, I discuss various identity markers within the formal classroom environment as noted by my informants in my interviews with them and as I noted in my observations.

My introduction to the class

After my first immersion, as discussed in chapter three, it took me approximately two weeks to become familiar with the Commerce Honours classroom environment. By the third week I had noticed that some, almost all white, students would gather in the hallway, before the class started, chatting amicably about the previous evening's pastimes, while subaltern students seemed always to arrive just as teaching commenced. As I noted on 27 May 1998:

I have completed four weeks of observations and today I find that most of the students, including those who generally arrive late, are standing and talking in the hall as they wait for the lecturer to arrive. The white students have formed the largest cluster in the class. The subaltern students have formed a smaller cluster, to the right of the white cluster. Although everyone inhabits the same spatial environment, it is quite obvious that there are two separate clusters, as the people in each cluster do not have direct eye contact with one another, nor do they have conversations with one another. By their physical placement, the entities seem impenetrable to one another, as some participants and their identified friends continue to have their backs to each other.

The delineation of the entities is not easy, as the larger white cohort consists of two or three smaller clusters, each of which in turn consists of three to four people talking to one another. However these smaller clusters are not separate from one another. For example while Lily (white South African

woman)³ and Nikita (white South African woman) are speaking to each other, although on the margins of the larger cluster, they maintain their links with the larger cluster through their body positioning. Their bodies are facing inward towards the other people in the entity.

Lolah (black South African woman) and Santana⁴ (white foreign woman) meet one another and then Lolah walks off. Santana initiates a conversation with me. Within two minutes Lolah (black South African woman) is back, and our conversation is halted. Eden (Chinese woman) and Serena (Indian woman) arrive together, talk fleetingly to Lolah (black South African woman) and Santana and then they walk off. While walking off they inform Santana and Lolah that they are on their way to the Moot Room to buy coffee. They ask them if they too would like some coffee. Santana and Lolah (black South African woman) decline the offer. With Serena and Eden's departure the lecturer arrives and we haphazardly mill into the lecture theatre. Throughout this observation no visible contact was initiated between the members of the two dominant clusters.

Although this gathering of the Commerce Honours students was of the kind that Goffman (1961) described as unfocussed⁵ I was intrigued by the clustering I saw and recorded in my observation. My interest followed the comment by Johan, a white 23 year old South African man when he had suggested I could not expect to make any such observations: "Why do research in this class?" he asked. "All of us are friends." If Johan's statement was true then surely I should not have observed the kind of clustering and non-interaction between the members of the two entities that I saw form. I was therefore curious about Johan's assertion as there was a number of possible ways in which to analyse it as a statement:

- as a gatekeeper he was protecting himself and his fellows from an interloper;
- as a white man he was expressing the 'age-old' power bestowed on him by South

³ I have added a bracketed descriptor in places to assist the reader in identifying the named student's social category. I do it only where there is a possibility that the reader will have, by then, forgotten the information.

⁴ Refer to my discussion of Santana on page 103 for an explanation of Santana's positioning in the cluster.

⁵ Goffman (1961:7) defines unfocused interaction as "consist[ing] of those interpersonal communications that result solely by virtue of persons being in one another's presence".

Africa's hegemonic history; or

- he was expressing the kind of ideological tolerance that has been rhetorically engendered by the ANC-led national government since the 1994 democratic general elections, even though it is not reflected in much practice.

As I was a neophyte in the specific research environment, I was unable right then to grasp the intention behind Johan's statement. However, when I considered the statement in conjunction with the above observation, it was possible that the non-interaction I saw between the two dominant⁶ clusters meant that:

- the Commerce Honours students were *not* all friends as intimated by Johan and
- that the first two possible explanations offered above for Johan's statement might have been correct.

Lolah, a 24 year old African woman, supported my analysis in our first interview when she vehemently commented:

All of us are friends, because all of them [the white students in the class] are friends, I mean, of course ... Generally there is a general bit of selfishness in the class, definitely. But, for instance, somebody like SM [white man] can afford to say all of us are friends, because he's friends with everybody in the class. I mean even *I* can't say that. You know what really pisses me off is that that is the very same. It's just a perpetuation of the whole system basically [she implies segregation or distancing] – I speak for everybody else and, you know, obviously that means that he doesn't acknowledge the fact that those people he *doesn't* interact with in the class, or isn't really friends with, that they exist; because he's only saying all of us are friends.....
a lack of co-operation you know the fact that we as a class were *not* a unit.

While negating the statement made by Johan, Lolah (black South African woman) also hinted at the existence of a hegemony within the class which allowed a certain individual (Johan) to assume that he spoke for the entire class when saying that all of them were friends. Lolah's vehement negation of Johan's statement also implied that she resisted this hegemony. The fact that Lolah, an African woman, contested the assertion made by Johan, a white man, was

⁶ See Appendix 10 for the diagrammatic representation of my observation.

significant as it was reminiscent of black voices against white hegemony in the apartheid era. I would question whether she would have responded similarly had the speaker been black: Did the two contradictory statements made by Johan and Lolah indicate the existence of an hegemony which was being contested within the Commerce Honours class?

To answer this question I consider some of my informants' identity markers here. I begin with a discussion of the most visible identity markers – style of dress and language. I then consider interactive behaviours, the contravention of normative behaviour in the classroom and exclusionary practices. By investigating the identity markers I aim to "examine the normally hidden set of rules, codes and conventions through which meanings particular to specific social groups (i.e. those in power) are rendered universal and 'given' for the whole of society"; (Hebdige, 1979:9). I pay particular attention to clothes or style of dress as "[we] speak through [our] clothes" (Eco, 1973 cited in Hebdige, 1979:102).

Identity Markers

a) Style of dress

Women

I had not initially paid particular attention to my informants' style of dress as their dress was similar to mine -- casual and informal -- the dress of UCT students. However, as I went through my fieldnotes later, I found that I had at times remarked on informants' clothing -- cut, style and my impression of the status demonstrated. For example, on 13 May 1998, I noted "the clothing of my students is very casual -- skirts, sweaters and jerseys... I don't feel odd here as I seem to be dressed like them". Eight days later, on the 21 May 1998, I commented "There is nothing in the dress code of the Commerce Honours class to distinguish them from other Humanities students." An analysis of my own statements reveals the hegemonic -- taken-for-granted -- dress of students at UCT: casual and non-formal. At the time of recording though, I was unaware of my observations' significance.

The significance of my observation became apparent when Santana, a 23 year old, Mediterranean⁷ student, stated:

⁷ I remain vague with regard to the description of my participants so as to ensure their anonymity and confidentiality.

For the first day I went to the class I looked. I was very happy to see Lolah because I knew her from last year. But I look around. I see that the [white] girls they all dress the same. It seems like they had uniforms or so. And immediately you see that's not your background.

When Santana mentioned the word uniform I finally understood that my comments to myself on dress code within the Commerce Honours class articulated my awareness that a pattern of similarity existed amongst the white women in the Commerce Honours class -- my fieldnote comments were restricted to white women's dress. Although their dress code conformed to student standards of casualness and informality, the manner in which they wore their clothing, as well as the condition and style of the clothing, demonstrated the care taken by these white women in their grooming. They seemed effortlessly 'put-together'. Their grooming behaviour contrasted with Lolah's (black South African woman) and Santana's (white foreign woman) dress and general grooming. On occasion Santana looked dishevelled while Lolah wore denims. And the Chinese women, Eden and Hope, although more groomed than Santana and Lolah, often wore denim pants. It was seldom that any of the white women wore denim pants or dungarees.

Nikita (white South African woman) articulated her notion of the 'right' style when I questioned her about her stereotypes of coloured and African people. She stated, while looking at me as a representative of coloured people: "They [coloured people] wear weird dungarees". And commenting on her stereotypes of African people she said: "Now being on Varsity I think of most black people as being on campus, so um mostly clothing. Does it sound funny? Black people dress *differently*, ja they dress differently. It's more sort of linen pants, almost more formal. Not like formal formal, but more like smart".

Here Nikita, through the articulation of her stereotypes of coloured and African people hinted at her idea of the 'correct' way to dress. Nikita's use of the adjective 'weird' to describe my dungarees intimated her perception that my dress was not normal: normal being her style of dress. Similarly her comment about African style of dress articulated the dominant position on UCT's campus that student dress is *informal and casual*. Note her use of the adjectives *formal and smart*. Could Nikita's position be representative of the other white students in the class? It seemed a possibility as she did not comment on *their* dress code.

The white women's clothes -- Lily, Leigh, Sam, Nikita -- identified them as wealthier. Not only were their clothes 'newer' than the subaltern students' clothing, but they often hinted in conversations with one another that their clothing purchases were made at expensive stores.

For example, on the 19 August 1998, as we returned to the lecture theatre, Nikita told Leigh "You're wearing a nice t-shirt". The t-shirt is long-sleeved and striped. Leigh responds: "Thanks, I bought it at the [Grahamstown⁸] Festival". Also, they often wore labels which indicated that their purchases had been made at boutiques in an upmarket shopping mall -- Cavendish Square, in Claremont.

Lolah's (black South African woman) general style of dress -- she never wore dresses or skirts -- seemed to represent her social status (working class⁹) and her resistance, while Santana's (white foreign woman) general dishevelment seemed to resist the majority white women's code of dress -- 'neat' casual. Their continued difference in style of dress set them apart from the white women. Lolah (black South African woman) was aware that *she* was not conforming as she recognised Kath's (coloured woman) conforming behaviour:

Kath, I think she's different. But I am not sure. I'm not going to criticise her, but obviously to a certain extent it's okay. But to a certain extent it is not okay. You don't have to change that much to be part of a certain type of people. You may ... sometimes people have to meet you half-way.

Kath, a 22 year old Muslim woman, had discarded her scarf and 'conservative' way of dressing earlier in the year. Lolah interpreted her different attire as conforming to the white way of dressing. By identifying Kath's conformity, Lolah acknowledged her own non-conformity.

Men

The men in the class dressed more casually than the women and, at times, their dress bordered on sloppy. There were two noticeable dissenters: MT¹⁰, a 32 year old Chinese man who wore suits, and DP, a 30 year old coloured man who dressed smartly. DP's smart dress was 'forgiven' as everyone knew that he was employed while completing his Honours studies -- no comments, whether negative or positive, were made about his style of dress. MT's only

⁸ The Grahamstown Festival refers to the annual Standard Bank Arts Festival which is held in Grahamstown during the mid-year academic vacation.

⁹ Lolah identified her social status as working class.

¹⁰ I refer to the men in the Commerce Honours class impersonally for two reasons: firstly, some of these students had not agreed to participate in my research and secondly because I cultivated more personal relationships with my research participants -- 90% of whom were women -- I am unable to 'distance' myself from the personalities so as to refer to them impersonally.

outward concession to the informal nature of the class and the university environment was the fact that he did not wear a tie. It can be said with certainty that, for the rest, casual dress was the male norm as any deviance from the norm was questioned, while adherence to the norm was not commented upon. For example:

We had all been seated in the class for some time when SG, a 22 year old white man, arrived late. He was dressed quite smartly with a tie, jacket and formal pants. Nikita asked him why he was dressed so smartly. His response was that he had delivered a presentation [20 May 1998].

On another occasion, during the second semester, when SG wore a beret he received many comments on it from MG, MI and CP (white men). MG jokingly commented, "You look just like Picasso with your French beret" [20 August 1998].

These two examples demonstrate how both men and women commented on any deviance from the normal 'male' dress code. The maintenance of the norm was also implicitly approved of by the university's pedagogic environment -- most lecturers wore casual dress and none of the lecturers questioned students about their informal attire -- and from within the Commerce Honours class, especially by the white students. Of the five comments made on attire, four comments had been made by whites and one comment made by an African woman.

In conclusion then, even though the style of dress within the Commerce Honours class was not as flamboyant as Hebdige's (1979) "mods" or "punks", it did intimate "the [varied] constraints of finance and preference" (Hebdige, 1979:101) within the Commerce Honours class. As noted by Hebdige (ibid.) "[clothing] choices ... are expressive of normality as opposed to deviance". And more importantly, as noted by Strong, (1988:233),

... when we encounter others we are forced to put on public dress. That dress is determined by many different factors -- power, status, role, the situation, our fellow participants and even (partly) personal choice. ... our public garments invest [an] encounter with its own form and meaning, creating for the moment a distinct and palpable little world.

b) Hair Coiffure

White women not only conformed to a dress code. They also conformed to a certain hair length

and hair coiffure. On 1 September 1998 I noted:

Yet again I realise, when I look at Leigh and Lily from behind, that I cannot be too sure who is who. Not only are they of similar build and height, but the colour of their hair -- brown-blonde -- and its length are near identical. It is intriguing to note that Sam has cut her hair shorter -- a length similar to Leigh's and Lily's.

And again, on the 7 October 1998, I noted that Sam had cut her hair again, maintaining its short length. There seemed to be no significance in what seemed to be the maintenance of a specific length of hair until Leigh communicated her awareness of the hairdresser whom Anna frequented.

Some of the Commerce Honours students have gathered haphazardly on the steps in front of the Moot Room. Anna, Leigh, Lily, Nikita, DP and myself are sitting on the steps. Anna's come back from a two day 'holiday'. She looks healthier -- her cheeks are sun-kissed -- and her dark hair seems naturally highlighted. Nikita asks Anna who her hairdresser is, because her hairdresser is leaving soon. Leigh responds, "Anna's hairdresser is really expensive." Explaining why, Anna comments that she frequents a salon, rather than a hairdresser. [8 October 1998]

It is really intriguing that, even though Anna was dark and had a more idiosyncratic style of dress than the other students, her hair length was also short. Whether the maintenance of a particular hair length, by most of the white women, was deliberate or not cannot be said for certain. However Nikita's distress at her 'boyish cut' on the 14 October 1998, supports the notion that there was a desired and accepted length to white women's hair in the Commerce Honours class. Nikita complained that she had indicated that she would like a trim, but that MG had used the scissors liberally. She had been forced to make use of his hair-cutting services and suffer the consequences because of the departure of her regular hairdresser.

Comments about hair coiffure were not restricted to white women. For example on 13 October 1998, Serena (Indian woman) told Eden (Chinese woman) that her hair was different. Eden stated that she had not blow-dried her hair. Santana (white foreign woman) retorted, "You know you shouldn't blow-dry your hair at all. It only spoils it [the condition of your hair]." On the same day Eden (Chinese woman) noticed that my hair was not tied up as usual. When she said that she did not recognise me for a second because of my hair, her expression did not indicate approval. My sense of her disapproval on the day was confirmed the very next day

(14 October) when my hair was tied back.

When I entered IA's class this morning with Neil, Santana, Eden and Serena had already arrived. Eden, while talking to Serena, turned around to look at me. Quite loudly she said, "Joy, your hair looks nice today".

By commenting that my hair looked nice when it was tied back (as it usually was), and making no approving remark the day it was not tied up, Eden hinted at a notion of what was allowed and what was not: a woman's hair should be neat.

The scarcity of comments about hair and general style of dress or attire by subaltern women differentiated them from white women. I would not say that grooming was not of concern to these subaltern women but, rather, that it was not a *priority*. As Santana remarked in our first formal interview, 28 September 1998: "You can't choose friends over academics because you will be hurting yourself. You have to know what your priorities are." Although she did not comment about attire, she did articulate that her priority at university was academic excellence or prowess: a sentiment shared by most of the subaltern women (see chapter five for a discussion of the importance of academic work).

In sum, style of dress and hair coiffure were markers of difference to students within the Commerce Honours class. Although the university environment's dominant dress code was casual wear, students in the Commerce Honours class differentiated themselves from one another through dressing in a particular style and, for women, wearing their hair at a particular length. The number of women who followed the practise of quality wear and short hair indicated the dominant way of dressing for women. Santana's dishevelment and Lolah's preference for denims cast them as non-conformists or anti-hegemonists. Their resistance did not challenge the hegemony though, as there were not enough non-conformists within the class to create an impact. Similarly the dominance of casual wear for men was never resisted.

c) Language -- accents, content of conversations and the dominance of English

The second most obvious identity marker to signify divisions or boundaries is language. As noted by many theorists (Fishman, 1977; Giles, 1977; and Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977), language is central to a person's social identity as it is a symbol of "cultural heritage" (Giles et al, 1977:307), "economic status" (Giles et al, 1977:310) and "social status" (ibid.). I place particular emphasis on language for "language ...[is] an active coplayer in the exercise of power" (Reid and Ng, 1999:120). And, as I noted in my discussion of hegemony in chapter

one, the entity or group which holds power, whether coercively or compulsively, follows a process of hegemonisation which compels or coerces subordination of the less powerful. Hence it is important to consider the dominant language within the class and the primary speakers of the dominant language, so as to ascertain the holders of power within the Commerce Honours class – the dominant entity.

Although aware of the cultural diversity within the Commerce Honours class, I was less aware of language diversity for two reasons:

- each student within the Commerce Honours class communicated predominantly in English within the confines of the formal class environment and
- the dominant pedagogic language at the university is English.

Despite my ignorance, at least six languages, besides English, were represented within the class. None of these languages achieved salience within the formal class environment throughout the academic year of 1998.

Accent

Santana, a white Southern European student, was particularly aware of language and accent as a difference marker. On 23 November 1998 she stated:

The friends that I have in the class ... the majority of them are foreigners or, for instance, are Lolah, people they [white students] have rejected, if you can say that. Not like rejected, but something like they actually make you feel like you are different. *Even if it is by your accent, or it is by your way of dealing with people, they actually draw that line.* And I don't know if it's only their fault. Maybe we also like to have that line drawn, you know. I suppose so. I don't like to see things just on one side. The problem that I see, you know Joy, because you have different backgrounds, you have different experiences and my experience is not ... I am white but I don't have the same experiences as my [white] colleagues. So even if they are *talking together, the talk as such is different.*

Here, Santana discussed the differential nature of language on two levels – the accents with which people spoke and the content of discussions. Santana identified accent as an important

difference marker as she commented that her accent had initiated conversations with black South Africans about her nationality, despite her race. She noted that even though her race [her whiteness] identified her as a possible white South African, her accent confirmed her subaltern status to South Africans as a non South African. As noted by Santana, her friends, all second-language English speakers, spoke with what she called an accent: an accent which differentiated them from first language English speakers – whites – in the Commerce Honours class¹¹. It is important to note that all of the Commerce Honours students spoke in accented English, thus identifying them as South African or non-South African. However, Santana's accent was sufficiently different from the majority of students in the Commerce Honours class - white students -- to identify her as a subaltern.

Content of Conversations

Besides recognising accent as a difference marker, Santana also noted that the topics of conversation differed as she moved between white and black peers in the class. Santana indicated that she understood the reason for this difference to be the result of the experiential differences between herself and the other white students. She asserted that she was unable to communicate with them socially, despite their common race, as their realities or experiences compelled the discussion of different issues, compared to those which were born out of her personal experiences and realities: "I am white, but I don't have the same experiences as my [white] colleagues".

My observations of communicative events confirmed Santana's articulation that the topics of conversation discussed by various social entities¹² differed. The following two extracts exemplify the diverse nature of conversational moments within the Commerce Honours class.

Conversation One

Later during the mandatory break, I accompany Nikita and Anna (both white women) to the Moot Room, upon Anna's request. While Anna goes into purchase the coffee, Nikita and I sit outside waiting for her to return. Nikita says that she has been spring-cleaning and that MG (white South African

¹¹ See Appendix 5 for the nine participants' primary characteristics.

¹² Here I use the concept 'entity' to refer to the sense of us and them as created by Santana in the extract taken from her 23/11/98 interview (see page 106).

man) is worse about cleanliness and tidiness in comparison to her. Leigh (white South African woman), Nikki (white South African woman) and Johan (white South African man) come out of the Moot Room together, each holding a cup of coffee. After tripping over my feet, Johan suggests that we should stand in the sun as it is pretty cold in the shade. SG (white man) joins us. Immediately he questions Nikita about her whereabouts the evening before. Nikita explains that her aunt had returned to her home. While SG and Nikita talk, Anna tells me that she has been smoking since the age of 16 and that she was only able to stop smoking for a week. Johan, Leigh, Nikki and Kath (who has joined us) discuss the party held by one of the lecturers the previous evening [19 August 1998].

In stark contrast to the topics discussed by white students above, was the following conversational topics discussed by Lolah and Santana on 23 September 1998.

Conversation Two

I am doing a day observation of Lolah and, just after BK announced the break, Santana and Lolah get up. Santana asks Lolah: "So how's it to have a bodyguard?" in reference to my presence at Lolah's side. Lolah laughs. As they walk on, Lolah turns and asks me: "Come on, aren't you coming with?" Laughing, I follow them. While walking up the stairs to the Commerce Honours department, Lolah and Santana discuss the tutorials they had today. They speak to Jerome in the department, check the tutorial boxes and then return to the class. On their way back they discuss the Lesotho crisis and the fact that South Africa has sent troops to the region together with other South African Development Communities (SADC). Lolah comments that South Africa should never have become involved in the disputes in Lesotho and Santana agrees with her. Santana says, "South Africa is trying to prove to the world that it's a major power on the African continent". Lolah agrees and states further, "The South African government should be more worried about our own country and its problems, rather than meddling in the business of a neighbouring state" [23 September 1998].

The above examples of conversational text clearly contrast with one another in content. While the students in conversation one shared personal information with one another, the interactees in conversation two chose to discuss a political situation in a neighbouring state of South

Africa. As noted by Hope on 5 October 1998, Santana and Lolah were inclined to foreground politics and academic work in conversations.

My further observations of conversational events replicated the conversational content relayed above in the two conversational events.¹³ While white students predominantly discussed extramural activities – parties, living arrangements etc. – subaltern students preferred to discuss politics, culture and academic work. As noted by Eden on the 23 September 1998,

The topics that they [white students] talk about and the lifestyle. I am not really outgoing. For instance, Santana will know, they have things in the Mediterranean and China that they don't have in South Africa. Santana will know what I am talking about.

and on the 10 November 1998, "... we [white students and I] have nothing in common. We have nothing to talk about except hi. How's exams. Boring stuff." For Eden, as for Santana above, it is not so much the actual difference in content, so much as the fact that *her* perception of difference is supported by the fact that they cannot speak to one another as a result of the difference in their experiences. In sum, besides the differentiation realised through accented speech, conversational content was a differentiator within the Commerce Honours class. That white students and subaltern students were unable to communicate personal information to one another further hinted at the boundary which existed between the two cohorts.

Language used

Santana's focus on the correct way of speaking English – what she called non-accented English – highlighted the hegemonic nature of a particular accent within the confines of the formal classroom environment. Not only did the use of English dominate interactions between students, but it also directed the nature of that interaction. For example: Were the students who were interacting in English two first-language English speakers (dominant speakers), or was it a conversation between a first language English speaker (dominant) and a second-language English speaker (dominated)? If the interaction was between two dominant speakers both interactees would feel comfortable. On the other hand, if the conversation was between a dominant speaker and a subordinate speaker, it was almost certain that the subordinate would feel uncomfortable. As a second language English speaker, Santana found it easier to

¹³ See Appendix 6.

communicate with, and relate to, students who shared her experience of coming to terms with the English language as a mode of instruction and interaction. As noted earlier, most of her friends in class were *not* first language English speakers and, as a result, they understood the problems she had experienced trying to master English in general and academic English in particular. To her, white South African students could not understand, or empathise, with her experience of trying to master a foreign and dominant language, as they were first language English speakers.

The predominance of English at the institution, and the *acceptance* of English as a medium [of instruction¹⁴] and interaction by all students, highlighted that English and those who spoke it 'correctly' were powerful within the Commerce Honours class. As noted by Alexander (1995:41) "English will serve as the *most important* lingua franca and ... this function will expand as formal education becomes universalized". Therefore the hegemonic language within the Commerce Honours class was English -- a language spoken by all of the white students as a first language, except for Renee who was a first-language Afrikaans speaker.

As discussed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1979), the predominance of English within the class seemed inevitable for three reasons:

1. English and its use as a communication tool was [and is] supported by the university's institutional structures -- lectures and tutorials were given in English (except for those courses which deal with the teaching of languages other than English); tests and examinations were written in English; the June and December graduation ceremonies are hosted in English.
2. The number of first-language English speakers in the Commerce Honours class outnumbered second language English speakers.
3. The number of English speakers in the surrounds of the university outnumbered second language English speakers -- Rondebosch and its neighbouring suburbs of Claremont and Rosebank are predominantly English-speaking.

I would add a fourth reason to those noted by Giles et al (1979) above -- the predominance of English as a medium of interaction (communication) within the Commerce Honours class was maintained by all students, including second-language English speakers. For example:

¹⁴ I have bracketed 'of instruction' as I did not consider the use of English as a medium of instruction within the Commerce Honours class, or how this affected the pedagogue-student relationship.

During my initial observation of the environmental module in the second semester, Eden, a 22 year old Chinese woman, and Hope, a 23 year old Chinese woman have animated conversations in Chinese. They shift between the use of Chinese and English (14 August, 1998). A week later (21 August 1998) in the same class, Eden and Hope have a conversation in Chinese and English. On both occasions the other students don't pay attention to them when they are speaking Chinese. When Hope switches to English while discussing group therapy, Anna responds to the discussion by asking, "Isn't it difficult to open up in a group?" thereby forcing Hope to continue in English. Eden visibly 'switches off' from the conversation as she bows her head and concentrates on her work, while Hope responds to Anna. The conversation between Hope and Eden is not resumed.

In the second observation on the 21 August 1998, Hope accommodated Anna when she communicated in English, Anna's first language, while seeming to alienate Eden by her decision. Hope's accommodation articulated the subordinate position of Chinese, while highlighting the dominance of English as the preferred language of communication in the class. Yet, Eden's Chinese conversations with Hope contradicted the feelings she expressed a month later on 23 September 1998, "It would be rude to speak Chinese to someone else, when I am in an English group". By conversing with Hope in Chinese, Eden was, by her own definition, being rude. Eden's contravention of her own 'rule of etiquette' could be analysed as an act of self-differentiation -- Eden and Hope were differentiating themselves from the rest of the English speaking students in the class perhaps to resist the predominant use of English, a foreign language to them. Hope's subsequent switch to English, brought about by Anna's intervention, led to a cessation of their verbal differentiation, although it did not mean automatic inclusion in the dominant position: Eden withdrew and Hope submitted.

In sum, the fact that all the second language English speakers conversed in English indicated an accommodation by the less powerful and those used to using subordinate languages to the more powerful English language, and thus to the powerful first-language English speakers -- white students in the Commerce Honours class. Language was thus a fundamental and almost immutable signifier of difference in the Commerce Honours class, as verbal communication necessitated the use of language, articulated in a *particular* accent when discussing *particular* subjects.

By immutable signifier of difference I mean that the boundary created in the Commerce Honours class through language differentiation was non-negotiable, unless the subordinated

person attempted to align him or herself with the dominant entity through adoption of the dominant accent and/or conversational content. In the Commerce Honours class, the second-language English speakers never became a part of the large interacting entity mentioned in my introductory observation to this chapter, even though they conversed predominantly in English. Therefore it seems that the Commerce Honours students were using other means of differentiation besides language to encourage the perception of two 'opposing' cohorts and the existence of a separatist hegemony. And language and accent were merely illustrative and reflective of those differences.

d) Behaviours demonstrating difference

The unequal educator-learner relationship

Here I focus on covert behaviours that might not ordinarily be regarded as difference markers, as they are not as easily discerned as accent or dress code. I pay attention to covert behaviours as Goffman (1961) noted that each role played by an individual is played within full view of an audience. Therefore the following discussion reflects the dialogic process of differentiation between two cohorts of students which further demonstrates the effects of South Africa's separatist hegemony on students in the Commerce Honours class.

I contextualise the rest of this section with a discussion of the construction of an unequal power relationship between educator and learner. I then consider specific behaviours, as presented by my informants, which seemed to demonstrate differentiation.

Although UCT's students and staff dress casually, the relationship between educator and educated is formalised within the classroom environment. The pedagogue is perceived and portrayed as the dominant person, while students are subordinate. These roles are set and secured at primary school level, maintained and further ensconced at secondary level and, once one reaches tertiary level, the dominant-subordinate relationship has been entrenched and accepted as the norm by most students and educators.

One of the conventions of the educative environment is that of pupils' or students' silence, especially when the lecturer is conveying her knowledge to them. The silence expresses students' reverence and respect for authority which is assumed by, and belongs to, the lecturer as a result of her status (knowledge). As society supports the attainment of education the educator is empowered while the students are disempowered. The maintenance of this kind of unequal power relationship was evident in the Commerce Honours environment. For example:

the larger modules attended by the Commerce Honours students occurred within the conventional classroom environment. By conventional classroom environment I mean that the pedagogue was situated in front of the students while the students were spread out before the pedagogue. The structure was reminiscent of the architecture of Roman amphitheatres.

The spatial arrangement within the smaller modules also perpetuated the unequal educator-learner relationship. Even though the smaller modules were presented in a classroom which was spatially flat, students sat around a table while the pedagogue occupied the focal point -- the head of the table. The positioning of the lecturer thus, and the focus placed on him/her, elevated him/her to a position of authority, power and knowledge. The pedagogue's position of power and the subordinate positions of the students, was thus created and maintained through the spatial and geographic location of their persons. The lecturer was the 'knowledge-giver' and the students were the 'knowledge-takers'. In this relationship students were thus subordinated in relation to the pedagogue. UCT's practice of teaching is thus conservative rather than progressive. As defined by Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1986:157),

conservative or closed pedagogy sees learning as the absorption of specific bodies of knowledge...the appropriate teaching style as one where teachers are experts and have authority over pupils, and direct the learning of subordinates, and the curriculum as the relevant classroom knowledge as defined by teachers.

Contravening silence

As part of the dominant-subordinate relationship noted above within the classroom environment, it is accepted practice for the lecturer to speak while students listen. Throughout my fieldwork notes I closely recorded my informants' verbal communication with each other in the context of the classroom with the lecturer speaking. It was interesting to note that almost all of the times that such communication occurred between students, they were between, or were initiated by, white students. For example, on 21 May 1998 there were four whites-only exchanges and three cross-racial exchanges. On the next day, 22 May 1998, with the same students present as on the previous day plus an additional four students, the number of verbal exchanges had increased to 11 whites-only verbal exchanges, five cross-racial verbal exchanges and two whites-only written exchanges. The second semester mirrored that ratio of exchanges as observed in the first semester. In the smaller modules completed during the second semester the number of exchanges between whites far exceeded the number of exchanges between

students of colour or international students. For example in TL's class on 2 September 1998 there were 21 whites-only verbal exchanges, 4 cross-racial exchanges and four Chinese verbal exchanges.¹⁵

I have wondered at my continuous observation of these exchanges. Later, reading through my fieldwork data and trying to identify themes it was apparent that:

1. the exchanges by the students contravened the normative rule of silence; and
2. in the classroom environment this rule was repeatedly and more frequently contravened by white students.

Based on my constant observation of white students' exchanges in the classroom environment I concluded that their resistance to the norm of silence and their subordination was deliberate, for the exchanges did not cease, despite reprimands from two pedagogues – normative holders of power in the classroom environment. As I noted on 12 August 1998 at 9h00:

Prof. K has been lecturing for the past hour and a half. The students seem restless – various students make erratic movements and there are a number of verbal exchanges between them. The room is stuffy, even though I've opened the windows. I would describe us all as sardines in a tin. While talking, Prof. K makes annotations on overheads. Sam (white South African woman) and Nikki (white South African woman) have had a number of verbal exchanges throughout the lecture. On a number of occasions Prof. K has looked in their direction, but said nothing. Then suddenly he asks Sam: "Is there a problem?" Sam responds: "No nothing" and she looks at Nikki. Prof. K has not finished through: "I have lost you it seems. You are not concentrating. Listen though, you might never know what you learn". Sam smiles in response and she turns red – sign of embarrassment? Leigh (white South African woman), Santana (white foreign woman) and myself look at each other and we smile awkwardly. Not five minutes later, Prof. K ends the lecture.

On the same day, but in Prof. BK's (different lecturer to the above) Finance class at 13h40:

The class started on time. Lily (white South African woman) gives Nikita

¹⁵ See Appendix 7 for a breakdown of verbal interactions within the Commerce Honours class during 1998.

(white South African woman) some A4 writing sheets. They look at each other and then they laugh. Lily opens a packet of sweets and offers one to Nikita. Kath (coloured South African woman) and Johan (white South African man) have a short verbal exchange (initiated by Johan) and, when Lily and Nikita laugh, Johan turns around to look at them. Approximately two minutes later, Johan asks Prof. BK a question and then he makes a comment to Kath. She smiles in response. Not long after, Johan leans forward and makes a comment to Leigh (white South African woman) who is seated in front of him. Leigh giggles quite audibly – I can hear her clearly even though I am seated five rows behind them. Annoyed, Prof. BK asks Leigh sternly: “Is something funny?” He seems exasperated. Quickly she replies “no”. Her response does not placate him. He says, “It has been going on for some time and I have been trying to ignore it. But it is hard [to ignore it]”. Leigh, looking awkward, apologises and Johan drops his head. A short time later Johan and Sam exchange a glance and a smile.

Despite being reprimanded, Sam and Leigh continued that day to be active participants in the verbal exchanges which occurred during formal class time.¹⁶ Eden (Chinese woman) noted the disruptive behaviour exhibited by the white students on two occasions. On 26 August 1998 she told me: “I would like to sit next to you. But I prefer sitting in front because of my eyesight and also because I do not want to be disturbed”. On the 2 September 1998, she said: “I have considered sitting next to you, but you are here at the back. I won’t sit next to you, because I can’t concentrate with all the interactions that occur in front”. Eden never reprimanded the white students for their behaviour even though she complained about it. Similarly, even though Lolah (black South African woman) jumped up on two occasions – 28 August 1998 and 23 September 1998 – to close the classroom door, trying to seal the classroom off from external noise, she never reprimanded the white students who were disrupting the class from within. Eden and Lolah’s actions seemed to convey a sense of powerlessness as they never questioned any of the white students directly. Their behaviour echoed their subalterneity in reference to the white students in the class.

Not only did the white students’ disruptive behaviour distinguish them from the subaltern students but it also hinted at their dominant status within the class. The power attached to this

¹⁶ See Appendix 8 for a list of interactive behaviours I recorded within the Commerce Honours class during 1998.

dominance seemed to be reflected in their constant communications within the class. The attempts made by the two lecturers to regain control in the classroom were futile as the students continued their communications in the class. Thus, in sum, even though the white students occupied a subordinate position within the classroom environment in comparison to that of the lecturer, their 'natural' dominance was demonstrated by their continued verbal and written communications. The fact that these students were only reprimanded twice throughout the academic year supported the notion that they were a 'force' in the Commerce Honours class – a fact that could not be ignored by subaltern students in the class. For, as noted by Goffman (cited in Levison, 1988), all interactions whether meant for one audience or not, speak volumes to the 'unintended' audience as well.

Non-verbal Interactive Behaviours

As noted earlier in the chapter, my approach to manifestations of hegemony within the Commerce Honours class meant that I had to search for unobtrusive behaviours or actions which distinguished students from one another. This leads to the following discussion of what I refer to as interactive behaviours. Closer inspection of the interactive behaviours in the class environs seemed to demonstrate a greater affiliation between certain individuals.

My observations indicated that most interactive behaviours occurred between white students. For example of the 64 interactions observed throughout the 1998 academic year 34 observations occurred between white students only. 16 interactions occurred between non-white students and 14 occurred between white South African students and non-white South African students or non-South African students. The statistics can be broken down as in table 8.

Table 8: Non-verbal Interactive Behaviours according to Race

Race	Consideration	Sharing	Smiling	Teasing	Touch	Total
Cross	1 [8.3%]	9 [31%]	1 [12.5%]	0 [0%]	3 [30%]	14 [21.08%]
Subaltern	5 [41.6%]	4 [13.7%]	3 [37.5%]	4 [80%]	0 [0%]	16 [25%]
White	6 [50%]	16 [55%]	4 [50%]	1 [20%]	7 [70%]	34 [53.1%]
Total	12 [18.75%]	29 [45.3%]	8 [12.5%]	5 [7.8%]	10 [15.6%]	64 [100%]

Although not much can be inferred from the above statistics, the sheer number of interactive behaviours exhibited by white students is significant. It is interesting to note that my observations indicated that the interactive behaviours between whites were sharing and touch, while between subaltern students they were consideration and teasing. Although no definitive conclusion can be offered, it is important to consider the effects of my participants' interactive behaviours on those *not* interacted with. By interacting with some students and not others, my informants aligned themselves with certain individuals while differentiating themselves from other individuals. As noted by Hannerz (1969:27), "there tends to be more interaction between people leading similar lives". Ultimately, the continuous employment of a *particular* behaviour with *particular* individuals began to entrench the notion of us and them. As noted by Eden (Chinese woman) on 10 November 1998: "They [the two cohorts] just tend to cluster together. There's like something. We're like parallel. We don't cross". And as further noted by Nikita (white South African woman) on the 5 August 1998: "As soon as you get into the class, when there is more people, people sort of start separating... I mean obviously different people are drawn to each other".

Despite the limited number of my observations of interactive behaviours, the events created by my informants and the interpretations of these events by other informants created a sense of separation -- an 'us and them' in the Commerce Honours class. When these interactive behaviours are considered in conjunction with the discussion of the opposite behaviour -- exclusion -- it is apparent that any 'covert' behaviour can be construed as a marker of difference or similarity (affiliation).

Exclusionary practices within the classroom environment

While students seemed to indicate their affiliation with one another through certain interactive behaviours, they seemed to indicate their non-affiliation by excluding themselves, or other students, from certain interactive events.

As I started my day observation of Lolah (black South African woman) on the 23 September 1998 she was particularly animated in her interaction with Rene (white South African woman). When Hope (Chinese woman) arrived, Lolah's level of interaction did not diminish. However, as my observation of her interactions continued, it was particularly obvious that Lolah's interaction had become non-existent when Rene included MG (white South African man) in

their conversation. Lolah had contextualised her behaviour towards MG, in the day observation, in a previous interview on the 10 July 1998 when she related the reaction to a request made by her, Santana (white foreign woman), Eden (Chinese woman) and Hope (Chinese woman) for an extension to the date of a test:

So one girl said like "oh I don't mind, don't mind you know". And then I said "oh no then that means I have to do this", which was a bit petty. But okay, it's fine. This guy [MG] in our class is a bit of a loony I think. I think he is more of a fascist than anything. He's like "oh then we might as well just fail the test tomorrow. I am writing the test. I don't care what". And he stormed out.

Lolah's perception of MG's non-support for her request conveyed to her that he was not supportive of her cohort of subalterns and herself. His behaviour led to his ultimate exclusion from any future consideration from, or interaction with, Lolah and her friends. For example on the 19 August 1998:

The class has not started as yet. Santana, Kristian, Lolah, Hope and Serena (all subaltern students) are already here. Hope is teasing Lolah incessantly – not too sure about what though. Lolah retorts jokingly to Hope "you are rude". They laugh. With that MG walks in and he greets Serena, Lolah and Hope by name. This is the first time that I have ever observed MG initiating any contact with students other than white students. They snub his attempt as no-one acknowledges his greeting. He drops his bag and while walking out comments sarcastically: "Hell you guys are friendly".

When he returns, Hope teases him by saying "you were drunk at the party". Lolah disregards the statement made by Hope and comments, "CP looks cute with his hair-cut". She is teasing Hope, as there's a rumour that Hope is infatuated with CP. Acknowledging Lolah's teasing, Hope retorts "I've never really taken notice of him". Eden who arrives during the conversation teases Lolah, who responds by play-hitting her.

During my observation Lolah (black South African woman) demonstrated her affiliation to particular individuals, none of whom included MG. Her rebuff of him, which starkly contrasted with her familiarity with Hope and Eden, was not only evident to MG, but to the rest of the participants as well. As noted by Kendon (1988:22), "... whenever people are co-present they are, all the time and inevitably, sources of information for one another".

Similarly the non-participation in 'external' white activities by subaltern students indicated their separation or exclusion from the white students. These activities will be discussed further in chapter five as the material is pertinent to the external environment.

Conclusion

To summarise, it can be inferred from the above that Commerce Honours students used certain verbal and non-verbal interactive behaviours, self-exclusion and exclusionary behaviour to create and demonstrate affiliation and distance between themselves and others. During the year, the repetition of these behaviours (and those behaviours I discuss in chapter five) seemed to indicate the existence of two cohorts of students in the class. These two cohorts began to represent an us and them. For example, as noted by Eden (Chinese woman), "I would group individuals together, because they tend to stick together. You see them together [10 November 1998]."

My discussion of identity markers in this chapter has progressed from obvious identity markers to the not so obvious. Although the discussion of each difference marker was not done chronologically, the discussion of each behaviour was meant to highlight the processual nature of the creation of a separatist hegemony. Each behaviour like a separate building block to a wall led to the creation of hard edges or boundaries which seemed impermeable within the Commerce Honours class. The creation of these edges was processual as with each behavioural event, or interaction, the definition and differentiation of one entity from another was set. For each behavioural set was 'played out' in the presence of an audience: an audience appreciative of the differentiation. As demonstrated in the chapter the most mundane behaviour cannot be ignored by social scientists investigating the creation and maintenance of difference, for each behaviour is meaningful to the person who exhibits the behaviour and the person who observes it.

Chapter Five

Differentiation within the external environment: the effects of South Africa's separatist hegemony continued

Introduction

As I indicated in chapter four, chapters four and five are closely linked as both chapters consider identity markers within the context of the Commerce Honours class. In chapter four I discussed identity markers which were relevant to the formal class environment and here, in chapter five, I discuss identity markers which were apparent in the external environment – passageways and cafeterias on-campus and restaurants off-campus. As I noted in chapter three, my own hegemonic socialisation of separatism within South Africa and its socialising institutions – schools, public areas, media – led to my own non-participation in my informants' activities outside the university environment. As a result the observational data for the off-campus environment that I can provide derives from informants' comments about activities which occurred off campus. Although I was not present to annotate my observations of these events, I include their perceptions of these events and/or encounters within the present chapter. I do so because their discussions relate directly to the persistence of a separatist hegemony within the external environment. It could be argued that there was a dialogic process between the internal environment and the external environment, as the two spheres seemed to mirror one another with regard to the kinds of interactions that occurred between informants.

I start with a discussion of my participants' perceptions about the prioritisation of academic work, as their perceptions are directly related to the discussion which follows concerning attendance or non-attendance of students at social gatherings. I then discuss some of the exclusionary practices exhibited by my informants.

Here, as in chapter four, my investigation of hegemony at the micro-level necessitated an investigation of micro events or interactive encounters. I thus paid particular attention to social venues frequented by informants on campus and to observations of focused or unfocused gatherings on campus. My discussion of events off campus focuses on the attendance or non-attendance of students at social gatherings hosted by fellow students or lecturers.

Identity markers in the external environment

a) Academic work

As noted in chapter four, the conversational topics discussed by my participants were diverse. The conversational topics seemed to demonstrate a difference in talk (conversational text) between what were evermore apparently two cohorts. The reader will recall how white students' conversational topics concerned social gatherings and personal information – fun activities – while subaltern students focused on academic work and the discussion of politics. These varied conversational emphases hinted at students' attitudes towards their academic work. As noted by Nikita (white South African woman) in her description of Lolah (black South African woman) on the 23 September 1998:

Before this semester I hardly knew Lolah. I like knew her as “march around, everything is under control”. You know like “I’ve got everything under control”. Like very assertive and almost “stay back” assertive.

And on 5 August 1998 she stated:

I think Hope, Eden, Santana and Lolah (all black and/or foreign women) seem to be very on top of things all the time. I think it's quite intimidating for others. They don't want to lose, because they might have a nervous breakdown. They seem to take it very seriously, the academics.

In the above extracts Nikita conveys how the subalterns' emphasis on academic work was a differentiator in the Commerce Honours class. Her words hint that their behaviour contrasted with her own. Lolah's self-description on 10 July 1998 corroborates Nikita's articulation about her prioritisation of academic work:

I know that I have to work to get anything decent. But I wasn't doing that. I wasn't, you know there. I was just getting by and for some reason or other I just wasn't there [she hints that she was not performing academically]. It's fine, I mean my class is very competitive. I don't know if you have noticed, and 70% is

basically a bit of a low mark. One of the lowest marks you can get. I'm not talking about one or two outliers that are, you know. But I'm talking generally. 70% is a bit low. And that's what I sunk to over this June exam, after my exams and then I actually thought it over the vac and I thought. 'Cos my close friend in class is Santana (foreign white woman), she's very very competitive and the other two Chinese girls as well. Okay the other one, actually she's more competitive than Hope. *And then I could feel the pressure.*

In the quoted extract Lolah corroborated Nikita's description of her as very concerned with academic work. She further commented that her competitiveness was shared by Santana, Eden and Hope -- her foreign friends in the Commerce Honours class

Santana too elucidated *her* prioritisation of academic work but through her discussion of the difference between university friends and friends at home.

You can be a friend with a person who understands that you are busy and they are not too demanding in that time. But you remain friends with each other. Also *you can't choose friends over academic [work]* because you will be hurting yourself. You have to know what your priorities are. Your friend has to understand that you also have constraints and that you are not financially independent and that you have to show your results to your parents [28 August 1998].

Here Santana identified reasons similar to that of Lolah's for trying to do well and making sure it was possible. Fundamentally, each of them prioritised their academic work over any other extramural activity. Note Santana's reference to prioritising academic work rather than social relationships and Lolah's reference to being pressured within the class environment.

Eden (Chinese woman) expressed a similar prioritisation of academic work to that expressed by Lolah and Santana through her actions on the 21 August 1998, as illustrated in my fieldnotes of that day:

I [researcher, Joy Owen] have just been made one of the participants by TL [lecturer]. He has placed me with Eden and MT (Chinese man). Immediately after the class, Eden, MT and myself go to TL's office. There TL defines the theory we would have to consider in our paper and presentation. Without 'missing-a-beat' Eden organises that we should search the Internet for material. We do this. The search is not productive and we decide to go to the library. Eden and I seem to have formed a researching team as MT wanders off continuously.

We use the library's searchable computer database. Armed with titles and location numbers, Eden and I go in search of the books. Once found, we do a quick scan of the content and index pages, searching for information specific to our topic. We also scan bibliographies. MT is nowhere to be found. Eden and I exchange our telephone numbers in case we need to talk to one another over the weekend. As we walk out of the library, with three books each, MT meets and stops us. We inform him of the general area to find material. We agree to meet on Monday to collate and standardise our information.

We meet Monday morning and, while ordering and transferring our information to overheads, Eden expresses concern that we do not have enough information. I try to appease her. On Tuesday -- the day of our presentation -- Eden indicates that she had checked and rechecked the sequence of her overheads. She has me doing the same.

Even though each student in the whole class participated in the formal academic environment, Lolah's, Santana's and Eden's -- subaltern students' -- determined prioritisation of academic work set them apart from the other students in the class. Their erudition, and their intensity in reference to their academic work contrasted with white students' interactive behaviour within the formal class environment. The prioritisation of their academic work seemed to influence, in part, their decision to attend social gatherings hosted by white students.

b) Attendance or non-attendance at social gatherings

As Santana's, Eden's, Hope's and Lolah's academic work-related behaviour had been identified as a differentiator in the Commerce Honours class environment by white students I expected to observe a contrasting behaviour and/or attitude amongst white students. The existence of a contrasting attitude became apparent when Lily (white South African woman) delineated the difference between 'groups' of students:

I see these two [pointing to the two groups that she drew¹ in a diagrammatic representation of the class] as being the strongest groups with specific characteristics. Um, I think, I may be totally wrong but I think this group [points to D, comprising all subaltern students] is partly reactionary to this [points to A, B and C, comprising white students] group. Um I think this group [pointing to A, B and C] is a common ground group in terms, of um, *particular types of socialising or culture of socialising or ways of experiencing life. Ways of what they understand to be having fun and what one does in the evenings and what one ... that kind of thing* [13 November 1998].

Here, as the academic environment offered the backdrop to our discussion, Lily emphasised the most salient difference marker for her – socialising behaviour. Lily recognised that a shared understanding of socialising was what bound people in entity B together and what distinguished them from people in entity A, as indicated on her diagram. Lily also identified that the dominance portrayed by B, of which she was a member, had been *historically sanctioned* within South Africa. She stated:

I think that this is such a strong culturally defined group and just that it has been identified as the dominant group in society for the past number ... However dominant is the wrong word ... but most powerful group in society for the most ... for the last however number of years, means that there are so many things that run back for ages and psychologically they had the upperhand. And I think that that group [entities A, B and C] must be very intimidating and sometimes especially for Lolah. I think she gets very defensive, whereas ... and because this is so a

¹ See Appendix 10 for Lily's diagrammatic representation of the class.

culturally mixed/diverse [entity] it almost seems to me that [it] just says something. That there's some reaction there. It's just the power relations that I think especially in this country that we have inherited [13 November 1998].

Lily commented further:

Um and this group [pointing to the subalterns] if I say reactio[nary] we were actually talking about it the other night because I went out for supper. Anna, Leigh and Sam and myself, and Nikki [all white South African women] were there for a while, and we were just talking about the how ... why it is that these people [points to D] mostly never join in things that we try so hard to include them in. And I was saying that I don't think it's a matter of this group not making ... they were saying how they don't make an effort. We try and include them in, and they don't make the effort. I don't entirely see it like that.

In the above extract, Lily recognised that the dominance sanctioned within South Africa persisted within the Commerce Honours class. She further realised that this historic dominance, exhibited by herself and her white friends, and the reactionary 'defensiveness' portrayed by the subaltern students, distinguished the two cohorts from one another.

The defensive postures portrayed by members of the subaltern cohort were exhibited in their behaviour with reference to their attendance at social gatherings hosted or organised by white students. In describing the differences between the two groups² which she had drawn, Lily recognised that her notion of fun, and a particular way of socialising, were similarity markers rather than differentiators for the white students: note how she relates who had been present at the social gathering -- Leigh, Sam, Nikita, Anna and Nikki -- members of entities A, B and C and therefore all white women.

Lily expressed an understanding of the created hegemony which was based on 'race', although she refers to culture. She also recognised that the attitude assumed by the white students towards the

² My use of the word groups could be replaced by the words entities or cohorts. The use here of groups is not meant to be indicative of a definable or static unit, but rather as a term reflecting the composition of Lily's diagrammatic representation.

subalterns was paternalistic – as white students they were offering entry into their cohort on their own terms, but for the supposed benefit of the subalterns. And, rather than be appreciative of the invitation, the subalterns seemed contemptuous of the invitation as they did *not* attend the social gatherings.

The importance to the white students of attending social gatherings had been foregrounded for me earlier in the year when the students had initially met and then organised an impulsive social gathering. The perceptions created at this initial gathering did not augur well for the rest of the year. As stated by Lolah (black South African woman) on 10 July 1998:

The very first week of the term we got orientated. We had to go to the Development Unit as a class to ... I think this was for the long paper ... Prof. W was arranging to get the resources ... and we went to the Unit as a class and afterwards somebody suggested we should go out for a drink. Actually it was Nikita (white South African woman) . She lives in that part of town. Oranjezicht or something ... actually it's Tamboerskloof, ja. And then she actually said "do you guys actually want to come". *She didn't just say "let's go for a drink" and assume that everyone [would come].* At 4 no it was 2pm, on a Friday afternoon.

SG (white South African man) he's cool. He actually stuck around to give us a lift because Santana (foreign white woman) was upstairs chatting. And so he gave us a lift there and we were going to get a lift back with Santana's uncle. So she'd made the arrangement. This was like the first week. And then we go and get there and everyone's sitting down at this place. So we chill. *And, excuse me, it's like we weren't even there, okay?* Unfortunately, by the time we came, everyone was sitting on a ... at a long set of tables. So we had to sit at the corner. People were chatting and someone would talk about something interesting and you would sort of try to interact. But no ... it was like we were not there. I don't know if they expected us to come there and just like blend, be part of the grey. But, anyway, we ended up having our little chat and drink and then it was time to go home. But I think that was actually what was off-putting, the first time. And actually every event ... after like a test or whatever people would arrange ... they go out to

Rondebosch, and they like going to [Cape] Town. I am waiting for my tutor's salary to get a life. And when I do get it I am not prepared to spend a R100 a night, [or] whatever, on sushi or whatever. *I mean, hullo, that's not a priority at this stage.*

For Lolah this initial social gathering crystallised a perception that the white students would prefer to interact with each other while excluding her friends and herself -- the subaltern students -- in the future. She interpreted Nikita's personal interaction as a slight, rather than as a gesture of friendship. This event became Lolah's benchmark for deciding whether or not to attend later social gatherings planned by the white students. The continued planning and hosting of social gatherings by white students had opportuned the creation of a boundary -- further crystallising the boundaries which had been created within the formal class environment. As stated by Nikita on 5 November 1998, with reference to an invitation to one of the initial gatherings:

I really tried to encourage Hope (Chinese woman) to come and she said no, because [of] Eden (Chinese woman), she would feel like a traitor. I was taken aback, because, I thought, "what?" She did not want to come because *her little, that group of friends*, weren't keen to come and so she wasn't going to come. Although she said she wanted to come, and that she would love to come. So I think that's quite a tension going on, obviously.

By refusing Nikita's invitation Hope communicated to her that she was excluding herself because of her allegiance to Eden. Nikita interpreted Hope's reaction to the invitation as representative of Hope's cohort of friends, the subaltern students: note Nikita's reference to "her little, that group of friends". By excluding themselves from the social gatherings organised by white students, the subaltern students resisted the dominant notion of fun and their types of socialising. Similarly, by continuing to invite the subaltern students as if they were not included in the initial invitations, the white students alienated the subaltern students, further affirming that they were subordinate. Therefore the dominant and the dominated had together created a boundary which was being maintained by both, either through inclusionary or exclusionary behaviours. The acceptance of invitations to social gatherings and the eventual attendance at these gatherings had become defining moments for the existence of an identity marker.

For the white students, attendance at the social gatherings was an important indicator of inclusion: an indicator of the acceptance of their socialising behaviour. For the subaltern students it was an indicator of exclusion and an opportunity to resist. While the white students complained that the subaltern students were not interacting, or willing to interact, especially when they tried so hard to include them, the subaltern students were complaining that the white students were not willing to accommodate *their* needs. As noted by Santana (foreign white woman) on 28 September 1998,

I think the problem in our class is the balance of not only the racial balance, but also where you come from ... The problem is that you have a majority of, sorry to say this, white South Africans, who have a different income, have a different way of life than the rest. And what's happening, also these students they ... I don't know if they want to see that things have changed or they just force [us] to have the same way of life and actually they make these dinners, and they invite us. But they invite us to Camps Bay to eat sushi or something. That is not part, or is very expensive, or not part of your diet. *I don't see them trying to accommodate all different people and all different income people.* That group I think they go out a lot. I never went with them because I have different constraints you see. And I think that's what happening with Lolah (black South African woman) and Eden (Chinese woman) as well.

Here Santana corroborated Lily's articulations about the hegemony being created by white students -- both identify the effects of South Africa's hegemony at work within the class environment. Notice Santana's emphasis on white South Africans' different way of life and her recognition that the hegemony persists within the class -- "I don't know if they want to see that things have changed or they just *force* [us] to have the same way of life". Further, the notion of accommodation, as referred to by Santana, had specific reference to the places or venues chosen by the white students for the gatherings. Most of the venues chosen were expensive and, to the subaltern students, the expense was not worthwhile.

Recall Lolah's (black South African woman) reference to not wanting to spend R100 a night on sushi (10 July 1998). And then Eden (Chinese woman) who said:

I don't really mix with most of my classmates. I just feel that it is a *waste of time*. It's a weird philosophy, but it's just a waste of time to go out with people I don't really like to go out with...I'd rather stay home and listen to music or read some books or write to my boyfriend (Eden, 23 September 1998).

An attempt by the subaltern to influence the choice of venue for the social gatherings was unsuccessful. On 2 September 1998, I recorded:

As I have been invited to another social gathering by Sam I decide to go up to the Commerce Honours department to check the Commerce Honours message board for the venue and time of the gathering. When I arrive upstairs Nikita (white South African woman) is having a conversation with SG (white South African man). Nikita stands with the chalk at the ready -- she wants to write down the venue. Santana (foreign white woman) sees us standing there and she walks up to us and asks: "What's happening?" Not long after her arrival Hope (Chinese woman) joins us. Santana complains that she has to return Lolah's notes to her, but that she cannot find her anywhere. Hope (Chinese woman) offers to return them to her. As Santana leaves, Hope and I look at the notice that Nikita has put up. She has indicated that the gathering will be in Camps Bay (an upmarket suburb situated on the Atlantic Seaboard: approximately 30 minutes by car away from Rondebosch).

Hope asks her if the gathering cannot be held closer to campus as "It's going to be a mission to get there". Nikita seems indecisive: she erases the venue and writes Kloof Street as suggested by the post-graduate assistant who has just walked by. SG (white South African man) comments: "Why don't you guys just go to the Greek restaurant in Rondebosch? It's in front of the station and you can even break some plates there."

CP (white South African man) joins us and SG asks him if he knows the name of the Greek restaurant. CP answers "no". By this time, Nikita seems really frustrated and she tells SG "Stop giving me grief. You're not coming anyway."

Rene (white South African woman), who has just arrived, adds: "Can we please decide? I don't want to come all the way to campus just to find out where we're going." Completely flustered now, Nikita says "I'm going to leave it. Lily (white South African woman) can put the address down tomorrow". Having said that she puts Camps Bay down as the venue.

In the above extract, Nikita, although indecisive, maintained the original decision made to go to Camps Bay by writing it down, despite Hope's (a subaltern) dislike of the choice of venue. By so doing Nikita expressed the 'non-accommodation' referred to by Santana above. Nikita also contradicted the sentiments she had articulated on the 5 August 1998: she had expressed a desire to welcome Hope to the gatherings by inviting her personally. But her insistence now on the particular Camps Bay venue, especially after Hope's disgruntled articulations, contrasted with her earlier expressed desire. Nikita's actions were thus unwelcoming to the varied tastes and monetary circumstances (discussed further on) of the subaltern students – a point made consistently by Lolah and Santana.

I came to understand yet more clearly the importance of attendance at social gatherings as a signifier of difference when Serena (Indian South African woman) was mildly reprimanded for her non-attendance at Prof. W's party by TL [lecturer].

It is the morning of the 19 August 1998 and I am sitting in the post-graduate computer lab. Serena is seated opposite me. Both of us are responding to email messages. While sitting there, I see TL walk past and look in. He turns back and enters the lab. He stands opposite Serena and asks her "Why weren't you at the party last night? You missed an existential crisis in the Commerce Honours department." Serena does not provide a reason for her non-attendance, but rather states "Yes, I've heard the whole morning that I missed a good one". Seemingly satisfied with the response, TL departs.

Although little can be inferred from this event, it can be concluded that the white students were not the only ones who observed, and formed impressions of, students' absence at social gatherings. At

least one of the lecturers [TL] seemed to be supporting the attendance at social gatherings as they questioned the dissenters — the subalterns.

c) Income and personal possessions

The availability of disposable income to students was directly linked to their attendance or non-attendance at social gatherings, as most of the venues chosen for the gatherings were expensive. As noted by Santana (foreign white woman), with regard to the differences between the dominant and the subordinate positions on social gatherings:

I don't see race, I see a common background. And when we call it same background, it's same *financial status*. All of them own a car³. We cannot go to the places that they go to. They set meetings at Clifton and Camps Bay. Why? *Because they have money to pay for th[ese] expensive restaurants and they have cars to go there. We don't. We don't have the money and we don't have the car* (23 November 1998).

Here Santana breaks down the difference marker of attendance at social gatherings to the more fundamental difference markers of income and possessions. The reader will recall Lolah's (black South African woman) narration of the very first social gathering (page 126) attended by the class. In it Lolah noted that Santana had had to negotiate transportation home for the two of them with her uncle. Santana noted that the white students in the class possessed disposable income. She stated:

[If] we analyse, like for instance, all of the groups at all this social events, that they form it's like all ... all is in Clifton which is a very expensive restaurant and so on. I am not saying that they are trying to exclude people, you know. But because they cannot set a place in Nando's, because they don't go to Nando's. Do you understand? *The majority of the class [white students] has the means to afford th[ese] expensive restaurants and to go and eat sushi*. And, because they are the majority, they don't pay attention., Neil (foreign black man) and Kristian

³ See Appendix 5 for a list of participants' characteristics.

(foreign Indian man) can't go. They [the whites] don't sit down and think. They take all these things for granted.

Here Santana clearly highlighted the existence of a dominant position: a position which excluded her presence, and that of other subalterns -- Lolah, Neil and Kristian -- from the social gatherings held by white students. The dominant position thus encouraged attendance at expensive restaurants. When one deconstructs the focus on students' attendance at social gatherings, one then finds the not so obvious identity marker of disposable income. A student's access to disposable income *could* allow for entry into the dominant position, for as commented by Santana:

So its something like, if you were Chinese, Indian, black, coloured, no matter what, if you had the same money and if you belong to the same economic class then you would go. You know then you would not be rejected (23 November 1998).

Here Santana seems to reflect then that if she had the money she would not be excluded from, or exclude herself, from white students' gatherings. However the dialogic process of differentiation occurs at various levels. The possession, or non-possession, of disposable income was not the only differentiator. For, as noted by Santana herself (see chapter four), students differentiated themselves from one another using various identity markers such as accent, conversational text and use of language. Therefore the possession of disposable income was a difference marker for Santana as she did not have enough to participate in white gatherings. In sum, Santana thus hinted that she would have been able to 'buy a position' in the white cohort if she had had enough money.

d) Exclusionary Practices

Self-exclusion

Many of my informants practised self-exclusion or exclusion of others in the external environment, thus maintaining the distance created within the Commerce Honours class in the classroom environment. While on the surface it seemed as if the white students were trying to include subaltern students by inviting them to social gatherings, the subaltern students seemed to be excluding themselves from interaction with them.

I observed an example of 'self-exclusion' during my day observation of Lolah (black South African woman) on 23 September 1998. Given Lolah's history with MG (white South African man) -- discussed in chapter four -- her self-exclusion from any interaction with him was to be understood. Lolah demonstrated her disregard for MG by interacting with Rene (white South African woman) and not interacting with him. In the following extract from my fieldnotes I contrast Lolah's interaction with Rene with Lolah's and MG's interaction. When one reads the extract one is aware of Lolah's verbal silence although her presence is obvious -- note her spatial positioning in relation to Rene and MG.

While we queue for service at the Moot Room, Lolah and Rene converse about the exchange rate, as Rene has intimated that she has a couple of pounds left, after her trip to England. They bemoan the strengthening rand. They each buy coffee, but Hope (Chinese woman) does not buy anything. We walk to the stairs teasing Hope about her infatuation with an unknown male in the Environmental Studies programme. She blushes. We meet Nikita (white South African woman) and MG on the stairs. Rene greets him, which compels the rest of us to follow suit. Rene takes a seat next to him, and Lolah, although seated next to Rene, is not within direct eyesight or verbal contact of MG. In this way she seems to avoid him. I am aware of the mutual dislike between MG and Lolah as they do not greet one another. Lolah's self-positioning and her non-acknowledgement of MG communicates to him that she is not willing to engage with him -- he responds in kind. Lolah remains absent from the conversation that ensues.

Rene, teasing Hope, comments that her other object of infatuation is sitting with two girls just above us. We giggle and Hope says, "I am leaving. I've got work to do." Lolah remains seated and so I hang around. I have not seated myself as I would like to observe all the interactions. Rene introduces the topic of male-female relationships and MG comments that all males use the words I love you to get women into bed. I happen to agree with him but, seeking to have a conversation with him, I indicate that not all men are the same. With that, CP (white South African man) joins us and I ask him for his opinion. He agrees that

not all men use those three words to bed women. We argue about whose argument is more feasible.

Lolah remains a passive observer throughout. She does not contribute anything, even though Rene is also participating in the discussion. Lolah picks up my rain jacket, folds it and says, to no-one in particular, that she is going into class, as it is about to start. Without greeting the others she walks off, and I follow her since I am observing her today.

Here Lolah clearly communicated that she would engage with Rene but not with MG. Lolah thus not only excluded MG from her interactions (discussed in chapter four) but she also excluded herself from interactions with him. Whether he actually observed her rebuffs is not important. It is important to recognise how *she* demonstrated the difference she perceived between herself and him.

Lolah was not the only one to exclude herself from interactive situations. Throughout 1998 although Serena (Indian South African woman) seemed interested in participating in white gatherings, her own actions communicated that she was not entirely comfortable doing so. On 6 October 1998, my day observation of Serena, the Labour studies students went to the Moot room on DP's (coloured South African man) suggestion. In the following extract, taken from my day observation of Serena, her participation seems half-hearted because her verbal participation is minimal and her spatial placing seems to voice her intentions: to be an observer of, rather than an active participant in, the interactive event.

While walking to the Moot room, Rene, Serena and DP discuss the recent Commerce class discussion with reference to the comments made by the lecturer. They also discuss the lecturer's idiosyncratic remarks. DP walks slightly ahead with Rene, and Serena and I follow. When we reach the Moot room, Serena asks DP to buy her coffee while she goes to the loo. Nikita arrives and, standing at the door with a cigarette in her hand, she beseeches DP to buy her coffee. He obliges. Serena returns and after DP has given her her cup of coffee we walk to Nikita. DP gives Nikita her coffee and Serena, Rene and I sit in the sun on the outside ledge, just opposite the glass doors of the Moot room. Nikita and DP remain

standing. They constantly enter each other's personal space, either touching each other's hands or shoulders.

In the conversation that ensues, Serena is relatively quiet. She seems slightly removed from the general banter, leaning against the wall. Her general demeanour is that of an observer. The space between her and Rene is larger than the space between myself and Rene. Nikita recounts that she took MG for dinner last night to her parents. Serena expresses surprise at the information that MG stays with Nikita. I wonder at how little the participants really know about one another. DP, Rene and Nikita discuss their plans for 1999. Serena remains obtrusively silent about her plans, making the odd comment with reference to remarks made by the others. The others do not seem to notice her verbal absence as they do not actively engage her in the conversations.

DP intimates that he will be moving to the Netherlands with his wife and children. He implores Nikita to visit him. Laughing she agrees. Rene discloses that she has been offered employment in Johannesburg and that she will be taking it up. DP congratulates her by hugging her. And then he reprimands her for not telling him sooner. She says there has not been enough time to communicate her plans to him.

The event ends when DP indicates that he has to go to work. He tells Serena that they will talk again and, turning to Nikita, he hugs and kisses her on the cheek. The gathering moves off in different directions. Although Nikita walks to the computer lab, Serena does not accompany her. Serena and I walk to the computer lab alone.

Throughout this interaction Serena was physically present, but not an active participant -- the focus of interaction was triangular: between Rene, Nikita and DP. The close interaction between DP and Nikita was not surprising as they were friends. On two other occasions, I had observed Serena's entrance into interactions with white students and then her abrupt departure from these interactions. In this manner she seemed to demonstrate her tentative willingness to enter the dominant space. However her early exits reflected her hesitation to participate fully in white

interactions, and it also seemed to demonstrate her isolation from this cohort of students. As she commented on 7 July 1998:

You know Joy, I tend to group people in the class. Into two groups. Crudely the groups would be white and non-white. I mean the white students are always in a group and they do things together. For example I went to one of those outings that they planned, for coffee or something. And I was the only non-white person there.

In the above quoted extract, Serena provides a reason for her abrupt departures: she had interpreted the white cohort's regular fraternisation with one another as the establishment of a group -- a group in which she did not feel comfortable because of her different racial categorisation ("I was the only non-white person there"). In sum, Serena practised a degree of self-exclusion because of her own perceived racial difference from the white students which resulted in her discomfort with members of the white cohort.

Subaltern exclusion

In the events reported above, subaltern students -- Lolah (black South African woman) and Serena (Indian South African woman) maintained the distance created within the classroom environment in the external environment too, through self-exclusion from activities planned by white students. However, their exclusion on campus was not only self-exclusionary. White students also excluded subaltern students from their activities. For example:

I walked into Enviro today (4 September 1998), sat next to Hope and then started chatting with Anna (white South African woman) about my traffic fine. Anna recounts her experience of violating traffic rules and the fines that she has received. The class starts even though TL (lecturer) is not present, so I take a seat at the back. Hope (Chinese woman) remains at the table. She is situated between Anna, Nikki and Lily (white South African women), but they speak to one another excluding her -- they do not make eye contact with her and they do not include her in their conversation.

Once the presentation is complete we sit around waiting for TL to arrive. Before long there's a general consensus to end the session. As we get up, Nikki, Lily, Anna, Sam and Leigh, all white South African women, agree to meet at Cavendish Square to watch a movie. Boldly I invite myself and Hope to the gathering. Leigh looks at me questioningly but we all decide to meet in front of the cinema. Once there, Hope and I find that Anna and Sam are the only two (of the original five white students) who are there. Anna informs us that Nikki, Leigh and Lily have reconsidered, and have left. I find their behaviour peculiar as they had been excited about watching a movie earlier in the class. Sam, stating that she also has some work to complete, takes her leave of us. Anna, Hope and I remain.

The behaviour of these four white women seemed very peculiar in light of their expressed eagerness to watch a movie. Had Hope and I, as subalterns, intruded on an event which was meant to be for those of the dominant entity? This argument seemed viable. The 'white exodus', and the fact that neither Hope nor I were told by them about their decision to leave, left us wondering. Even if their reasons for leaving were beyond reproach, both Hope and I were left with the impression that we had been rejected. And I came away with the added impression that we were only welcome when invited by an individual among them. Assuming that one was naturally included in a decision to watch a movie, as part of the Enviro class, could not be entertained if the assumption was made by a subaltern. One had to be invited to be accepted/allowed in their company. Hope and I were thus being told, in no uncertain terms, that we had committed a *faux pas*, through the other four's very decision to leave without informing us thereof directly.

The apparent exclusionary behaviour exhibited in the above example replayed on a field trip to Table Mountain, approximately two weeks later. Johan, Sam, Leigh, Lily, Hope and other non-Commerce Honours students went to Table Mountain as part of the Enviro course. On the Tuesday (22 September 1998) after their return, Hope was aggrieved by the white students' behaviour on the expedition. She complained that they had completely ignored her while on the expedition, from the very day of their arrival until the end. She commented that the non-Commerce students had noticed the white women's behaviour and that they had started talking to her. She recounted how a black non-Commerce woman student had empathised with her situation by sharing her own experiences of exclusion at UCT. For Hope then, the expedition up the mountain

reaffirmed the subaltern position ascribed to her earlier on 4 September 1998, as the dominant students 'closed ranks'.

Spatial Exclusion

Besides actively excluding themselves and other students within the external environments, students also articulated their differentiation through spatial location. Although all of the Commerce Honours students frequented the Moot Room, it was the white students who transformed it into *their* hang-out. As discussed earlier, the levels of their disposable incomes led to their being able to frequent expensive restaurants. Within the non-classroom environment on campus their quite high disposable income levels meant that they were inclined to buy more than what the subaltern students could or did. Throughout the 1998 academic year I observed more white students with coffee and luxuries than any of the subaltern students. However, what further differentiated them from the subaltern students was their tendency to 'hang out' in, or near, the spatial environment of the Moot Room. As indicated by Sam "Joy you should join us in the Moot Room for coffee before class starts. Or even between classes. That is the place where things happen" (19 August 1998).

The Moot Room and the surrounding area were recognised as white students' space because, although subaltern students bought coffee from the Moot Room, they never 'hung around' within the general area. For example:

During the break I accompany Anna and Nikita (both white South African women) to the Moot Room on Anna's invitation. Anna goes in to buy coffee while Nikita and I sit on the ledge. While we wait, Serena (Indian South African woman) comes out of the Moot Room with a packet of Nik Naks and she offers some of them to Nikita and myself. Not long after, Leigh, Nikki and Johan (all white students) come out of the Moot Room and Johan suggests we stand in the sun. SG (white South African man) arrives and so does Kath (coloured South African woman). One moment Serena is speaking to Kath and the next moment she's gone [19 August 1998].

Again on the 7 October 1998:

I am doing my day observation with Nikita. Nikita (white South African woman) and I meet on the steps outside the Moot Room. Leigh arrives and she offers Nikita (white South African woman) a roll. Nikita declines the offer. DP (coloured South African man) arrives and he sits between Nikita and myself. Anna (white South African woman) arrives next – she's been away for 2 days. She looks all the better for her absence. Leigh tells us about Lily's piano recital in Bloemfontein. Nikita, Anna and DP dash off for coffee. Upon their return, Serena walks past. DP invites her to join us, but she declines the invitation saying "I'm going to class."

Not only do both events above show Serena's 'haste' in leaving the dominant area, but they also demonstrate the importance of invitation. In both events, subalterns -- Serena and I -- are invited into dominant space: we cannot assume that our presence will be 'naturally' accepted. The invitations also hint at, and affirms, our subalterneity. I was a subaltern on three levels: not only was I a coloured South African and a non-peer, but I was also a researching outsider. Serena was a subaltern by virtue of her affiliation with the subaltern cohort and her racial categorisation -- Indian South African.

The rest of the subaltern students did not frequent the recognised white space at all, preferring to purchase food from Leslie Cafeteria⁴ or to talk before the class started within the classroom environment. On at least three occasions I walked into the various classes attended by all the students to find that the subaltern students were chatting in the classroom before the lecture started. This spatial behaviour seemed to mimic the priorities expressed earlier by my participants. The subalterns frequented the classroom environment -- they prioritised academic work -- while the dominant frequented the local cafeteria environment -- they prioritised social gatherings. The dominant students turned every break into a social encounter in a social environment, something the subalterns seemed to feel was inappropriate (they were there to work) and something which they could not afford financially.

⁴In general mostly black students frequent the Leslie cafeteria and its surrounds. Black students are found at the pool tables throughout the day and the cafeteria offers a wider variety of foods at slightly cheaper prices than the Moot Room.

Conclusion

In sum, each of the behaviours or attitudes expressed by my participants in their day-to-day activities in what I have called the external environment of the formal Commerce Honours class led to a further identity marker or differentiator being added to the list. Clearly the dominant position within the external environment revolved around money and its possession: around the 'haves' rather than the 'have-nots'. As South African history had privileged whites during the apartheid era, it was not surprising that the individuals with money in the Commerce Honours class were white and that those without money were black. However, the situation created within the Commerce Honours class had not been solely dependent on money or disposable income. Another factor, the prioritisation of academic work, encouraged differentiation within the class. It was intriguing to note that the subaltern students prioritised their academic work. It could be argued that the academic arena seemed most neutral as all the students were supposedly participating within the environment on equal terms. If this supposition is accepted it could be said that it was in the academic arena that the subalterns felt that they could 'prove' that they were not really subordinate, but equal to the dominant/hegemonising entity. Yet, as we have seen in chapter four, even in the classroom, practices of both lecturers and white students often helped simply to reinforce the sense, for subaltern students, of their persistent subordinated statuses. Effectively then, a sense of us and them had been created within the Commerce Honours class environment. It was one which seemed to mimic the separatist hegemony of the old apartheid era: everyone had his or her place in apartheid South African society.

Chapter Six

Hegemony Concluded?

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society, in which all persons live together, in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Nelson Mandela (Rivonia Trial speech, 20 April 1964)

Introduction

My main theme in the previous five chapters has been to understand the process of hegemonisation: hegemonisation in the macro-context, the effects of hegemonisation on the fieldwork site, my personal hegemonisation through socialisation in South Africa and the process of hegemonisation and its effects on my research participants in the classroom and broader university environments.

In doing the above my dissertation has demonstrated the processual nature of hegemony within the Commerce Honours class, its proponents and resisters, the arena in which it occurred and the manner in which it achieved salience. The salient hegemony within the Commerce Honours class, although not as coercive as was South Africa's apartheid hegemony, had the same consequence: separatism. And, as with the apartheid hegemony, white students were defined and characterised as dominant while black and international students became subaltern and were defined and portrayed as subordinated others. Unlike within the apartheid state, there was no legislation regulating interactions between the two cohorts of students. Yet it could be argued that, the liberal intentions of an institution such as the University of Cape Town notwithstanding, the objective of separatist hegemony created by apartheid was still firmly in place and manifested as a 'natural' differentiation between the races. Apartheid's separatist hegemony continued to be a 'true' hegemony: compulsive, rather than coercive in nature, and persistent in its dependence on 'race' as a primary differentiator.

It is important, now, in conclusion to return to the issue of race and how as a primary differentiator, it seemed to underpin all the identity markers discussed in chapters four and five. Race as noted by Manzo (1996:19),

has no stable meaning ... But what is common to those conceptions picked up by nationalist thought over time ... is not skin color in part or even physical type more generally. *It is the association of race with natural difference – with the shared characteristics of social groups that cannot be chosen or shed [my emphasis].*

And as commented by Solomos and Back (1996:xiv)

We do not often see race as a natural category in any sense, though it is often used as such. Race ... [is] an ideological entit[y] that [is] made and remade through struggle. In this sense race can be seen as a discursive category through which differences are accorded social significance. *But it is also more than just a discursive category since it carries with it material consequences for those who are included within, or excluded from, a particular racial identity [my emphasis].*

Race is so salient a signifier of difference that it comes to appear to be a natural one. Why, then have I not foregrounded it in my earlier discussion, especially since the separatist hegemony created within South Africa was based on race? I understood from the onset that the hegemony created by colonisation and apartheid had favoured and privileged whites over blacks, and as a result it was a given that there would be some racial tension amongst a racially diverse group of students, such as those in the Commerce Honours class. Yet I have so far not discussed that factor. I now turn to explaining why.

As noted by Gramsci (Boggs, 1976), hegemonisation occurs at a number of levels with people using various devices, one of which is race, to differentiate themselves. Therefore it was important to consider the other levels. Although race and its connotations have assumed saliency as a marker of difference within academia in recent times (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Jenkins, 1996; Rex and Mason, 1986; Solomos and Back, 1996), I wanted to demonstrate in my dissertation that

Members of a community [in my case the Commerce Honours class] can make virtually anything grist to the symbolic mill of cultural distance, whether it be the effects upon it of some centrally formulated government policy, or matters of dialect, dress, drinking, marrying or dying (Cohen, 1986:14).

Therefore if people wished to create distance, for whatever reason, race would not necessarily be the first and only differentiator. Throughout my ethnographic chapters, however, it is apparent that all the other difference markers seemed to create two race-oriented cohorts: one that was racially exclusive – white – and the other of mixed race. My repeated parenthetical identifications of individuals' racial categorisations reflect precisely that appearance and my difficulty, throughout, with trying to avoid treating race as a primary difference marker. Perusal of three of my participants' diagrammatic representations of the cohorts in the class, attached as Appendices 11, 12 and 13, provides further evidence for the contention that difference marked two race-oriented social cohorts. I have chosen the diagrammatic representations of a white South African student, an Indian South African student and a Chinese student to provide a diverse perception of the 'racial' context within the Commerce Honours class environment.

Given that all three perceptions, and indeed one shared by my other research participants, all showed there were two dominant and racially exclusive cohorts within the Commerce Honours class, I am compelled to consider the salience of race as a signifier of difference that underpins the difference markers I have discussed in earlier chapters. In the following section I contextualise the difference markers discussed in chapters four and five, by considering the racial construction of difference within South Africa.

In chapter four I demonstrated how differentiation occurred within the Commerce Honours class. Significantly, when considering those students who differentiated themselves in their dress code, I observed that white students represented the differentiating entity. Their differentiation was not merely based on the kinds of clothing they wore, but also the total impression they conveyed through their clothing and the manner in which they wore it – one was aware that their clothing articles were expensive, part of the then current fashion trend and of good quality. Thus, I concluded, white students had money to spend on clothing, while the subaltern students did not

because of the clothing they wore and/or the manner in which they wore them. In sum, race, at first glance, did not seem to feature as a contributing factor in students' clothing differentiation. But when one contextualises the differentiation within South African society, one comes to realise how racial categorisation and its connotations underpinned dressing behaviour within the Commerce Honours class.

The perception of white students as being in possession of money was further entrenched from my observations of their buying behaviour. As commented in chapter five, the white students were often observed within the surrounding area of the Moot room – a more expensive cafeteria on campus than the one frequented by subaltern students. Similarly the white students seemed to possess 'unlimited' buying power as they were regularly observed buying food from the Moot room. The fact that most white students resided in private accommodation and had their own transport, and that most subaltern students either stayed at home or in university residences, further confirmed the perception that white students had access to significant disposable income, whereas subaltern students did not.¹

A perception had been created by white students, even if unintentional, identifying them as wealthier than subaltern students.

When one considers South Africa's apartheid history and the manner in which wealth was distributed within the country's population, it is not surprising that the wealthy individuals within the Commerce Honours class were white. For, ultimately, wealth in South Africa had been distributed along racial lines – recall my discussion of mass urbanisation and the development of racial classes within South Africa in chapter one. The fact that race and class remain inextricably linked within South African society continues to be recognised by the current government:

The social and economic structure of our society is such that the distribution of wealth, income, poverty, disease, land, skills, occupations, intellectual resources and opportunities for personal advancement as well as the patterns of human settlement, are determined by the criteria of race and colour (Thabo Mbeki, 30 August 2000).

¹ See Appendix 5.

Language, as discussed in chapter four, was also a salient marker of difference within the Commerce Honours class as it identified those who spoke grammatically correct English using the 'correct' accent. As discussed there, white students seemed to represent the dominant entity as certain subaltern students recognised that they were culturally differentiated merely through verbal communication. I observed that most, if not all, of the subaltern students -- myself included -- spoke differently from white students².

Most of the subaltern students spoke English as a second language, and most of them obtained their schooling at government schools, whereas all of the white students had attended white schools known for their 'superior' resources. Again, this educational situation was born out of South Africa's particular history. As a result of the apartheid government's insistence on foregrounding the use of English and Afrikaans as media of instruction in all schools (see chapter one), and the apartheid government's inequitable provision of resources by race, it is not surprising that white students were perceived as speaking 'correct' English, as the South African educational system had supported this eventuality.

Table 9: Total estimated expenditure on education for all population categories, 1983-4

Population Category	Estimated Total Expenditure (in rands)
African education in white areas	561 318 000
Education in non-independent homelands	289 891 134
Education in 'independent' homelands	317 509 000
Indian education	235 052 000
'Coloured education'	450 736 000
White education	2 062 624 000
TOTAL	3 907 130 134

Source: The Right to Learn (1985:130)

² Indeed, as noted in chapter three, the very process of being subjected to my supervisor's repeated 'corrections' of my language, as used in this dissertation, reflects the same process at work.

In sum, the apartheid government provided educational resources based on pupils' racial categorisation and this led to inferior education for black pupils and students – a result which seemed to find articulation in the Commerce Honours class through correctly spoken and accented English.

When one considers that subaltern students emphasised their academic work within an institution which was perceived to cater for white students only, and that they had previously been disempowered and categorised as 'less than' white students in educational institutions, then one can understand why it was important for subaltern students to do well academically at an institution also perceived as 'one of the best' in South Africa – UCT. Subaltern students, through participating in this educational system, could empower themselves and 'prove' their equal status to white students within an institution perceived as 'white' – within the bowels of the dominant arena. Again, even if it seemed as if race was not a contributing factor to subalterns students' emphasis on academic work, I came to realise that students' experiences within the apartheid educational system seemed to have compelled a subaltern proclivity to work hard.

Finally, if one considers the remaining identity markers I have discussed in chapters four and five – interactive behaviours and exclusionary practices – it is apparent that race underpinned these behaviours too as they resulted in the maintenance of two quite clearly racially exclusive cohorts. It makes sense that students aligned themselves with other students of similar racial categorisation when one considers that segregation had been legislated in schools, living areas, public places etc. during apartheid, and that the legacy of this legislation is still present within South African society. The recent Conference on Racism, hosted by the Human Rights Commission in August 2000, affirmed the central conclusion in my thesis: race remains a salient identity marker within South African society. In my own microcosmic case study, race clearly continued to underpin identity markers in the internal and external environments of the Commerce Honours class. Even when I ignored its salience, the fact that two racially exclusive cohorts were created and maintained in almost all social interaction in the class demonstrated how powerful the apartheid hegemony had been through its apparent ability to create and maintain 'natural' difference along racial lines. Given the historical context of South Africa, where social, political and economic relations were defined, by and through, race, the separatist hegemony which obtained in the Commerce Honours class was not surprising. By analysing the manner and nature of its persistence, however, I hope to

have been able to contribute to processes that will see its demise. I conclude with the following quotes as both a warning and a challenge to overcome the legacy of the apartheid hegemony:

Much has been said about “political correctness”, but the “PC” that concerns me is the “politeness conspiracy”, the tag coined by Chicago diversity consultant Tom Kochman ... coined for our aversion to speaking candidly about racial differences across racial lines for fear of offending one another. It describes the self-silencing that prevents us from bringing up the questions, gripes and concerns we have for fear of offending someone and being called a “racist”, a “sexist”, or a “whiner”. Politeness is a virtue programmed into us from childhood, but when it causes us to dodge racially touchy topics, it may lead us to avoid racially mixed situations entirely, just to escape discomfort. Instead, we keep our thoughts to ourselves to be brought out only in safe situations, when we are talking to others of the same race, and more often than not, of the same point of view. Instead of finding answers, we cultivate our frustrations and resentments.

(Page, 1996:42-43)

and

... self-criticism is itself a sign of maturity and a great, immutable power of a sort that can come not from a unified movement but only from a confident soul within one's self. Denial, by contrast, is the curse of the weak.

(Page, 1996:168)

I am sure that we, as South Africans and as individuals, are not weak. We need to remove the individual masks which hide one South African from another.

APPENDIX 1

SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET AND REQUEST FOR CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I, Joy Owen have received approval from

1. the Department of Social Anthropology and
2. the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, UCT

to undertake a research project entitled:

Friendship Networks: The problems students face attempting to cross social and cultural boundaries at the University of Cape Town

The objectives of this study are:

1. to explore how students communicate (or fail to communicate) across boundaries which were previously (pre-1994) sanctioned in South Africa.
2. to indicate how far students have come in the realisation of UCT's mission statement and the realisation of the needs and challenges posed by the South African government

The project involves evaluating the diversity of:

1. students' conceptualisations of what they understand as friendship in the context of the university environment
2. students' attitudes concerning their friendships, particularly those made at UCT

This information will be obtained by

Students filling in questionnaires, Personal Interviews conducted by the researcher herself, and Participant observation conducted by the researcher herself.

I would appreciate your willingness to participate. All information obtained will be kept confidential and no participants will be identifiable in the research report. You should feel free to withdraw from this project at any stage should you not be comfortable with the information I am requesting from you.

Research Participant

I, have read the above and agree to participate in this study on the understanding that

1. All information will be confidential
2. I am free to withdraw at any stage without jeopardy to myself or UCT

Signed:

Date:

Place:

16. If there was anything you could wish for, what would it be?

Personality questions:

1. How would subaltern people e.g. family or friends describe you?
2. Would you agree with this description? Or If you were asked to describe yourself what would you say?

Friendship Questions:

1. If I said the word friend what do you think of? What is the first word or words that pop into your head?
2. Is that the way you would define the concept friend?
3. Do you think that the definition you gave me of a friend is shared by the rest of your friendship group? And by subaltern people generally?
4. Would you say that all of your friends are alike?
5. Are you like them or are they like you?
6. Who are your friends in class?
7. What kinds of activities do you do with [mention names said above].
8. Has the number of friends that you have at home decreased over the past few years that you have been studying?
9. Why do you think this is so?
10. Is there a distinction for you between a friend and an acquaintance?
11. Do you have more acquaintances than friends here at university? If yes, why is this the case.
12. Do you think that you consciously choose your friends?

Remember: even though you should ask those core questions, create the atmosphere of a conversation rather than an interview - allow the participants to explain their own thoughts on particular questions.

APPENDIX 4

Interview Schedule 2

Seating:

- In this semester which modules did you complete? In each one who did you sit next to?
- Did you consciously choose to sit next to that person/those people?

Groups:

- Could you draw a diagram which indicates the various groups?
 1. What are the characteristics that distinguish one group from another?
 2. How do you know that those people are in one group and other people are not in a group?
- Do you communicate with people in the subaltern group? What do you talk about? Can you talk to that person when he or she is in the group? Why?
- Would you discuss matters of a personal nature with [name of person in group] and with [name of person not in group]. Why?

Race:

- The term race has been used so often in the South African environment that each one has their own definition of it. How would you define race? Or when you think of race what do you think of?
- Was your high school multi-racial? Did you have friends of colour then? And now? How do they treat you?
- If I said that there were racists in the Economics Honours class, would you agree with me or not? Why?
- Have you ever observed or experienced a racial incident in the class? Why do you think that it was a racial incident?
- Do you think that race played a role in the construction of the groups that you have drawn?
- If I had to say that you are clearly white/black/coloured would you agree with that? If you say that you are white what are the connotations that you attach to that? Or
- Would you say that being white, coloured, or black is part of your identity?

- What stereotypes would you attach to the following: white, coloured, black, Asian/Indian?
- Would you marry someone of a different race? Why? So you would/would not marry a black person, coloured person, white person or Indian person? How would your parents/friends react?
- Would you agree with the following statements:
 3. Whites are oblivious to their racist actions? Why?
 4. Blacks are far too political and race conscious? Why?
 5. Blacks can never be racist? Why?
 6. Whites are always racist? Why?
 7. Coloured people are a mixed race? Why?
- How do you feel about the work completed by the TRC? Do you think that it was necessary? Why?

APPENDIX 5

NINE PARTICIPANTS' CHARACTERISTICS

NAME	HOME LANGUAGE	PLACE OF BIRTH	RACE	AGE	RESIDENCE IN 1998	HOME	MOTHER'S OCCUPATION
LOLAH	XHOSA	GUGS	AFRICAN	23	UCT RESIDENCE	GUGS PINELANDS	SOCIAL WORKER - STUDY MA
SANTANA	PORTUGUESE	PORTUGAL	WHITE	23	RONDEBOSCH - PVT FLAT	PORTUGAL MOZAMBIQUE	FINE ART GRAD/LECTURER
HOPE	CHINESE	TAIWAN	COLOURED	22	CLAREMONT - PVT FLAT	TAIWAN	BUSINESS WOMAN – HOME EXEC
SAM	ENGLISH	CAPE TOWN	WHITE	22	HARFIELD VILLAGE – SHARE	CAPE TOWN	SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHER
NIKITA	ENGLISH	CAPE TOWN	WHITE	22	ROSEBANK DIGS – SHARE	ORANJEZICHT	ARCHITECT
EDEN	CHINESE	TAIWAN	COLOURED	24	CLAREMONT - PVT FLAT	TAIWAN	WORKS IN STOCK MARKET
LILY	ENGLISH	CAPE TOWN	WHITE	22	RONDEBOSCH – SHARE	KENILWORTH	ENGLISH SCHOOL TEACHER
SERENA	ENGLISH	GAUTENG	INDIAN	25	ATHLONE	ATHLONE	SHOP ASSISTANT
NEIL	OSHAWAMBO	NAMIBIA	AFRICAN	24	UCT RESIDENCE	NAMIBIA	?

NAME	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	1ST YR AT UNL	DEGREE AT UNI	SIBLINGS	HIGH SCHOOL	CAR
LOLAH	UNCLEAR	UCT	BCOM DEGREE 1993	NONE	LIVINGSTONE AND THEN BISHO - 2/3 YRS SCHOLARSHIP	NO
SANTANA	ARCHITECT	UCT - 1994	BSOCSCI	1 B/1 S	PORTUGAL	NO
HOPE	WORKS IN BANK	UCT	BSOCSC	2B/1S	TAIWAN, THEN SETTLERS HIGH SCHOOL	YES
SAM	EDITOR OF A FINANCIAL MAG.	STELLENBOSCH - 1994	B ECON	2S	HERSCHEL HIGH SCHOOL	YES
NIKITA	ENGINEER	UCT - 1994, THEN RHODES	BUSINESS SCIENCE, THEN B ECON	1S	?	YES
EDEN	OWNS COMPANY	1995 - UWC; 1996 - UCT	BSOCSC	1B	HERSCHEL HIGH SCHOOL	YES
LILY	SYSTEMS CONSULTANT	1995 - RHODES	BCOM	1B/1S	WESTERFORD HIGH SCHOOL	YES
SERENA	SALESMAN	1991 - UCT; 1994 - RHODES	JOURNALISM - 1994	1B/1S	HABEBIA'S GIRL SCHOOL	NO
NEIL	DECEASED	UNIV OF	BCOM	2B/3S	OMBALANTU HIGH SCHOOL	NO

APPENDIX 6

**CONVERSATIONAL CONTENT OBSERVED DURING THE 1998
ACADEMIC YEAR**

DATE	COHORT	CONTENT
19/08	Cross	Nikita discusses her living arrangements with Serena and myself
20/08	Cross	DP and Rene discuss her job applications
23/09	Cross	Lolah and Rene discuss presentations
06/10	Cross	DP, Serena, Rene and Nikita discuss Nikita's living arrangements
06/10	Cross	DP and Rene discuss class-mates
06/10	Cross	DP, Rene and Nikita discuss plans for 1999
07/10	Cross	Nikita and DP discuss work
28/05	Subaltern	Neil and Hope discuss work
28/05	Subaltern	Serena and Eden discuss personal
19/08	Subaltern	Hope and Lolah tease one another
19/08	Subaltern	Hope, Lolah and Santana discuss handout
21/08	Subaltern	Hope and Eden discuss the purchase of a play station
24/08	Subaltern	Santana and Lolah discuss their tutorials and the readings they have
24/08	Subaltern	Serena and Eden discuss students in their tutorials
02/09	Subaltern	Eden tells me of her boyfriend's arrival
23/09	Subaltern	Lolah teases Hope
23/09	Subaltern	Lolah and Serena discuss their holidays
23/09	Subaltern	Lolah and Hope discuss the exchange rate (work)
23/09	Subaltern	Santana teases Lolah
23/09	Subaltern	Santana and Lolah discuss Lesotho crisis
06/10	Subaltern	DP and Serena discuss work
06/10	Subaltern	DP, Lolah and Serena discuss political economy
07/10	Subaltern	Serena and Eden discuss Taiwan
13/10	Subaltern	Serena, Santana and Eden discuss shoes
13/10	Subaltern	Santana and Eden discuss haircare
13/10	Subaltern	Santana, Eden and Serena discuss China

25/05	White	MG and Ian discuss going to movies
28/05	White	Anna, Leigh and Lily discuss Lily's concert
12/08	White	Anna and Leigh discuss problem Anna experienced with her computer
14/08	White	Sam, Leigh and Nikki discuss party and Sam's 'boyfriend' problem
19/08	White	Nikki and Lily discuss the party
02/09	White	SG, Nikita, MG are discussing the Mug and Bean -- bar/coffee shop
04/09	White	Nikki, Lily and Sam discuss bar hopping
04/09	White	Johan, Sam and Anna discuss work presentations
23/09	White	Rene, MG and Nikita discuss relationships
07/10	White	Leigh, Nikita and Anna discuss Emily's trip
14/10	White	Johan and Sam discuss hand-ins
15/10	White	Johan and Sam discuss Leigh's problems with Ian
16/10	White	Nikki, Leigh, Anna and Sam discuss Nikki's English citizenship
16/10	White	Nikki, Leigh, Anna and Emily discuss travelling plans for 1999
16/10	White	Nikki, Johan, Leigh, Anna and Emily discuss sundowner's function

Note: the above table is sorted chronologically and by cohort

APPENDIX 7

Verbal Interactions observed during the 1998 academic year

DATE	WHITE	CROSS	SUBALTERN
21/05	5	3	0
26/05	1	6	0
27/05	11	5	3
28/05	14	12	2
5/08	10	2	0
12/08	27	3	0
12/08 (PM)	4	4	1
14/08	20	3	4
19/08	12	1	4
20/08	5	0	2
21/08	10	12	2
26/08	20	9	5
28/08	14	0	0
1/09	8	0	0
2/09	7	6	0
04/09	4	0	0
23/09	6	4	5
TOTAL	192 [69%]	60 [21%]	28 [10%]

APPENDIX 8

Interactive Behaviours observed during the 1998 academic year

NO	DATE	INTERACTION	TYPE	RACE
1.	6/10	Paul buys coffee for Nikita	consideration	cross
2.	27/05	Nikita offers Serena sweets	sharing	cross
3.	28/05	Nikki and Lolah share notes	sharing	cross
4.	28/05	Lolah asks Anna for diagram	sharing	cross
5.	12/08	Santana offers Leigh sweets	sharing	cross
6.	19/08	Serena offers Nikita and myself NikNaks	sharing	cross
7.	21/08	Johan asks Eden for writing sheets	sharing	cross
8.	25/08	Kat and Johan share a chair	sharing	cross
9.	23/09	Hope looks at Ian's page	sharing	cross
10.	6/10	Lolah and Nikita share notes	sharing	cross
11.	26/08	Paul smiles at Alex	smile	cross
12.	6/10	Paul hugs Nikita	touch	cross
13.	6/10	Paul hugs Nikita	touch	cross
14.	07/10	Paul hugs Nikita	touch	cross
15.	22/09	Lolah collected handouts for Hope	consideration	subaltern
16.	22/09	Eden takes Santana's tutorial for her	consideration	subaltern
17.	8/10	Hope supports Lolah by attending her presentation	consideration	subaltern
18.	6/10	Paul buys coffee for Serena	consideration	subaltern
19.	13/10	Santana wears Eden's jacket -- Santana is ill	consideration	subaltern
20.	12/08	Lolah asks Hope for notes	sharing	subaltern
21.	28/08	Eden shares my chair	sharing	subaltern
22.	23/09	Serena and Eden exchange notes	sharing	subaltern
23.	23/09	Lolah looks at Hope's page	sharing	subaltern

24.	6/10	Lolah smiles at Nikita	smile	subaltern
25.	14/10	Santana winks at Serena	smile	subaltern
26.	14/10	Santana puts on Eden's spectacles	smile	subaltern
27.	13/10	Santana, Eden and Serena tease one another	tease	subaltern
28.	14/10	Neil teases Santana	tease	subaltern
29.	14/10	Neil teases Hope	tease	subaltern
30.	14/10	Neil teases Serena - she throws paper at him	tease	subaltern
31.	14/08	Johan brings Sam a cup of coffee	consideration	white
32.	26/05	Johan picks up Lily's handout	consideration	white
33.	19/08	Johan tries to drive bee away from Nikita	consideration	white
34.	20/08	SG tries to inform Nikki of a bee	consideration	white
35.	26/08	Sam returns jersey and shampoo to Nikita	consideration	white
36.	01/09	Johan kicks Leigh and apologises	consideration	white
37.	20/05	Lily offers Johan peanuts and raisins	sharing	white
38.	26/05	Nikita offers Lily sweets	sharing	white
39.	27/05	Johan offers Ian pie	sharing	white
40.	27/05	Johan uses Ian's pen	sharing	white
41.	28/05	Nikki looks at Johan's notes	sharing	white
42.	28/05	Johan takes Nikita's pen	sharing	white
43.	12/08	Lily gives Nikita writing sheets	sharing	white
44.	14/08	Leigh asks Nikki for pen	sharing	white
45.	26/08	Johan and Leigh share notes	sharing	white
46.	02/09	Grant asks Ian for writing sheets	sharing	white
47.	07/10	Leigh offers her roll to Nikita	sharing	white
48.	09/10	Johan and Nikki share notes	sharing	white
49.	09/10	Nikki and Leigh share notes	sharing	white
50.	09/10	Johan removes Sam's tippex pen from her bag	sharing	white
51.	14/10	Sam gives Leigh chocolate	sharing	white
52.	15/10	Sam pages through Johan's essay	sharing	white
53.	21/08	Nikki smiles at Johan	smile	white

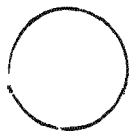
54.	26/08	Sam smiles at Johan	smile	white
55.	01/09	Sam smiles at Johan	smile	white
56.	01/09	Johan smiles at Sam	smile	white
57.	07/10	Sam and Leigh tease one another	tease	white
58.	28/05	Grant touches Ian's collar	touch	white
59.	28/05	Johan touches Nikita's shoulder	touch	white
60.	19/08	Leigh touches Nikki's back	touch	white
61.	19/08	Johan has his hands on Sam's shoulders	touch	white
62.	25/08	Sam puts her head on Johan's shoulder	touch	white
63.	02/09	Ian hugs Nikki	touch	white
64.	07/10	Nikita hits SG on his legs	touch	white

Note: The above table is sorted by interaction and race.

APPENDIX 9

THE FOLLOWING LETTERS AND SYMBOLS ARE USED IN THE FOLLOWING DIAGRAMS

FEMALE =



MALE =



A1 = Anna

A2 = Alex

E = Eden

G1 = SG

G2 = MG

G3 = GVT

H = Hope

I = Ian

J = Johan

K1 = Kath

K2 = Kristian

L1 = Leigh

L2 = Lily

L3 = Lolah

M = Michael

MS = Mike Sonn

N1 = Nikki

N2 = Nikita

N3 = Neil

P1 = Philip

P2 = Paul

R1 = Rene

R2 = Reagon

S1 = Serena

S2 = Santana

S3 = Sam

S4 = Steven

T = Tsiki

LT = Lecturer

Letters appearing within symbols

W = white

B = black

C = coloured

I = Indian

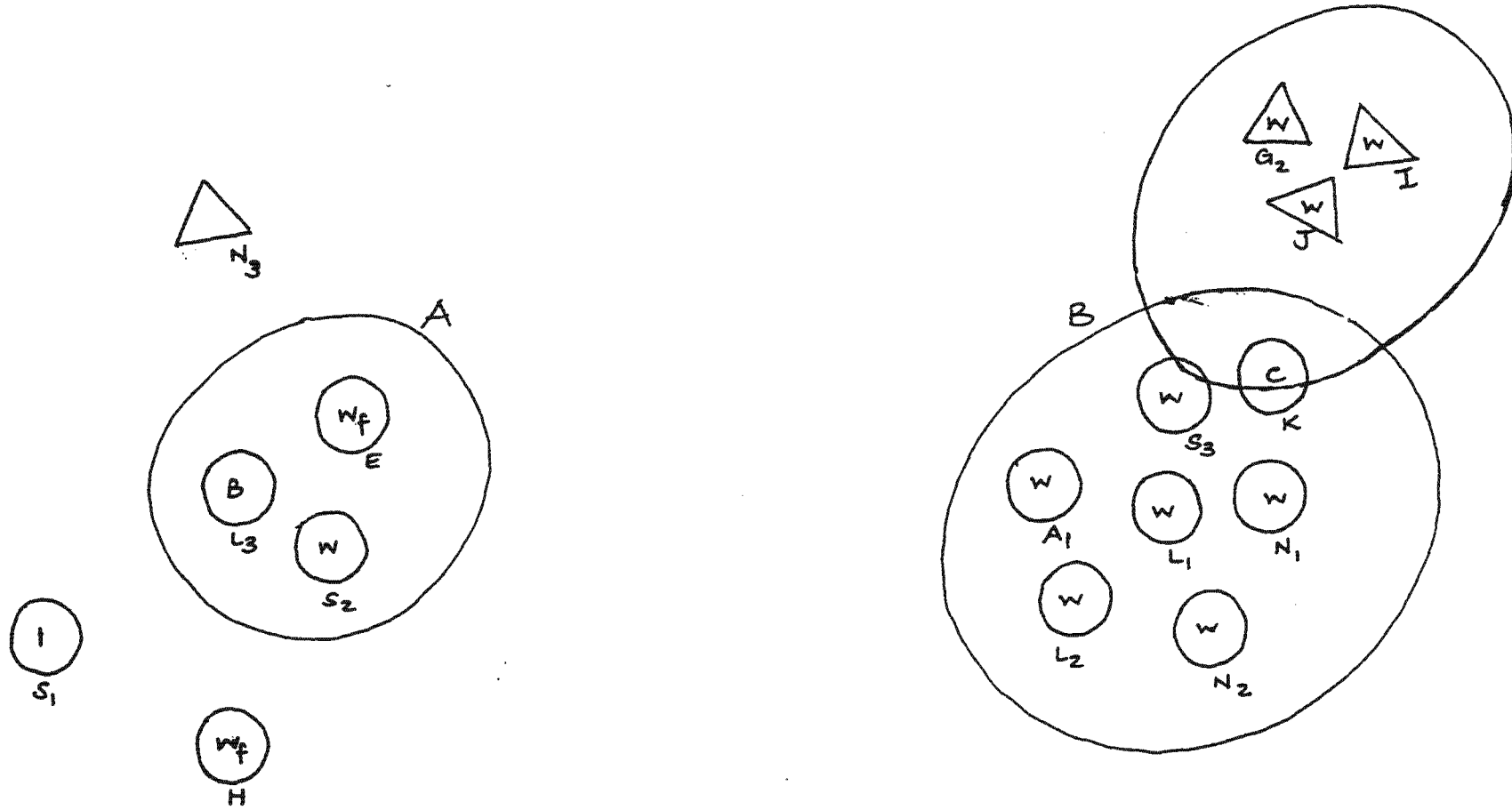
Wf = international student categorised as white

Cf = international student categorised as coloured

Bf = international student categorised as black

If = international student categorised as Indian

MY DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE GROUPS



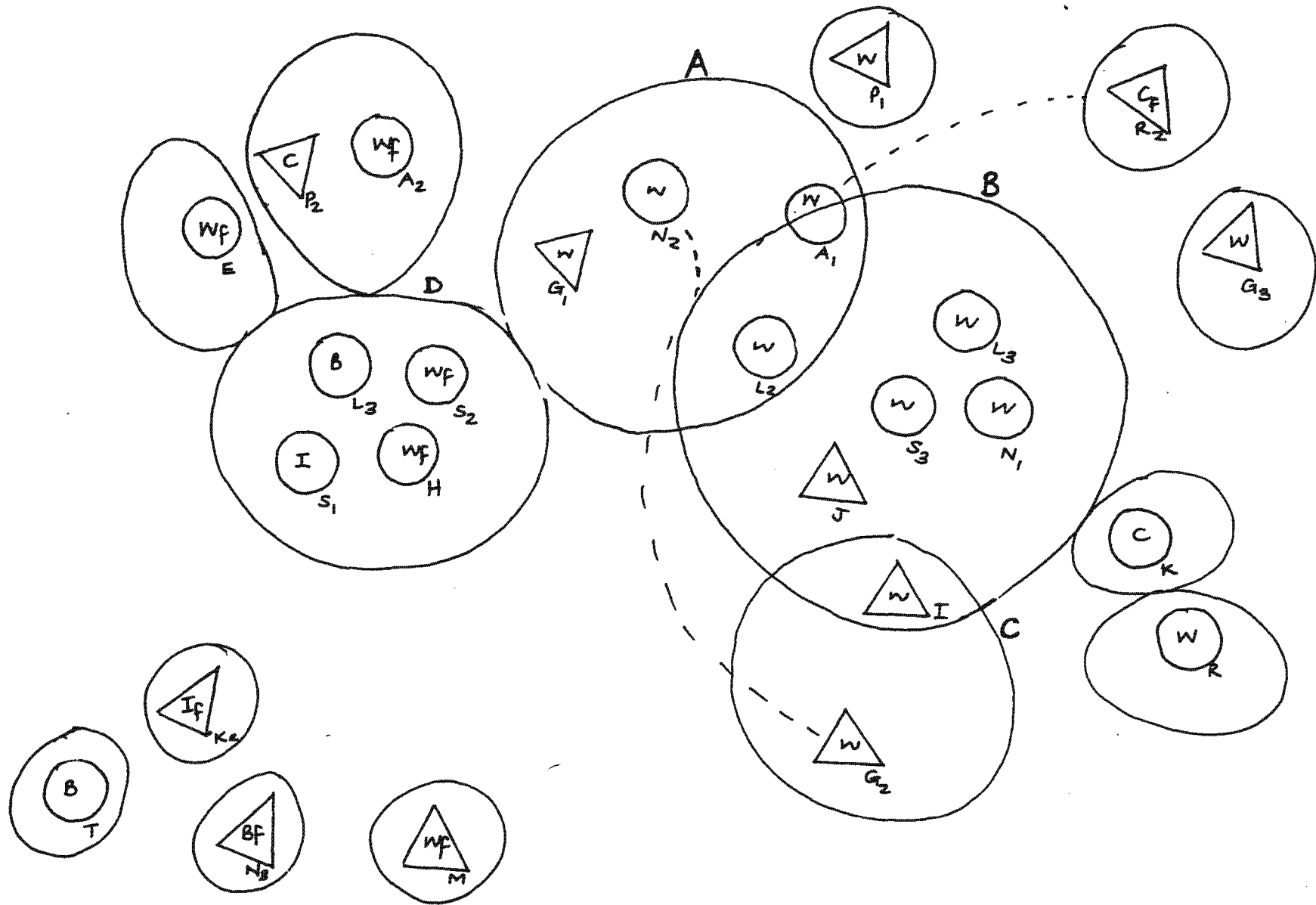
APPENDIX 11

Lily's diagrammatic representation

Although Lily's (white South African woman) diagrammatic representation is rather 'busy' two dominant cohorts are easily discernible. One notices how entities A, B and C, as drawn by Lily, overlap each other. These seem to form one cohort, while D is drawn separately from the other three entities. By representing the class in this manner, Lily seemed to recognise the separate entities (A, B, C) which formed the white cohort -- the entities I had recognised in chapter four - and the subaltern cohort (D). Cohort D does not include Eden (Chinese woman) but Lily has drawn her connection with members of cohort D by connecting the lines which encircle D and E -- note how Lily's representation of Eden's placing thus creates a sense of further separation between Eden (Chinese woman) and the white cohort (entities A, B and C).

In sum, Lily (white South African woman), if one were to only consider her diagrammatic representation, seemed to conclude that two imposing and racially exclusive cohorts had been created within the Commerce Honours class. These cohorts were not only mutually exclusive but also seemed to have minimal contact with one another: notice the absence of adjoining lines from either of the white entities to the subaltern cohort. Based on Lily's (white South African woman) diagrammatic representation one could possibly conclude that the Commerce Honours class still bore the effects of the separatist hegemony created in South Africa during separatism and apartheid proper.

LILY'S DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE GROUPS



APPENDIX 12

Serena's (Indian South African woman) diagrammatic representation

Serena's (Indian South African woman) diagrammatic representation contrasts with that of Lily's. One observes that she has not used any lines to encapsulate the cohorts she identifies. In this manner she seems to comment that there were no barriers or boundaries between the different cohorts. However, the linear manner in which she drew the cohorts does indicate a degree of separation between the three dominant entities (A, B, C). Her diagram nonetheless indicates that there are discernible and separate entities.

As in Lily's diagram it is particularly apparent that there is a dominant white cohort -- cohort B -- which effectively mirrors Lily's representation of entities A, B and C (on her diagram). Serena's cohort A tends to mirror Lily's representation of cohort D, although Serena identifies Hope (Chinese woman) as an outlier to the cohort rather than Eden (Chinese woman) as noted by Lily. Serena's conceptualisation of the cohorts, as depicted in her diagram was further articulated in her speech. During my first interview with Serena on the 7 July 1998 she answered my question about her friends by saying:

I tend to group people in the class into two groups. Crudely I would group them into white and non-white. You can see ... the white students are always in a group. They also do things together. I mean I went to one of the outings that they planned at the beginning of the year. I was the only non-white person there.

Clearly Serena (Indian South African woman) identified the cohorts in the Commerce Honours class by virtue of their race; and the manner in which she identified these cohorts demonstrated that the 'groups' were racially exclusive. Since Serena's definition of the cohorts in this manner had not been influenced by a question that I had asked, I concluded that race, despite my intentionally ignoring subject, was an important identity marker for Serena. My conclusion was affirmed when Serena responded that race had played a role in the definition of the groups she recognised. She commented in our second interview:

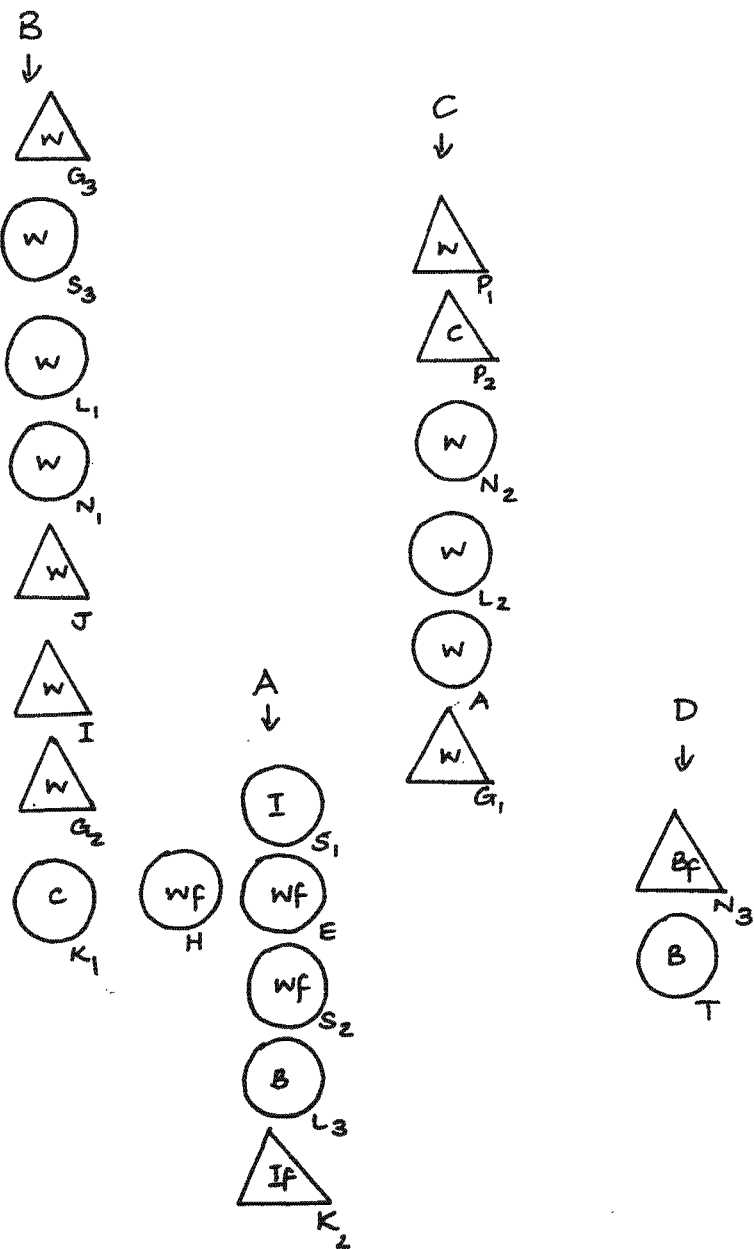
Um I think maybe you know, maybe not so much race as in class even. Because it just so happened and this is [an] indication of society. South Africa[n] society ... because class and race tend to run parallel. It's like complete ... it's the same almost. So I'm not so sure if it's a race thing or if it's a class thing. Because if I think of Kath (coloured South African woman) [and] how she fits in these group, where she's not white, but she fits with the group. And maybe that's because of her upbringing and the class that she's in. So I would think that it's more of a class thing. That these people in this group are a particular class in society and it just so happens that they are of the same race [17 November 1998].

Here, as Lily did (see chapter five), Serena identifies the effects of the separatist hegemony. Apartheid had divided South Africans along racial lines and by so doing had created a class and racial hierarchy, which supported the separatist hegemony and its ultimate goal: white superiority or domination and black inferiority or subordination. She seems to comment that the effects of this hegemony continue to be felt within the Commerce Honours class, but that one student formally categorised as a subaltern by virtue of her race (Kath -- coloured South African woman) could be accepted by the dominant by virtue of her class position: Kath seemed to share the same economic status as the white cohort of students. Serena confirmed further in the same interview that the separatist hegemony had been effected within the Commerce Honours class:

And sometimes they might not be aware that they are actually excluding others. They might not be consciously aware of it. I would say, yes, I do think people exclude others. There are people in the class who do exclude others based on race or based on class. *Um but whether it's done consciously or not is sort of another issue.* I'm not sure about it. But I would say, yes, there is *exclusion* being practised in the class.

Clearly a separatist hegemony had been effected within the Commerce Honours class as separation or exclusion had become normal -- participants were excluding one another without conscious thought. Similarly, if one considers the continued avoidance exhibited by Serena in her interactions with the white cohort one could conclude that her attempts (see chapter five) at undermining this exclusion or separation was not successful.

SERENA'S DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE GROUPS



APPENDIX 13

Eden's diagrammatic representation

Eden's (Chinese woman) diagrammatic representation although much simpler than Lily's or Serena's also indicates the existence of discernible social entities within the Commerce Honours class. Her depiction of these cohorts seems to indicate that they were racially exclusive. More outstanding in her diagram is her representation of the subaltern group -- she has not excluded Hope (Chinese woman). Eden's diagram, more so than Lily's or Serena's, seems to crystallise the distance between the cohorts, as she does not indicate any interaction between them -- each cohort is encapsulated and closed off from the other.

When I asked Eden (10 November 1998) if race had played a role in the construction of the cohorts she commented: "It's the race, maybe. *That's what I see from the surface.* Maybe there's something underneath it. I don't know. But apparently it's obvious". Although Eden's response seems ambiguous -- note her use of maybe -- she comments that, on the surface, race is the obvious differentiator. I was keen to understand Eden's conceptualisation of race because of her international student status. Her understanding demonstrated that the hegemonising effects of apartheid was there within her own thought:

Race ... different ... or apparently skin colour is the most obvious thing. South Africans [have] lots of different races. I wouldn't lump all South Africans together as a race, because I have been here [South Africa]. Maybe for outsiders who never come to South Africa [they would not differentiate between races][10 November 1998].

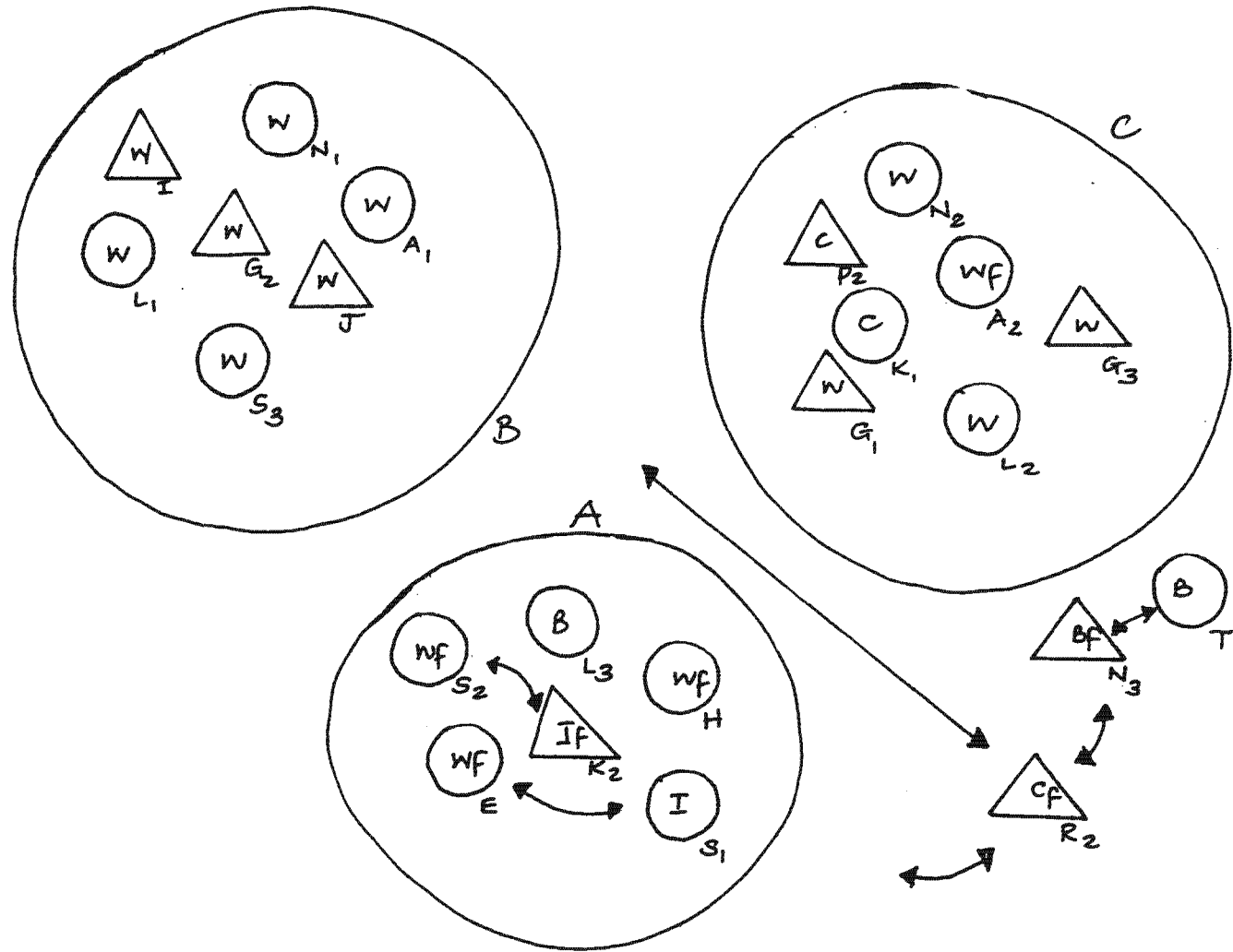
Eden's ability as a foreigner to delineate the South African 'races', or at least to recognise how race is used to construct social boundaries, demonstrated how salient racial differentiation/categorisation is within South Africa. Eden's report of an encounter that she had had with an African person confirmed my notion that students could be using race as an 'unconscious' differentiator:

To me, ja, black people are supposed to be the poorer. You know it's so embarrassing. A few weeks ago I went for a jog and I was walking, warming up. And this black person, he's walking on the other side of the road and he asked me "are you jogging today?" I said, "What, do I know you?" And he said "I have seen you several times, but you're not jogging today". I said, "I'm warming up" and then he crossed the street and started chatting to me. And I just thought to ask, because it's a white neighbourhood, "Do you work here?" He said, "No I live here". You know at that moment I was not embarrassed, but actually now that I think of it, I was actually being such a racist. In a white neighbourhood if you see a black person [he or she] is supposed to be a domestic house worker employed on a part-time basis to pick up the dirt or look after the garden. That's my stereotype in South Africa. 'Cos, like, I always see the ghetto black people in the white neighbourhoods, they were on their way to catch the trains or catch the bus. You can see they don't stay here.

As an international student, Eden seems more adept at articulating her race consciousness than the Serena and Lily. The quoted extract above demonstrates the pervasive nature of the separatist hegemony: Eden had not been living in South Africa more than 6 years and she had already 'imbibed' the stereotypes attached to particular races: whites were the elite while blacks were domestic workers or gardeners for the elite. She had not even entertained the thought that the person she spoke to in the extract lived in the 'white' suburb.

I could, and do conclude then, that race was a salient identity marker, which seemed to underpin all the other identity markers in the internal and external environments of the Commerce Honours class. For even when I ignored its salience the creation of two racially exclusive cohorts demonstrated how powerful the apartheid hegemony was, as it seemed to continue to create 'natural' difference along racial lines. This was not surprising given the historical context of South Africa, where social, political and economic relations were defined, by and through, race.

EDEN'S DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE GROUPS



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