THE SCHOOLING SYSTEM AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SELVES IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA IN SOUTH AFRICA: A DIALOGIC APPROACH

CHARITY THOBILE SIFUNDA (uMaShazi)

Bachelor of Education (Educational Psychology), University of Natal

Master of Education (Educational Psychology) University of Natal

Supervisor
Professor Nhlanhla J. Mkhize (PhD)

DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY
THE SCHOOL OF APPLIED HUMAN SCIENCES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

KWAZULU-NATAL
2015

DECLARATION

I, Charity Thobile Sifunda, declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research

2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university

3. This thesis does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons

4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

    a) Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced

    b) Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in quotation marks, and referenced

5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics, or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the Reference section

Charity Thobile Sifunda
Student name

_____
Date

Professor Nhlanhla J. Mkhize
Name of Supervisor

_____
Signature

COPYRIGHT
© Charity Thobile Sifunda, 2015, *All Rights Reserved*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank my supervisor Professor Nhlanhla Mkhize for instilling in me the value of contributing towards the country's development agenda through the academy. Ume njalo Khabazela!

I am grateful to my parents, Hermina Bonani and Mzayifani Angelicus Tshazi, as well as all those who have nurtured and guided me through life. A word of gratitude also goes to all those who made this study a possibility. In this regard, I would like to make a special mention of the principals of Ethekwini and Umgungundlovu FET Colleges, Mr Cader and Ms Ntshangase respectively, the campus managers of Springfield College, Centec and Midlands as well as all the participants who gave of their time to participate in the pilot and main study. I also wish to acknowledge and thank Ms Eldridge and Ms Bowles for editing my work.

Last, but most definitely not least, I thank my sons Khwezi and Kwanele for tolerating long periods of my absence. *UMvelinqangi usigcine kwaze kwaba lapha; malibongwe igama lakhe*. To God be the glory!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT **1**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION **2**
1.1 Background of the Study 2
1.2 Statement of the Problem 6
1.3 Purpose of the Study 7
1.4 Significance of the Study 8
1.5 Assumptions of the Study 9
1.6 Scope and Delimitations of the Study 9
1.7 Operational Definition of Terms 10
1.8 Summary and Overview of the Study 11
1.9 Conclusion 12

CHAPTER 2: THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT **13**
2.1 The Cartesian Self and Identity Formation 13
2.2 The Socio-cognitive Approach to Identity Formation 16
2.2.1 Social Cognition: Definitions 16
2.2.2 Characteristics of the Social Cognitive Perspective Towards Identity 17
2.2.2.1 Naïve Realism 17
2.2.2.2 The Constructed Nature of Perception: the Role of Context and the Perceiver 18
2.2.2.3 The Unconstructed Nature of Perception: the Power of the Data, Automacity and Control 19
2.2.2.4 Categorization 20
2.3. Africentrism 25
2.3.1 Identity Clarification 26
2.3.2 Pan Africanism 26
2.3.3 African Culture 27
2.3.4 African Values Adoption and Transmission 28
2.3.5 African Nationalism 29
2.3.6 Community Control and Institution Building 30
2.3.7 Education Versus Schooling 30
2.3.8 Critique of Africentrism 31
2.4 Ubuntu and Dialogism 34
2.4.1 The Basic Tenets and Characteristics of the Idea of Ubuntu-as-Dialogue 35
2.4.1.1 Multiplicity of the Self 37
2.4.1.2 Existence in Space and Time 39
2.4.1.3 Becoming or Perpetual Construction 41
2.4.1.4 Becoming Through Relating with Objects and Things 42
2.4.1.5 Becoming Through Dialogue with the Body 43
2.5 Dialogism and Relations of Power and Dominance 44
2.5.1 Words or Utterances as Dialogical Tools 45
2.5.1.1 Language as a Dialogical Tool 51
2.5.1.2 National Languages 51
2.5.1.2.1 Social languages 52
2.6 Conclusion: Towards the Idea of Ubuntu-as-Dialogue 53

CHAPTER 3: THE EMPIRICAL CONTEXT **55**
3.1 The International Context 55
3.1.1 Alienation of Black Learners in White Institutions 56
3.1.1.1 Othering 59
3.1.1.1.1 Assimilation as a Response to Othering 59
3.1.1.1.2 Oppositional Culture: “Acting Black” as a Response to “Othering” 61

3.1.1.1.3 Ambivalence as a Response to "Othering" 61
3.1.1.1.4 Causal Factors that Lead to a Differentiated Response to "Othering" 63
3.1.1.1.4.1 Resources to Explore the Self 63
3.1.1.1.4.1.1 Parental Support: the Role of Family and Community 63
3.1.1.1.4.1.2 Epistemological Orientation and Learner Orientation 65
3.1.1.2 Spatial Engineering and Alienation 67
3.1.1.3 Spatiality and Alienation 68
3.1.1.4 Classroom Arrangements and Alienation 70
3.1.2 The Disconnect and Discontinuity Between Black Communities and White Schools 70
3.1.3 Racial Identity 72
3.1.4 Black Voicelessness 73
3.2 The South African Context 76
3.2.1 Experiences of Black Learners in Historically White Institutions in South Africa 77
3.2.1.1 Schools as Mediums for Social Differentiation 77
3.2.1.2 Parental Representation in School Governance Structures 79
3.2.1.3 Black Families' Role in their Children's Schooling Career in Formerly White Schools 82
3.2.1.4 The Language of Learning and Teaching 84
3.2.1.5 Language and Identity in Relation to Social Class/Positioning 84
3.2.1.6 Language and Identity in Relation to Policy that Devalues African Languages 86
3.2.1.7 Communication Patterns for Black Learners in Historically White Schools 88
3.2.1.8 Educator Establishment in Formerly White Schools 89
3.2.1.9 Relationship Between Black Learners and White Teachers 90
3.2.1.10 The Nature of Interaction Between White Teachers and Black Learners: the Socio-psychological Context 91
3.2.1.11 The Decline of Standards Discourse 92
3.2.1.12 Segregation and Racism in the Informal Arenas of the School 93
3.2.1.13 Black Learners' Response to Assimilation 94
3.3 Objectives of the Study 96
3.4 Research Questions 97
3.5 Concluding Remarks 98

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY 99
4.1 Introduction 99
4.2 The Narrative/Interpretivist Paradigm 99
4.3 Study Design 104
4.4 Methods 107
4.4.1 Population and Sampling 107
4.4.2 Instruments 110
4.5 Pilot: Testing the Feasibility of the Interviews and Focus Group Method 112
4.5.1 The Pilot Sample 113
4.5.2 Piloting and Adaptation 113
4.6 The Main Study 114
4.6.1 Procedure 115
4.6.1.1 Scheduling Interviews and Focus Groups 116
4.6.2 Analysis 119
4.6.2.1 Reading 1: Reading for the Plot and Researcher's Responses to the Narrative 121
4.6.2.2 Reading 2: Reading for the Voice of the Speaking Person (the Self) 123
4.6.2.3 Reading 3: The Self-in-Relation 124
4.6.2.4 Reading 4: the Social and Cultural Context 125

4.6.2.5 Summary and Consolidation of Readings 126
4.6.3 Design Reliability and Validity 127
4.6.4 Respondent Duplicity and Observer Bias 129
4.6.5 Misinterpretation of Data 129
4.6.6 Chance Associations and Systematic Biases 130
4.7 Reliability 131
4.8 Ethical Considerations 132
4.8.1 Informed Consent 132
4.8.2 Confidentiality 133
4.8.3 Beneficence 134
4.9 Conclusion 134

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION 136
5.1 Profiles of Respondents 136
5.2 Self-narratives Available to Black Learners in Post-apartheid South Africa 138
5.2.1 The Black Deficiency Narrative 139
5.2.1.1 Assumed Superiority and Inferiority of White Schools and Black Schools Respectively 139
5.2.1.2 Co-curricular and Social Programmes 142
5.2.1.3 Cultural Programme and Home Environment 144
5.2.1.4 Lack of or Limited Parental Support 145
5.2.1.5 Internalization of Black Inadequacy 146
5.2.1.6 Systemic Factors 147
5.2.2 The White Excellence Narrative 151
5.2.2.1 School Demographics 152
5.2.2.2 Black Parental Perception of White Excellence 153
5.2.2.3 School Programmes and Co-curricular Activities 153
5.2.3 The Non-racial Self 157
5.2.4 The Rebellious / Revolutionary Self 161
5.2.4.1 Use of Language as a Form of Rebellion 161
5.2.4.2 Unofficial Programme 163
5.2.4.3 Identity Clarification 164
5.2.4.4 Black Excellence 165
5.2.5 The Connected, Dialogically Constituted Self 168
5.3 How the Self-Narratives Available to Black African Learners are Evoked and Reproduced 171
5.3.1 Transitioning from Black Communities to White Schools and Back 171
5.3.2 School Linguistic and Sporting Practices 174
5.3.3 Social Settings and Courtship 178
5.3.3.1 Courtship Provides a Setting for the Emergence of the Non-racial self 178
5.4 Black Learners' Strategies to Negotiate the Tensions and Contradictions Between Different Identity Narratives 180
5.4.1 Blending in and Fitting in 180
5.4.2 Black Co-learner Solidarity 182
5.4.3 Return to Black Institutions 183
5.4.4 Foregrounding and Reconciling with Africanness 185
5.5 Summary of Findings and Conclusion 187

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS 188
6.1 Background and Motivation 188
6.2 Findings and Conclusions 191
6.2.1 Research questions 191
6.2.2 Summary of Findings and Conclusions About Research Questions 191
6.3 Unique Contribution of the Study 196

6.4 Implications for Policy, Research and Practice 197
6.4.1 Implications for Racial Violence Prevention in Schools 198
6.4.2 Implications for the Language Policy 199
6.4.3 Implications for the Curriculum 199
6.4.4 Implications for Teacher Training 200
6.5 Implications for Theory 200
6.6 Limitations and Criticisms 202
6.7 Indications for Further Research 204
6.8 Conclusion 206

LIST OF TABLES/ FIGURE

FIGURE 1: The design of the study 106
Table 1: The Demographics of the Sample: Interviews 109
Table: 2: The Demographics of the Sample: Focus group 110
Table 3: The Demographics of the Pilot Sample: Interviews and Focus group 113
Table 4: Notation system 138

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – INFORMED CONSENT FORM: INTERVIEW 208
APPENDIX 2 – INFORMED CONSENT FORM: FOCUS GROUP 229
APPENDIX 3 – CONFIDENTIALITY FORM 231
APPENDIX 4 – DEMOGRAPHIC FORM 232
APPENDIX 5 – INTERVIEW AND FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS 233
APPENDIX 5A – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 235
APPENDIX 6 - FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE 237
APPENDIX 7 - FIELD NOTES/EMERGING THEMES 238
APPENDIX 8 – MAXWELL (1998) RESEARCH DESIGN 242
APPENDIX 9 – PARTICIPANT PROFILES 244
APPENDIX 10 – SAMPLE OF INTERVIEWS 246
APPENDIX 11 – FOCUS GROUP 309

ABSTRACT

The mandate of the apartheid regime was to oppress the indigenous people of South Africa so that they would perpetually be subservient to white people. The education system was engineered to keep the binary of white supremacy and black inferiority intact. By institutionalizing whiteness as a norm or standard, the education system was instrumental in portraying black people as inadequate or not good enough while representing whites as excellent. The unintended outcome was the emergence of struggle cadres who fought the injustices of apartheid and ushered in a democratic dispensation that seeks to redress the inequities brought on by apartheid through, inter alia, a non-racial education system. Non-racialism notwithstanding, the education system is shown to be reproducing the white excels and black-is-not-good-enough identity binary. Not only does this marginalize African understandings of the self, it also fails to articulate the multiple selves that have emerged by default through intermingling of cultures, as a non-racial identity is pursued.

This study uses the narrative interpretivist methodology to explore how black learners who attend predominantly white schools construct their identities within multiple meaning systems in their liveworlds and lifeworlds. Taking the plurality of selves and the dialogic account of human functioning as advocated by Ubuntu and Dialogism as its point of departure, this study uses interviews and focus groups to explore how black learners in predominantly white schools make meaning and negotiate the tensions, contradictions, and power dimensions in identity construction post-apartheid. Fifteen students recruited from Further Education and Training (FET) Colleges participated in the study. The results indicate that black learners, rather than allow the institutionalized binary of white superiority and black inferiority to define them, develop a framework to articulate multiple selves that challenge and exist in tension with the binary. Six self-narratives were identified: the black deficiency, white excellence, black excellence, non-racial self, revolutionary/ rebellious self, and a connected self, informed by the idea of Ubuntu. While the first three are shown to entrench the binary, they co-exist with the others to form multiple selves that are fluid and characterized by contradictions, tension and contestation of power. It is this framework, which I refer to as Ubuntu-as-dialogue that reconciles the black learners' multiplicity formed by default through intermingling of cultures. It uses dialogic tools to articulate multiple self-narratives without marginalizing Ubuntu, on which African approaches to selfhood are founded. These findings have the following implications for policy, research, theory and practice. Ubuntu-as-dialogue framework needs to be institutionalized by the schooling system in order to enable multiple identities to emerge post-apartheid. This includes, inter alia, ensuring that indigenous languages are taught at the same level as the other dominant languages. Research on identity development needs to be informed by the lived experiences of black learners rather than relying on Western Cartesian theories as these are proven not to apply to the South African black population who have a communal collectivist orientation.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

This study explores how black African learners, who attend formerly white schools, construct their identities given the competing multiple meaning-systems in their lifeworlds (Tappan, 1997). The meaning systems are broadly the collectivist African perspective on personhood promoted in their homes and communities as opposed to the individualistic Western perspective promoted by the school. This study investigates how black African learners negotiate their identities in the midst of multiple perspectives on the self, arising from the hybridization of cultures and the historical power imbalances that characterize the indigenous African and western worldviews.

It is this researcher's conviction that these issues are pertinent given that post-apartheid, South Africa has a vision of establishing an inclusive and non-racial society with education as one of the sectors that drives this agenda. In line with this vision, schools have been designated non-racial schools and, unlike during apartheid, they are open to all race groups. This commitment notwithstanding, there are signs that whiteness still reigns supreme in the public school sector which is the focus of this study. There is a noticeable trend of unilateral movement where black parents enroll their children in well-resourced white schools in significant numbers. Sujee (2004) reports that of the 25% of black learners that have left township schools to enroll in other departments since 1996, 7% are in former white schools. De Klerk (2002) in support of this, observes that one of the primary reasons black parents enroll their learners in former white schools is so that they can have access to quality education. Quality education, De Klerk (2002) observes, includes the opportunity to speak English fluently--a language that they regard as a gateway to economic advancement. While the researcher acknowledges that the demographics in former white schools have changed since the dawn of democracy, and that black learners are no longer a minority in all such schools, the interest of this study is on the identity challenges experienced by black learners who attended these schools when they were still predominantly white. A study of this nature is important given the reports that twenty years into democracy, some of these schools

still promote white supremacy that was institutionalized during apartheid (Commission SAHR, 1999; Ngwenya, 2015).

A number of studies both internationally and locally have found that black learners face various challenges in these schools (Bowe, 2009; Dei, 1996; Flores & Garcia, 2009; Heaven & Bester, 2001; Kagan, 1990; Makubalo, 2006; Wallitt, 2008). These studies have reported that though there is physical access to these schools, more often than not, black learners are deprived epistemological and sociocultural access. For example in his study Makubalo (2006) found that designating English as the language of teaching and learning and not giving equal or due recognition to indigenous languages is one way schools elevate the white culture above other cultures. This is an important observation given the close relationship between language and culture. Black learners are left on their own to find ways of dealing with English hegemony. Similarly Dei (1996), reflecting on the Canadian experience, asserts that some white schools selectively allocate more time to teach European history and very little is covered on African history and African symbols of success. This means that black learners are deprived of free cultural expression.

Underpinning these challenges is that the ‘white superiority and black inadequacy’ binary is institutionalized; it is driven through school policy and programs in predominantly white schools. As shown above, though the South African Language in Education Policy (RoS, 1997) is in principle very progressive and inclusive, at implementation schools can use it to undermine other languages and in the process instill black inadequacy in learners. Clearly there is a disjuncture between constitutional and policy imperatives and implementation. This has an impact on the South African government stated mandate to build an inclusive and diverse society through schools.

This background, which shows that schools can be used to drive white supremacy and black inadequacy, has motivated the researcher to ask critical questions about the lived experiences of black learners in former white schools. It has motivated the researcher to investigate the reproduction of selves in post-apartheid South Africa by looking at the self-narratives black learners have at their disposal. The researcher also sought to

investigate and understand, how these self-narratives are enacted and how black learners negotiate the tensions and contradictions given the power dynamics between them.

Further, this study was motivated by the concern that, as was the case during apartheid, the identity discourse and research landscape post apartheid is dominated by Western Cartesian theories. The African worldview on identity continues to be suppressed (Mbigi, 2005; Shingler, 1973; Shockley, 2003). The former stems from the Cartesian perspective on personhood which separates the self from the other (Burkitt, 1998). The Cartesian theorists' argument that the Cartesian self is universal, legitimizes their thinking and disregards the way the self is understood in most non-Western cultures. The latter includes the African epistemological paradigm which views the self as one with the other (Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004b; Ramose, 1999).

Cartesian thinking underpins the 'white excels' and 'black is inadequate' identity binary narrative that informed the engineering of the apartheid education system. Empirical evidence shows that this configuration, driven as part of the colonialist and apartheid agenda, continues to be a strong feature of education systems both locally and internationally. It is thus important to look into how black African learners in the post-apartheid era, navigate this terrain given the prevailing discourses about non-racialism and equality. The current thesis argues that the dominant theories, particularly those theories that are based on the idea of a universal self, cannot adequately account for the multiple identities that have formed by default due to the intermingling of cultures. Instead most theories have either legitimized the Cartesian view of the self, or in challenging it, fall in the trap of the binary themselves. Similarly, where attempts have been made to acknowledge and deal with the idea of multiple selves, South African research has not successfully dealt with the power discrepancies that characterize this self, and the schooling implications for black African learners.

The socio-cognitive approach is one of the theories that has assisted in legitimizing the Western or Cartesian view of the self. The socio-cognitive theorists identify cognitive processes that are involved in the understanding of the self and the other. Though they argue that these cognitive processes occur naturally, are universal, adaptive and

evolutionary, it is argued in this study that by separating the self from the other at perception the socio-cognitive approach gives legitimacy to the Cartesian conceptions of the self.

Africentrists have challenged the Cartesian view to the self. They advance the argument that the imposition of the Cartesian view of the self, for example through colonization and apartheid, is tantamount to installing Eurocentrism as a centre for all. They advance a “centrist self (Afrocentric self)… to protect African people from European/American universalism, supremacism and hegemony” (Asante, 1988, p. 26). However, this version of Africentric philosophy has been critiqued by its detractors as falling into the same trap as the Eurocentric perspective of using the binary, the either (Eurocentric) or (Africentric) approach. I argue that the Africentrists deal with issues concerning the oppression of people of African ancestry, primarily at the macro level. The main focus is the restoration of African history and pride of place amongst other nations of the world. Hence the inward directed focus.

Ubuntu philosophy provides a mechanism to deal with the multiple selves that are occasioned by our participation in different and sometimes competing cultural systems. From the perspective of Ubuntu, the self is multiple, connected and dialogical (Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004; Ramose, 1999). However, given that Ubuntu prioritizes harmony between the selves, it does not contain within its theorizing sufficient tools to articulate this multiplicity in the midst of power discrepancies amongst the different voices comprising the self. The theory of the dialogical view of human functioning (Bakhtin, 1981), like Ubuntu, views the self as multiple, connected and extended in space and time. It also pays special attention to the power imbalances between the various selves and has the tools to deal with these. I argue therefore that the combination of the theory of the dialogical view of human functioning, coupled with the philosophy of Ubuntu, provides a framework to make sense of the multiple narratives espoused by black African school learners attending predominantly white schools in the post-apartheid era.

International and local studies mentioned above provide empirical evidence that confirms these gaps in theory. These studies portray black learners as under-achievers when compared to their white counterparts. Some of these studies attribute poor academic performance to intrinsic factors. For example, they argue that blacks are naturally of lower intellect compared to whites. Others identify extrinsic factors such as a lack of cultural capital or behaviours that are not conducive to good academic performance as causes for under-performance (Ferguson, 1998; Fleming, 1984; Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Johnson−Bailey, 2002). The present study maintains that such arguments promote the black deficiency narrative and neglect to consider the effects on black students of an education system that is designed or normed on whiteness. Not much consideration is paid to the effect of a system that 'others' and marginalizes black learners. Such arguments not only disregard the institutionalized 'white excels' and 'black is deficient' identity binary, they also fail to deal with the multiplicity and the diversity that characterize formerly whites only schools (Soudien, Carrim, & Sayed, 2004).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

One of the objectives of the post apartheid dispensation is to redress past injustices by building a non-racial and inclusive South African society. Non-racialism is premised on the ideal of a society where all citizens are treated equally irrespective of their race, religion, colour or creed (R. o. S. Africa, 1996a). However, this framework has not been able to deal with the entrenched Cartesian white is superior and black is inferior identity binary instated during apartheid. As such non-racialism is neither commensurate with the current government's commitment to building a diverse and inclusive national identity nor in sync with the multiple selves that have emerged by default within the South African population due to intermingling of cultures. As such despite prolific legislation promulgated to promote equality, the apartheid construct of an inferior black and a superior white identity binary, continues unabated and is being promoted at the micro-level by various government institutions, particularly schools (Chick, 2000; Goduka, 1999; Nkomo, McKinney, & Chisholm, 2004).

The inability of non-racialism to transcend white dominance by failing to deal with the power discrepancies inherent in identity formation particularly the continued marginalization of the African worldview on identity, is demonstrated, inter alia, by the misalignment between black (African) cultures and the culture of public schools (Shockley, 2003; Willie, 2003). Non-racialism has instead largely been reduced to the integration of black people into white communities and black learners into white schools. It is the contention of this study that non-racialism has to a large extent maintained the superior white and inferior black identity binary.
Hermans (2001b, p. 27) attributes this to the observation that:

> [P]eople with historical backgrounds in cultures which were or still are in a situation of colonization or post-colonization are faced not only with different cultural positions, but also with the task of coping with the tensions and power relationships between the several positions.

Mosalakae (2008), in agreement with (Hermans, 2001b), argues that the quest for integration or non-racialism seems to be either down-playing these power dynamics or is denialist It is “a bid to escape from one’s Africanness to a world where no difference will be seen between one and people of other races that one has been conditioned to hero-worship” (Mosalakae, 2008, p.24).

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This study investigates the various self-narratives at the black learners’ disposal and how they negotiate these in the midst of historical power dimensions that characterize the multiple selves that have emerged as a result of intermingling with other cultures. This study aims to show that the non-racialism framework is not able to articulate these multiple identities in that it does not have the capacity to deal with the power dimensions particularly as they pertain to the marginalization of the African perspective on the self. This study aims to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework to understand multiple identities in the South African context, as they relate to black learners who attend predominantly white schools. Of interest is an exploration of how a

combination of Ubuntu and dialogism could contribute towards a theoretical framework that redresses the African perspective on identity, address issues of hybridization of cultural practices and the resultant multiple identities arising from the mixing of cultures, a phenomenon that has eluded theorists in the identity discourse to date. The idea of Ubuntu-as-dialogue is advocated in this study as the approach that South Africa needs if it is to restore the African perspective on the self and simultaneously shift its entire cultural focus in order to allow the articulation of multiple identities that have emerged due to mixing of cultures pre- and post-apartheid.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Although the Western Cartesian self can no longer be imposed as universal (Furnham & Mkhize, 2003), it is entrenched and is perpetuated, inter alia, through the education system. As far as schooling is concerned, there has been an exodus of black African learners into formerly whites only schools in the post apartheid era. While some literature has explored this phenomenon, none has done so from a theoretical framework that seeks to establish how the learners balance the multiple identities arising from their participation in different and often shifting cultural worlds. The current study seeks to shed insight into the lived experiences of black African learners in formerly whites only schools. It is envisaged that the findings will inform curricular arrangements and education policy. This includes attending to the barriers that prevent black African learners' full access to the curriculum. The study findings will enhance the educational experiences of both African and white learners and also contribute to nation building and the reconciliation process post apartheid.

The non-racial dispensation installed post apartheid lacks the tools to challenge the power dynamics that continue to maintain this hegemony. This study strives to contribute towards a South African identity discourse by providing a framework that can assist with the shift from the entrenched white superiority and black inferiority identity binary towards a theoretical framework that is able to articulate diversity and multiplicity yet does not marginalize the African perspective on identity. The researcher hopes that the proposed framework based on the combination of Ubuntu and dialogism

will make a significant contribution to the identity discourse in South Africa as well as beyond her borders.

1.5 Assumptions of the Study

The assumptions of the study are as follows:

1. Post apartheid, schools can be shown to be sites where, like in the apartheid era, identities are created and reproduced.
2. In as much as political emancipation has been achieved, schools can be shown to be ideological state apparatuses (Mda, 2004a) still rooted in the tradition of Western institutional practice.

1.6 Scope and Delimitations of the Study

The study has as its focus the various self-narratives available to black learners who attended former white schools within the public schooling system in post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher acknowledges that there may have been shifts from the first decade of a democratic dispensation to the second decade in terms of demographics -that the schools that some of the participants attended may have been predominantly white in the first decade and probably have more black learners now and that this shift may have influenced their experiences. However, the objectives of this study are to identify their self-narratives, the circumstances under which they become salient, and to further spell out how black African learners negotiate the various identities that are brought to bear in various contexts rather than comparing their experiences within different time periods. As such the findings do not necessarily reflect the experiences of black African learners who attended predominantly white schools during the entire two decades of the post-democratic dispensation.

Since there is a general understanding in this country that the term ‘black’ includes Indians and Coloureds, it is important to mention the term is used in the current study to refer to black Africans only. Similarly, the term ‘Ubuntu’ that is employed in this study

refers to the philosophical notion pertaining to the understanding of human and social relationships (human solidarity) that emanates from the theorizing from an indigenous African perspective. Findings therefore may not be generalized beyond the black learners of African origin within South Africa, and in particular, those who are predominantly isiZulu speakers who were part of the current study. The participants attended predominantly English medium public schools. Hence the findings do not extend to black African learners that attended predominantly Afrikaans medium schools, or private schools, whose ethos, culture and history are different from public English medium schools.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

This section provides a list of key theoretical concepts and the definitions thereof that were used in this study. The definitions provided will be at a technical level and the in-depth meaning thereof will unfold as the writer expands on these throughout the study.

Afrocentricity/Africentricity: is the recognition of the need to analyze the African situation post-colonialism using the African culture as the center (Asante, 1988). Although the above-mentioned terms are sometimes used alternatively in the literature, it is the latter (Africentricity) that is preferred in the current study.

Ubuntu: stems from the belief that one is a human being through others. This is generally expressed through sayings such as *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* or *motho ke motho ka batho* (Ramose, 1999; Shutte, 1993). Terms such as *botho*, *vhuthu*, *hunhu*, are variations of the Ubuntu theme as captured by various languages in Southern Africa. Throughout the thesis, the Nguni variation of the term, Ubuntu, is used.

Dialogism: is a basic paradigm whose assumption is that human life and the process of knowing is relational (Hermans, Dimaggio, Hevern, & Valsiner, 2007).

The Dialogical self: according to dialogism the self is multifaceted, multivoiced and dialogical (Hermans, 1992). From the dialogical perspective, the self does not and cannot arise *ex nihilo* and exist independently of other human beings. Hence there is a parallel between the idea of the dialogical self as propounded in the seminal writings of Bakhtin (1981) and expanded on by Hermans (1992), and the idea of Ubuntu, which foregrounds that the self becomes through others. Manganyi (1973) also talks to the idea of dialogue, from an African perspective.

Multiple selves: the idea that a person is one and many and fundamentally consists and is made of the other (Ogbonnaya, 1994)

Black Africans: black people of African origin in South Africa

Psycho-politics: explicit politicization of the psychological (Hook, 2004a)

1.8 Summary and Overview of the Study

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 presents the introduction, background purpose and scope of the study. In Chapter 2, the various theories that justified and underpinned the construction of a white superiority and black inferiority identity binary will be juxtaposed against those that inadvertently maintain this status quo as well as those that have the potential to articulate a diverse and multiple identity post-apartheid. A comparative and critical analysis of these theories will cover two significant eras: the identity theories most prevalent during apartheid and those that have informed the post-apartheid era. Common themes that emerge will be utilized to illustrate that, to date, the identity theories and the concomitant body of knowledge perpetually marginalize the African view of the self and thus sustain the white superiority and black inferiority identity discourse.

This chapter concludes with an argument that the Western individualistic perspective on identity is not universal, and as such is not commensurate with the vision of a diverse,

inclusive and non-racial South African identity post apartheid. Alternative identity theories that embrace the notion of a multiple and dialogical self are advanced, for example Ubuntu and dialogism, as ideal for this purpose. Furnham and Mkhize (2003) buttress this argument when they state that such approaches enable one to understand psychological processes in various contexts, space and time.

Chapter 3 reviews work (case studies and research) and looks at empirical evidence that show that education systems locally and internationally perpetuate the 'white excels and black is inadequate' identity binary. In this regard empirical evidence is presented that depicts what it means to be a black learner in a white school, the misalignment between the home and the school culture as well as the resultant alienation that black learners experience in these environments. This chapter lays the foundation for the qualitative analysis that follows. Chapter 4 outlines the qualitative narrative interpretivist methodology used to collect and analyze data. Chapter 5 presents results and discussion thereof. Results are discussed in view of the participants' conceptions of the various self-narratives available to black learners in post apartheid South Africa, the circumstances under which these self-narratives or identities are evoked and how individuals negotiate the tensions and contradictions between these identities. Chapter 6 explains the conclusions drawn from data and the implications for theory as well as its application within the South African context. The summary of the dissertation, the contribution made by the results, recommendations and suggestions for further research are also dealt with in Chapter 6.

1.9 Conclusion

The introductory chapter has provided background to the persistent white superiority and black inferiority identity binary in post apartheid South Africa. It has shown how during apartheid, white dominance compromised the African perspective on identity, and how schools were used to mould the binary and further the aims of apartheid. It is argued in this study that the white superiority and black inferiority identity binary, is still entrenched despite the constitutional imperative of establishing an inclusive and non-racial society, and that schools continue to be significant sites for the reproduction thereof.

CHAPTER 2: THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT

This chapter outlines various theoretical approaches to identity formation, namely the Cartesian self, the socio-cognitive perspective, Africentrism and Ubuntu. These approaches are critiqued with a view to demonstrate that, while they contribute to identity discourse, none of them single-handedly addresses the power discrepancies between what could be considered "white" identities, informed largely by Eurocentric ideals, and "black" identities that draw primarily from African value systems. In addition, although the above-mentioned approaches do hint at the understanding that the person is complex, none of them adequately articulates and accounts for the multiple identities that have resulted from intermingling between cultures. In this regard, it is argued that single-handedly none of them provides sufficient tools to deal with uneven power dynamics between identities informed mainly by western and African ideals. The chapter ends with an argument that dialogism, the view that the human person is in perpetual communication with other people and the surrounding environment. Bakhtin (1981) and Hermans (1992) provide both a framework and tools for investigating identity formation in South Africa. It is further argued that though dialogism is already embedded in the idea of *Ubuntu* and other African precepts (Manganyi, 1973; Ramose, 1999), it will need to explicitly consider Ubuntu philosophizing in order to do justice to the articulation of multiple identities within the South African context that has a history of subjugation of the latter.

2.1 The Cartesian Self and Identity Formation

The Cartesian self, according to Descartes is based on the belief that the mind is separate from the body and that it is the former that constitutes the essence of our being, the self. Burkitt (1998, p. 64) opines as follows:

> Therefore, from the fact that I know with certainty that I exist, and that I do not observe that any other thing belongs necessarily to my nature or essence except that I am a thinking thing. I rightly conclude that my essence consists in this alone, that I am a thinking thing, or a substance whose whole essence or nature consists in thinking. And although perhaps…I have a body to which I am very

> closely united, nevertheless, because, on the one hand, I have a clear and distinct idea of the body in so far as it is only an extended thing but which does not think, it is certain that I, that is to say my mind, by which I am what I am, is entirely and truly distinct from my body and may exist without it.

The Cartesian self, also referred to as the solipsistic self, has the following characteristics: it is constituted of mind and is separated from the body; it is isolated from all other objects including "other selves" or "thinking subjects" (Sorell, 2001, p. 55). Further, it is individualistic in that it exists all by itself, with no connection whatsoever with other objects and subjects around it. The mind is viewed as superior to the body in that it has the capacity to exist irrespective of the changes that may happen to the body. The body according to this view is just an extension of the mind and has no significance in determining the self.

Descartes claims that the essence of being or self is not dependent on the body or its sensations at all. Descartes views bodily sensations as an impediment in the self's aspiration "for understanding metaphysical subject matter--the nature of the human soul and of God" (Sorell, 2001, p. 60). The importance of the mind is its ability to transcend the body in order to allow for objectivity and the ability to understand the abstract as well as the super-natural. According to Descartes, cultural artifacts such as language should not disturb thought processes. The theme that permeates Cartesian philosophy is that an individual's existence is not dependent on the body nor is it dependent on other people or any community surrounding the individual; rather it is thought that determines existence. Hence, Descartes "cogito and the corresponding definition of 'thought' 'I am thinking, therefore I exist" (Sorell, 2001, p. 66).

Burkitt (1998) observes that the Cartesian perspective's tendency to separate mind from the body, other people and culture, is characteristic of the Western worldview. The assumption that this perspective is universal disregards the observation that in other cultures the body and mind are one inseparable entity and that the essence of the self is based on this unison as well as on one's ability to interact with other people in the community. Burkitt (1998, p. 63) posits:

> … the body has been seen as a social construction, that is, as a malleable organism which is open to reformation through its location within historically variable social relations…the body is made active by social relations: that is, how it is brought into being and mobilized by its positioning in the interweaving networks of interdependence.

Descartes' arguments have since been referred to as Cartesian dualism (Burkitt, 1998; Christofidou, 2009; Hermans, 2001a). This separation of mind and body serves a purpose, that of not being influenced by the subjectivity of the body, in pursuit of objectivity in knowledge acquisition on various aspects of life. The conviction that objectivity is the ultimate virtue to strive for, and the belief that it is possible as long as one can dissociate the self from the body, leads to the aspiration, in this school of thought, to achieve it. Burkitt (1998, p. 160) concludes the argument on the question of dualism and objectivity by remarking that:

> We can never attain 'objective' knowledge of a world that exists separately from our own subjectivity, for there is no such knowledge to be had: a disembodied view of the world is a view from nowhere and is therefore impossible for humans to attain. All knowledge is embodied and situated, created within that fundamental unity between subjects and objects which is the product of having an active body.

Apart from the non-attainability of a completely objective point of view, the Cartesian view of the self has been criticized for the absence of the "other" in self-understanding (Hermans, Kempen, & Van Loon (1992), a gap addressed by socio-cognitive perspectives. The next section demonstrates that although socio-cognitive perspectives consider the other in self-understanding, their point of departure remains the Cartesian perspective.

2.2 The Socio-cognitive Approach to Identity Formation

The following section introduces the socio-cognitive approaches to identity formation. The main theoretical point of departure is Moskowitz's (2005) work, particularly regarding the cognitive processes that are involved in understanding the self and others. It is argued that, although socio-cognitive approaches to identity formation are viewed as universal, adaptive and evolutionary, in that they are regarded as occurring "naturally", and bring to the fore the perception of others and the context within which they are perceived, they do not depart significantly from the solipsistic view of the self that characterizes the Cartesian approach.

2.2.1 Social Cognition: Definitions

Moskowitz (2005, p. 2) defines social cognition as "the study of the mental processes involved in perceiving, attending to, remembering, thinking about, and making sense of the people in our social world." This definition takes a slight shift from the Cartesian view of the self in that it brings others to the fore in a process known as perception. Perception involves the body and the mind together, and therefore the bodily functions, and not just the mind, are acknowledged as important in perception. However, socio-cognitive approaches share the same assumptions with Cartesian approaches to the self, namely that the "other" is separate and external to the self. The distinction between self and other is thus maintained (Miller, Maner, & Becker, 2010). Similarly to the Cartesian school of thought, social-cognitive approaches are based on the assumption of universalism which inevitably amounts to endorsing mainstream Western approaches to self-understanding, to the exclusion of the ways the self is understood and appreciated in most non-Western cultures (Ramose, 1999; Shwedder, 1990).

The following sections engage with the socio-cognitive approaches to the self in detail, beginning with the main characteristics of this approach.

2.2.2 Characteristics of the Social Cognitive Perspective Towards Identity

Moskowitz (2005) identifies the following mental processes as key to understanding the other in a process he refers to as "person perception": 1) naïve realism, 2) the constructed nature of perception and the role of context and the perceiver, 3) the unconstructed nature of perception and the power of data, automacity and control, and 4) categorization. These processes are discussed at length below, as they constitute the socio-cognitive process. The discussion aims to demonstrate that social cognition contributes immensely towards the sustenance of the Western epistemological paradigm on what constitutes humanity and identity, and as such is instrumental in retaining white primacy and dominance in the so-called "decolonised" Africa (Ramose, 1999).

2.2.2.1 Naïve Realism

Moskowitz (2005, p. 22) refers to naïve realism as "The failure to see how we subjectively arrive at the conclusions we draw about others." Naïve realism's focus is on the other; its point of departure is that we are not biased when perceiving others. Its proponents argue that in our quest to bring order to our daily experiences, the cognitive system creates mechanisms to organize the data and even provides data, in order to bring about a "complete" picture (Anderson, 1983; Cloutier, Mason, & Macrae, 2005). It is hereby argued that naïve realism fails to realize that certain processes unfold without our conscious awareness and this means that bias cannot be ruled out completely in person perception. Mental processes can cloud and even lead to the misrepresentation and misinterpretation of the data at our disposal. This is due to the argument that these mental processes are not neutral and universal as is assumed by its proponents, rather they are influenced by the observer and his/her background, what Cloutier et al. (2005, p. 891) refer to as the "pre-existing knowledge structures" or cultural conceptions of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Shwedder, 1990).

Within the socio-cognitive framework, the other is not part of the self. This is a major shortcoming of this perspective, its claim to universal applicability in particular. As observed by Steyn (2001), the conceptualization of the self as a binary of "I and other"

has no universal application. Hence when applied cross-culturally it has no relevance in some communities (Manganyi, 1973; Ramose, 1999; Shwedder, 1990). Moreover, when applied to previously colonized communities, it results in the former colonizer's perspective being accorded a higher status as a normative frame of reference, while the former colonized way of understanding the self is relegated to an inferior status on the margins; the South African experience, discussed in detail in Chapter 3, being one of the exemplary cases (Makubalo, 2006; Soudien, 2004).

2.2.2.2 The Constructed Nature of Perception: the Role of Context and the Perceiver

The context, according to Ho, Sidanius, Levin and Banaji (2011), refers to all the cultural factors that reside outside the perceiver that influence the perceptual process. The role of the context in the construction of perception is necessitated by the prerequisite for structure and control in perception. Moskowitz (2005) argues that the cognitive system is constantly bombarded with information. While this information is at times coherent and thus allowing for easy processing, storage and structuring, there are instances where information is complex, incoherent and not amenable to easy processing, storage or interpretation. The tendency to process easily when information is coherent, and to struggle in processing complex, incoherent information, is attributable to an entrenched processing architecture, that uses pre-existing knowledge structures to make meaning, and to sustain itself (Cloutier et al., 2005; Miller et al., 2010). As such whenever we perceive, according to socio-cognitive theorists, we rely on reference points, our norms, goals, stereotypes, expectancies, culture, prior knowledge, mood, affect, and needs (Moskowitz, 2005).

This process would be considered adaptive in that, as socio-cognitive theorists argue, it promotes efficiency in perception. However, in societies like South Africa, where there is a binary of "superior" Western and "inferior" African cultures entrenched by apartheid, whiteness and blackness are made salient in the perceptual field (Cloutier et al., 2005; Ho et al., 2011). Perceivers have been socially engineered, through various societal institutions, for example schools and the home environment, to internalize

whiteness as a symbol of intellect, civilization, affluence and just basically everything good, and blackness as unintelligent, childlike, uncivilized, violent, savage, barbaric, poor and just plain bad. These internalized binary representations instill values and norms in us that emphasize these aspects of the visual field. Ho et al. (2011) argue that context supplies data to our experience, even if it means providing additional data that is not part of the perceptual field, so as to complete the picture and give it meaning, a process Moskowitz (2005) refers to as "closure". This means that through internalized representations of whiteness (superiority) and blackness (inferiority), person perception in line with the binary is constructed and maintained at all cost, even in instances where there is no evidence to support this dichotomy.

While the section above has demonstrated how person perception unfolds through deliberate and direct processing, the following section shows that this process can also unfold indirectly through a process Moskowitz (2005) refers to as the "unconstructed nature of perception".

2.2.2.3 The Unconstructed Nature of Perception: the Power of the Data, Automacity and Control

Moskowitz (2005, p. 53) argues that what grabs our attention are the salient features of data, like "…intensity, novelty, suddenness, repetition, movement, complexity, and unit formation" (p. 53). Moskowitz (2005) consistently advances the argument that the perceptual process is automatic, and that this is an important development in the evolutionary sense, in that it saves us from engaging with data from scratch each time it is presented. This facilitates the perceptual process, because inferences can be made, and responses to data meted out, without cumbersome and uneconomical procedures.

Contrary to the argument above, in the South African context the racially determined characteristics of data, irrespectively either whiteness or blackness as indicated above, stand out in person perception. In a process Moskowitz (2005) refers to as "automacity and control", data is configured and internalized as indicated above through the apartheid cultural norm of white "superiority" and black "inferiority". Though largely

consciously orchestrated, perceptions are also automated and happen in a subliminal way. In this regard, the apartheid norm of the binary is used to configure the data "without knowing, without consciously conforming … oblivious to the fact that we are using such norms to filter perception" (Moskowitz, (2005, pp. 38-39). Through this silent, almost second nature and invisible process, whiteness is entrenched as the norm; so is the othering of blackness and thus the "superior white" and "inferior black" binary continues unabated. This categorization is discussed in detail below to demonstrate that, while it is considered as critical for efficiency in perceptual processing and as such evolutionary, it entrenches and maintains the superior white and inferior black identity binary.

2.2.2.4 Categorization

Moskowitz (2005, p. 111) defines categories as "Mental representations of the classes or groups of events/things/people that help us to structure our knowledge…." Social cognition theorists (e.g. Alter & Darley, 2009; Cloutier et al., 2005; & Phelan & Rudman, 2010) argue that using categories in perception is beneficial in that it allows for efficiency in information processing. They posit that categorization enables us to group or classify similar information for ease of reference and recall in the midst of information overload. In other words, grouping information this way allows us not only to process incoming information faster but it also enables us to make inferences based on the knowledge that is already in existence. In the case of people, categories enable us to anticipate/infer certain characteristics and behaviours with which the individual will present.

Categorization in the South African context is, however, not just for efficiency in information processing; it is also, as indicated in the section above, for endowing individuals with characteristics and inferences regarding their anticipated behavior, depending on whether they fall on the black or white side of the binary (Manganyi, 1973). On the international stage, this view is corroborated by Miller et al. (2010), who found that African-Americans generally and black males in particular are associated with physical threat. They wrote: "when White participants saw highly masculine

walkers moving directly at them, they tended to see those walkers as Black (rather than White)" (Miller et al., 2010, p. 15). Miller et al. (2010, p. 4) posit that this is exemplary of a situation where "perceivers…use their knowledge of a social category to infer a variety of information about members of that category, such as their social roles, abilities, and personality traits." The separation of the self (black) from the other (white) and the resultant stereotypes in South Africa meant that the circumstances black people lived under (or, the long term effects of slavery in the case of the US), were ignored as they were viewed as commensurate with their social standing. This resulted in their being deprived of basic human rights such as the right to education, housing and decent employment. Poverty and suffering therefore became the order of the day. The total disregard of the other promoted by the entrenched Cartesian cognitive processing resulted in a vicious cycle where the people categorized as black were treated as second-class citizens, viewed as inferior and deserving what came their way. In other words, apartheid instituted a "self-absorbed" tunnel vision or mental processing architecture that led oppressors to cling closely to that which was important and relevant to them, that is to see the world in an egocentric way, while ignoring others' perspectives (Miller et al., 2010). This type of perception, in which the self is all-important and the world is filtered through the lens of a narrowly defined "self", is referred to by Moskowitz (2005) as "egocentric perception".

Categorization, far from being a natural and neutral process, is politicized for the purpose of ascribing identities to individuals that will, depending on whether they are classified black or white, imbue them with positive or negative characteristics. To this day blackness in South Africa, and Africa in general is portrayed as equivalent to poverty, lack of education and largely inferior. On the other hand whiteness remains a symbol of advantage, education and affluence (Adiche, 2012). Recent studies on HIV and AIDS confirm this unfortunate observation of the perpetuation of the binary. These studies indicate that social ills, for example poverty and HIV and AIDS, are disproportionately a black problem in South Africa. According to the National Development Plan 2030, "in the bottom 50 per cent of earners, the average earnings of African workers is one-quarter to one-fifth that of their white counterparts" (Commission, 2013, p. 132). On the other hand, Shisana, Zungu and Pezi (2009, in

Rohleder, Swartz, Kalichman & Simbayi, 2009, p. 93) draw a correlation between inequality, poverty, HIV and race. They observe:

> Inequalities that were racially enforced continue to be a challenge in many countries, including South Africa. Unequal distribution of resources and denial of access to resources, such as education and limited employment opportunities, may force certain groups to menial jobs. This cycle of intergenerational poverty eventually leads to all kinds of vulnerability, including HIV.

An article in the Drum Magazine further demonstrates that the binary has outlived apartheid and that blackness still symbolizes subhuman. This article reports of an:

> 18 year old (black) girl (who) reported for her first netball practice …(and got) tricked into eating baby food allegedly mixed with saliva during an initiation ceremony organized by some of their white schoolmates…an act that has left many asking if we will ever be able to eradicate racism in our much-praised rainbow nation (Hlongwane, 2012, p. 18).

Further, findings as reflected in studies like that conducted by Dawson (2003, p. 10) indicate that the binary has outlived apartheid. Learners in this study remarked that:

> If you're too black, then you are a kaffir. If you are too white, only then they [white learners and teachers] will greet you…If you're my complexion [relatively dark-skinned, in comparison to her friends], then they don't even want to know you. It's like the blacker you are…then it's like you've sinned.

South African findings on the perpetuation of the binary are supported by studies conducted in the United States. Ho et al. (2011) demonstrated in an experiment that both half-Asian/half-White and half-Black/half-White targets were categorized as relatively more minority than Whites despite there being an equal chance of them being categorized as white. Ho et al. (2011, p. 25) observe:

> The experiment also provided preliminary evidence that the effect might be stronger for part-Black targets. [Moreover] …participants found a minority label more descriptive of quarter Black/three-quarter-White targets than of quarter

Asian/three-quarter-White targets, and a White label more descriptive of quarter-Asian/three- quarter-White targets.

The hypodescent effect, that is, the existence of a higher threshold for biracials to be characterized as white, has been shown by Ho et al. (2011) to have a clear link to the racial status hierarchy in the United States. Since being categorized as white is associated with access to a host of privileges, like better education, employment opportunities and general well-being, these findings not only show that racial categorization has a socio-political and socio-economic motive, they also demonstrate that person perception informs the identity discourse, in that individuals are perceived as black and inferior or white and superior (Cloutier et al., 2005). The study by Ho et al. (2011) resonates with the South African context, where the separation of racial groupings was closely guarded and made a norm through legislation; for instance the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (U. o. S. Africa, 1949), the Group Areas Act (U. o. S. Africa, 1950) and Bantu Education Act (U. o. S. Africa, 1953). These acts (amongst others) ensured that whites had the highest social status and that on a sliding scale, from the least dark to the darkest these privileges were cascaded and watered down.

Studies like the ones outlined above demonstrate that “culturally entrenched social categories and norms guide and even limit social perception” (Ho et al., 2011, p. 4). This not only results in the “othering”, particularly of the oppressed groups, it also results in psychological trauma of significant magnitude, for example the development of an inferiority complex in African people, as well as self-loathing and self-doubt (Biko, as cited in Woods, 1987). Further, once the binary was instituted by law as demonstrated above, it resulted in what Manganyi (1973) and Bearman and Hedström (2009) referred to as the self-fulfilling prophecy. Consistent with the ascribed qualities, African people end up acting “black”/inferior, in line with the social engineering fostered by apartheid.

Social cognition is critiqued in this study on two scores. First, social cognitive theorists fail to recognize and acknowledge that the various mental processes, which are instituted as part of social cognition, promote a fragmented self where the perceiver is

distinguished from the object/subject. The claim by this school of thought to universal application is critiqued because, in some cultures, the self and culture/other co-constitute each other (Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004b; Ramose,1999; Shweder, 1990).Therefore a perceptual process as advanced by social cognition theorists does not only lack universal validity, it inevitably leads to the oppression of those perspectives on identity that are based on indigenous understandings of the self and the world.

Secondly, the general concern with social cognition theory is that the power issue between indigenous African and Western epistemological paradigms on what constitutes a person and their identities is not addressed; everything is subverted/circumvented and relegated to the "natural, neutral and universal" perceptual processes, that are viewed as largely automatic and unconscious. The argument in this study is that social cognition in South Africa can be equated to a mechanism that used "biological accidents like blue eyes, skin colour, short hair or an oval cranium … all [used as] little pieces of poor evidence to prove the untenable claim that only a particular segment of humanity is rational" (Ramose, 1999, p. 7), and constitutes a norm regarding what being a person means (Biko, 1978; Ramose, 1999; Steyn, 2001). Ramose (1999) further argues that this engineering was about influencing the subconscious mind, and its aim was to deliberately define black people against standards they were not responsible for. This social engineering thus ensured the Western "epistemological dominance [which was] crystallising in the unilaterally conferred, though no less questionable, right to determine and define the meaning of experience, knowledge and truth on behalf of the indigenous African" (Ramose, 1999, p. 14).

The next section looks at other approaches to identity formation that challenge "West European's exclusive claim to reason …[and] the fallacy of the superiority thereof" (Ramose, 1999, p. 12). Africentrism as informed by the work of Asante (1988), the idea of Ubuntu as informed by the African worldview of the self and dialogical view of human functioning will be presented. This is to demonstrate that there are alternative worldviews that have challenged not only the Western perspective on the self but have also begun to expose power dynamics manifest between African and Western

perspectives on the self, and how these continuously perpetuate the “white superiority” and “black inferiority” binary.

2.3. Africentrism

Africentrism is one of the schools of thought that seek to address and affirm African perspectives on identity in the midst of the inherited inequities resulting from colonialism and imperialism. Africentricity is a revolutionary stance that has as its main tenet the argument that, through colonization and the concomitant imposition of Eurocentrism as a centre for all, the psyche, the self of the African people, has been deliberately decentred (Asante, 1988). For this reason, Africans need to refocus and look out from their centre, from the essence of who they are, their culture (Asante, 1988). Africentricity seeks to understand phenomena by beginning all analyses from the perspective of the African person as human agent. It is a revolutionary approach that calls for a return to, and retrieval of, that which was lost during colonization, what Africentrics regard as a period of African destruction (e.g. loss of independence and culture) (Asante, 1988; Grills, 2004; Ramose, 1999; Walker & Mungazi, 1995). They argue for the recognition of the contributions of people of African descent, not only as an identity project but also in order “to protect African people from European/American universalism, supremacism and hegemony” (Asante, 1988, p. 26).

Unlike social cognition theorists, Africentrism makes special reference to the power imbalances between African and Western identities, the resultant decentring of the African people from who they are as well as a clear indication of what it means to centre African people in the midst of oppression, a result of European hegemony. Africentrism provides a philosophy for the reattachment of the African people to African cultural frameworks, by “discerning the struggles between dominant and subordinate subcultures” (Shockley, 2003, p. 22). It is a call for Africans to “return and retrieve that which was lost during the period of African destruction” (Shockley, 2003, p. 21). The reattachment agenda, according to this school of thought, includes the following elements: (1) identity clarification, (2) Pan Africanist sentiment, (3) African culture, (4) African values adoption and transmission, (5) Black Nationalism, (6)

community control/institution building, and (7) education as opposed to schooling. These elements are discussed in detail in the section that follows.

2.3.1 Identity Clarification

Identity clarification is listed as one of the factors in the course of cultural attachment. Africentrics argue that blacks need to be taught Africanness, otherwise, they will be disconnected from who they are. In support of this view, Shockley (2003, p. 28) regards identity as paramount in that "if the black child does not know who s/he 'is' s/he cannot know his/her purpose." In the South African context, getting black people to know who they are is necessitated by the entrenched black inferiority, an apartheid creation, which has by and large overshadowed African perspectives on identity, so much so that centring Africans post colonialism may mean first and foremost articulating what it means to be an African. The ideology that is favoured by Africentrics for this purpose is Pan Africanism.

2.3.2 Pan Africanism

As an ideology, Pan Africanism, is premised on the contention that everything that is in Africa belongs to Africans. Shockley (2003, p. 34) argues that Pan Africanist ideology "imbues a sense of racial togetherness and pride in children, and encourages them to take responsibility for the forward progress of the African world community." Scholars like Asante (1980), Brookins (1984), Doughty (1973), Hilliard (1997), Lomotey (1992), Ridley (1971) and Satterwhite (1971), to mention a few, agree that Pan Africanism instills agency in people that have been oppressed, as it builds unity of purpose in so far as the reconstruction of their identities is concerned. This argument finds relevance in the South African context, in that the non-racial identity framework promoted post apartheid has not provided redress by way of anchoring identity formation on positive indigenous value orientations. By means of this failure, amongst others, non-racialism sustains the denigration of the African people post apartheid. This denigration, Ramose (1999, p. 43) argues, "has solidified into an injury: a philosophical-scientific injury

where the unjustly conquered live under the burden of a specific experience in an injured and humiliated consciousness: that we are an injured and humiliated people."

This is what I refer to as the African identity problematic, which remains unresolved post apartheid. This "lack of direction [means that African people] become pawns and playthings of those who are directed and powerful" (Shockley, 2003, p. 35). Non-racialism inadvertently promotes the Western epistemological paradigm on identity, as the latter entered the democratic dispensation already having a hegemonic status.

The assertion of Pan Africanism confronts the power issue between Western and African identity perspectives in that, first, it acknowledges the prevalent imbalance between the two. Secondly, it provides a clear direction with regard to how to address the African identity problematic, by arguing for a Pan Africanist identity, which is grounded on Africanness. Third, it grounds the African by facilitating unity between the Africans around a common identity, thus promoting cohesion and agency, two of the essential/critical elements of an African identity perspective that were compromised by colonialism and apartheid (Manganyi, 1973; Ramose, 1999).

2.3.3 African Culture

The third element of Africentricism is African culture. Shockley (2003, p. 36) defines culture as "the way a people define, create, celebrate, sustain, and develop themselves." The African worldview makes reference to what constitutes an African culture and the various prescribed stages, ceremonies, customs and traditions that one has to go through in order to be a person (Ramose, 1999). It is noteworthy that, since African cultures were suppressed through the oppressive apartheid laws in South Africa, they have been compromised to an extent, and that a significant number of Africans cannot articulate elements that constitute their culture. Some have distorted versions of their culture, yet are well-versed with cultures of the West. Others undermine/look down upon, or are simply ignorant of their cultures. All of this leads to what Asante refers to as self-annihilation, a state where "…their images, symbols, lifestyles, and manners (become)

contradictory and thereby destructive to personal and collective growth and development" (Asante, 1988, p. 1).

All the vehicles designed to transmit culture, the school, the community structures, the media, have a Western bias, because that is what has been inherited from the apartheid system. The vicious cycle that starts with the censorship of African culture, which in turn gives rise to a paucity of avenues that articulate African cultures, for example literature, is perpetuated post apartheid by the democratic dispensation that has settled for a non-racial identity discourse (Ramose, 1999).

2.3.4 African Values Adoption and Transmission

The motivation for the adoption and transmission of African values is provided by the concern that, "our frame of reference has been reversed from that of our Afrikan selves to accepting a frame of reference based upon the value system of Europeans and European Americans" (Shockley, 2003, pp. 40-41). Historically, the idea of Ubuntu, the understanding that a person exists for others, including the community, has been one of the most important if not the key value orientation in large parts of the continent (Ramose, 1999). Due to the individualistic value system imposed by the West, which compromised the collectivist African value system, Africentrics argue that it is imperative to restore African value systems post apartheid. This means educating all concerned, primarily Africans, about their value systems, which would imply reviving their sense of agency. Shockley argues that it is through the transmission of African value systems that African nationalism is revived. In this regard, Walker and Mungazi (1995) add a proviso that regressive elements of African nationalism are discarded while positive ones are strengthened and carried forward -- a reconstructive process that is never ending. With these as conditions, African Nationalism is identified as the fifth element of the Africentric school of thought (Shockley, 2003).

2.3.5 African Nationalism

African nationalism was destroyed during colonization and apartheid through the divide and rule policies. Africanness was deliberately targeted for destruction in a multi-dimensional way: by physically waging wars to strip Africans of their most prized possession, land, and all the physical resources that go with it, for example minerals, and politically by stripping them of their citizenship. Disenfranchised, they could not influence the running of the country; their political will was sidelined. Psychologically, Africanness was undermined as inferior; it was degraded and relegated to an equivalent of animal. Dispossession created a lot of havoc as far as African identity formation was concerned. Not only did Western identity perspectives take centre stage, they were declared the norm. Biko (as cited in Woods, 1987) and many other struggle heroes advocate the promotion of African nationalism through the grounding of the African people in Africanness. Biko (1978), for instance, believed in instilling black consciousness as the first step towards liberating the mind of Africans, so that they can see black identity for what it is: a construction of the West, which was designed to oppress the African people.

Shockley (2003, p. 43), in a similar vein, argues that the only way blacks can take control of their lives is that "they must be taught how to do so." Shockley (2003, p. 43) similarly argues that teaching is "the only way that Blacks will be able to take control of the psychic and physical space that they call theirs, and [to take agency] over their lives and the institutions needed for their survival." It is the contention of this study that it is this sense of being an African nation that has been lost, and is not being redressed by the non-racial system that South Africa has adopted post apartheid. By not addressing the African identity problematic and African nationalism, non-racialism perpetuates white dominance. The next element that Shockley (2003) identifies for the re-attachment agenda comprises community control and institution building. These two factors are considered critical in re-instating Black Nationalism.

2.3.6 Community Control and Institution Building

According to Shockley (2003) "community control involves making important decisions about the institutions that exist in one's community." In post-apartheid South Africa, Western perspectives dominate schools and other social institutions. Clearly, by not directing institutions such as schools, Africans have not gained control or self-determination. The opportunity to build institutions based on African values seems to be lost in non-racialism. The gaining of political control, while not being able to control institutions in which to establish appropriate programmes on Africanness, creates a condition which is tantamount to self-oppression or self-destruction, as this situation means that the West is ironically still in power. Shockley (2003) argues that to turn this around means educating the youth as they, unlike their parents who have been miseducated, have the potential to acquire revolutionary thinking around issues of identity, hence the call for Education, not Schooling/Training as the sixth pillar of Africentrism.

2.3.7 Education Versus Schooling

Shockley (2003, p. 48) makes a distinction between education and schooling/training. He posits: "schooling teaches the Black child to conform to the needs and interests of someone else…Education, on the other hand, is an enterprise that affects all of life and living."

For Shockley (2003, p. 49) "…true education…is primarily 'knowledge of self." In South Africa though part of the mandate of education is that of promoting a non-racial self, while knowledge of the African self, the Pan Africanist self, is not part of the curriculum. As such, despite its claim to non-racialism, the education system is grounded on Western and capitalist values of individualism and competitiveness, and as such maintains the status quo of Western dominance. Shockley (2003) advocates for a revolutionary reconceptualization of the education of black people, in order to turn this around. Centring Africaness through education is viewed as the only way that this can

be done. In this regard Walker and Mungazi (1995, p. 475) advocate a Sankofa style education, an education system which is derived from Sankofa an "Akan (Ghanaian) word that means "return to the source and fetch [learn]…The source… is indigenous African culture, history, and identity elements that suggest …the power within African people to shape new directions". The authors emphasize that going back to the source means ensuring that the African values that were stripped by colonialism and apartheid are revisited and renewed, and where appropriate are made the basis of the education system - a plan of action that would be much better than continuing to build on the existing individualistic Western value system that was imposed on the African people by apartheid.

2.3.8 Critique of Africentrism

Africentric philosophy has been critiqued by its detractors as falling into the same trap as the Eurocentric perspective of using the binary, the either (Eurocentric) or (Africentric) approaches. It has been argued that it equates culture with the geographic space of the nation and does not fully capture the complex relationship between cultures, the hybridization of cultural practices and the creation of multiple identities (Hermans, 2001b). Critical as this argument is, it is important to note that there are various strands of Africentric thought. For example, Dixon (1970) has argued for what he calls diunital logic inherent in Africentric thought which he claims rejects either/or thinking. According to Dixon (1970, p. 426), diunital thinking means that:

> something is both this element and not this element at the same time…Di-unitally speaking, there is also present among black people a non-unique and universal element—nonblack culture. . . . [Black people] embody without conflict a black culture and a universal culture, the latter being those attributes shared by all cultures. Di-unitally, he is one and many.

Likewise, African psychologists such as Grills (2004) have argued that African idea systems are based on an inclusive epistemology that is always open to other idea systems. It is the contention of this study that the criticism leveled against Africentric scholars should be viewed against the contribution they have made in the empowerment

of blacks and in instilling black pride, and thus laying the groundwork for the decolonization of Africa. Although Africentrism could be critiqued as lacking in tools to articulate and deal with the multiple identities that have emerged by default, due to the intermingling of cultures, I posit that this is an unfair expectation, as that was never the intention. Africentrism was not meant to articulate how power differences and the resultant identity dynamics play themselves out within a person, hence the tools they have brought forward address identity imbalances at a systemic or macro-level rather than at a micro-level.

Power differences at a political (colonization) macro-level manifest themselves within individuals in a process Hook (2004a, p. 84) calls "psycho-politics", where what is intended for political ends, in this case apartheid, also has psychological ramifications. He argues further that where identity becomes rooted in politics, macro-level interventions as articulated by, for example, Africentrism, are not sustainable. Macro-level interventions should be coupled with interventions at an individual or micro-level, particularly because in a country like South Africa, where what was intended for political ends (in this case colonization and apartheid) also manifests psychologically (Manganyi, 1973). Though apartheid had essentially political ends, the construction of blackness as inferior led to the incorporation of the psychological sphere to achieve political objectives. Hence interventions intended to deal with this double disempowerment should target it at both systemic and individual levels. As such, macro-level interventions like Africentrism should be coupled with interventions at a micro level that recognize and articulate the multiple identities, and concomitant identity dynamics, within a person and between persons, that perpetuate domination (Ramose, 1999). Mkhize (2004b, p. 67) articulates this need for a double-pronged intervention where he notes that Biko was interested in "…studying the processes through which the mind becomes colonised… also [interested in finding ways to] investigate means to decolonize the mind, thereby reclaiming the voice for the people."

Ramose (1999) argues that key to this double-pronged intervention is understanding the history of the identity binary. He posits that it emanates from the Western philosophic tradition that installed itself as having exclusive rights to reason and, with that, the

power to determine what it means to be human. Having set the standards and perimeters of what it means to be, articulated by the individualistic Cartesian self paradigm, and believing that the standards they set were universal, Westerners catapulted themselves to a position of superiority over others, particularly those they wanted to colonize (O'Flynn, 2009). In the words of Ramose (1999, p. ii):

> By virtue of this ever questionable right, the victorious conqueror in the manifestly unjust wars of colonisation appropriated the sole, unilateral right to define and delimit the meaning of experience, knowledge and truth for the African and, of course, all the colonised ... the world over.

In pursuit of domination and dispossession of African people, the African context, which presented a different epistemological paradigm with regards to what constitutes a person, was completely ignored. This deliberate disregard for the experiences and truth of what constitutes a person in the African worldview, coupled with the forceful institutionalization of the Western paradigm as a norm for all, has brought unimaginable harm to the African people. I argue that this is entrenched and has outlived apartheid. Hence the articulation of multiple diverse identities inherited by default post apartheid, is devoid of meaning, without the reclamation and reconstruction of aspects of Africanness that have been historically devalued, for ideological and political reasons (Biko, 1978; Lodeje, 2012).

As demonstrated by the literature review above, very little has been done in moving the African worldview on identity formation from the margins to the centre of the identity discourse, along with other discourses, hence the black identity problematic has remained intact post colonialism and post apartheid. With socio-cognitive theory not giving recognition to other perspectives on the self, instead assuming that the Eurocentric, individualistic Cartesian self is universal, and with Africentrism also taking a centrist view to identity formation, both views fail to deal with the black identity problematic, and the multiple identity phenomenon, that has become a strong feature of the post-colonial era due to inter-mingling of cultures. Consequently both approaches do not uncover how the superior white and inferior black identity binary, a legacy of

apartheid, is perpetuated within and between individuals within the emerging multiple identity discourse, post apartheid.

Dialogism and Ubuntu are presented below to fill this gap. While Ubuntu provides a framework to reclaim and reconstruct aspects of Africanness that have been historically devalued for ideological and political reasons, the dialogical view of human functioning, also embedded in Ubuntu philosophy, provides mechanisms and tools to articulate the marginalization of African identity perspectives, by spelling out the power imbalances that characterize the multiple identities inherited by default, post apartheid. Combined, Ubuntu and the dialogical view of human functioning form a mechanism to "…upset some of the ideological uses of certain psychological notions and the interests of power that they serve" (Mkhize, 2004c, p. 28). They provide a macro- (ideological) and micro- (within and between people) framework, that I refer to as Ubuntu as dialogism, that has the potential to level the playing field for the articulation of the marginalized African understanding of human functioning, and thus pave a way for the articulation of multiple identities that are not founded on the identity binary.

2.4 Ubuntu and Dialogism

As demonstrated in the sections above, the multiple identities inherited by default pre, during and post apartheid are mired in power discrepancies of white superiority and black inferiority, despite a democratic dispensation that is premised on equality. Ubuntu and Dialogism are presented below to put forward an argument that multiple identities, free from white dominance, can only be meaningfully articulated once marginalized African identity perspectives, premised on Ubuntu, are taken into account. It will be argued that the dialogical view of human functioning enables us to do so.

The section below presents the basic tenets of Ubuntu and Dialogism on the understanding of human functioning, and parallels are drawn between the two (Bakhtin, 1981; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Mkhize, 2004b; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999). It is further shown that, the parallels between Ubuntu and Dialogism notwithstanding, the

latter explicitly emphasizes the tools to deal with the power dynamics inherent in the idea of multiple selves.

2.4.1 The Basic Tenets and Characteristics of the Idea of Ubuntu-as-Dialogue

The essence of the African worldview of personhood, Ubuntu in Nguni, is captured by Mbiti (1969) dictum “I am because we are” or “I am we”. According to Ramose (1999, p. 50), *Ubuntu*,

> is actually two words in one. It consists of the prefix *ubu-* and the stem *–ntu. Ubu*...is enfolded be-ing before it manifests itself in the concrete form or mode of ex-istence of a particular entity. *Ubu-* as enfolded be-ing is always oriented towards unfoldment, that is, incessant continual concrete manifestation through particular forms and modes of being. In this sense *ubu-* is always oriented towards *–ntu. Ubu-* and *–ntu* are mutually founding in the sense that they are two aspects of be-ing as a one-ness and an indivisible whole-ness. Accordingly, *ubu-ntu* is the fundamental ontological and epistemological category in the African thought of the Bantu-speaking people. It is the indivisible one-ness and whole-ness of ontology and epistemology. *Ubu*-as the generalised understanding of be-ing may be said to be distinctly ontological, whereas *–ntu* as the nodal point at which be-ing assumes concrete form or mode of being in the process of continual enfoldment may be said to be the distinctly epistemological.

The African understanding of personhood, unlike the Western Cartesian perspective on the same, does not separate the body from the mind; instead, the person is viewed as a whole. Be-ing means inseparableness of self at ontological and epistemological levels. This inseparableness from the other means that Umuntu (a person) cannot be unless he or she has Ubuntu. Ubuntu is acquired as one engages with others and the environment, a phenomenon summarized by the Nguni phrase: *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu (a person is a person because of others).* In various African societies, institutions were mandated to facilitate this process where the primacy of the collective was instilled throughout the stages of life. For example, at birth, the newborn was introduced to the extended family and the community at large, through a ceremony called *imbeleko*, where an animal was

slaughtered to connect the child to his/her ancestors. Hence the saying "it takes a whole village to raise a child" as already at birth there is an understanding that *umntwana wakho ngowami* (your child is my child), and therefore there is collective responsibility for raising the child. There is consensus that should one for whatever reason fail to acquire *Ubuntu* then one does not qualify to be referred to as Umuntu (a person). Being devoid of *Ubuntu* was regarded as being tantamount to being an *inswelaboya*, literally, an animal in human form (metaphorically, being devoid of the necessary essentials of personhood).

It has been shown above that social engagement is an indispensable aspect of being, in African thought. In a similar vein, Bakhtin (1984), who lays the groundwork for Dialogism advances a self that is immersed in relationships. Thus, argues Bakhtin (1981, p. 287), "…To be means to be for the other; and through him [sic] for oneself."

Although both Ubuntu, and the theory of the dialogical self, acknowledge the other as part of the self, and advance a self that is in constant dialogue with others, it is Dialogism that explicitly advances the argument that dialogue cannot be separated from relations of dominance and power. As a result, the dialogical self has a built-in mechanism or machinery to wade through relationships where "actors continually alternate the roles of 'power holder' and 'power subject' (Hermans, 2004, p. 16).

The following section builds on this argument that there are parallels between Ubuntu and the dialogical view of the self, emanating from Bakhtin's (1981) work. The idea of Ubuntu is thus indispensable in redressing marginalized African accounts of human functioning. However, the dialogical view of the self, emanating from Bakhtin's (1981) work, particularly the focus on relations of power and dominance, enables one to articulate "colonised people's conception of reality, knowledge and truth [and how it] should be released from slavery and dominance, under the European epistemological paradigm" (Ramose, 1999, p. 45).

The basic tenets of Ubuntu, according to Manganyi (1973), Ogbonnaya (1994), Ramose (1999) and Mkhize (2004b), constitute the following elements: 1) multiplicity of the

self; 2) existence in space and time; 3) becoming or perpetual construction; and 4) perpetual dialogue. It will be shown that these views are also shared by dialogical self theorists (e.g., Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

2.4.1.1 Multiplicity of the Self

According to Ogbonnaya (1994, p. 75), "…from an African worldview the human person must be seen as a community in and of itself including a plurality of selves…." Unlike the Western view of the self that separates the self from the other, a person according to this worldview, is one and many and fundamentally consists and is made of the other. This multiplicity of the self is viewed within a continuum of selves that are interwoven with each other: the Divine self, the ancestral self, the personal self and the emergent self (Ogbonnaya, 1994). The Divine self, according to Grills (2004), is "the spiritual dimension of the self" (p. 194). [It is] "…an extension, a spark of the divine" (p. 176). Through the Divine self, the person is interwoven and is one with the universe and the natural order of all things both inanimate and the living (Manganyi, 1973). The ancestral self stems from the belief that ancestors live eternally with their souls embodied in the living (Ramose, 1999). Hence when the Nguni of Southern Africa greet an individual they use the plural *ninjani*? (How are you all?). The plural greeting is an enquiry into the health of multiple selves that include the ancestral self and other selves. The personal self is the "contemporary self…an embodiment of the living present members of the community" (Ogbonnaya, 1994, p. 84). This self includes souls of the present parents as well as additional significant others. The personal self, born out of the selves mentioned above, has the ability to engage with the other selves and have conversations with them. This is the self that is able to "stand apart from [the others], either through trance or visions or dream or even ordinary everyday conversation depending on the level of one's psychic maturity." (Ogbonnaya, 1994, p. 85)

The primary function of the personal self is to bring harmony between all selves and to diffuse any conflict that may arise due to tension-filled interactions. It is important to note that this characteristic of the personal self can be beneficial for reconciling the tensions that currently exist within the multiple selves inherited by default post

apartheid, where whiteness still reigns supreme at the expense of blackness. The emergent self on the other hand "is that which is not clearly formed, the not yet aspect of the self…its formation depends on the help of the other selves" (Ogbonnaya, 1994, p. 84).

The emergent self encapsulates the process of becoming, a never ending process where being means being perpetually molded, coached and mentored by others, a phenomenon aptly captured by the IsiZulu phrase *injobo enhle ithungelwa ebandla,* meaning there's strength in collective wisdom (Ramose, 1999). In the same way that the multiplicity of the selves is characteristic of traditional African perspectives on personhood, the self, so is it also characteristic of the dialogical self.

Hermans (1996b, p. 33) conceived the dialogical self as a "dynamic multiplicity of relatively autonomous I positions in an imaginal landscape". These I positions include voices or positions of real or imaginal others (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007), who could be parents, grandparents, and even deceased relatives. Just like traditional African perspectives on the self, the dialogical self recognizes the other, including the deceased, as part of the self and that to be means to be for the other. Both schools of thought agree that as much as there is continuity in terms of the other being an extension of the self, there is also discontinuity in terms of the selves being different and having different views on issues (Hermans, 2001a; Mkhize, 2004b). Similarities notwithstanding, what Ubuntu did not anticipate was a complete separation of self from the other, orchestrated by the colonizer as part of the dispossession agenda. This separation gave rise to the apartheid identity binary of white superiority and black inferiority through, a process Fanon (1986, p. 127) refers to as "the racist cultural practices of scapegoating the racial other, of attempting to achieve a sense of superiority through the inferiorisation of another." These power dynamics seem to have transcended apartheid and characterize multiple identities post apartheid. As such, African views on the self remain inferiorized, if not completely marginalized. Since the theory of the dialogical self (Hermans, 1996b) has the capability to deal with power asymmetries between various selves, it is recommended as an intervention to deconstruct the apartheid binary and to

reconstruct the African view of the self, and by so doing articulate the interplay between multiple selves inherited by default pre and post apartheid.

2.4.1.2 Existence in Space and Time

According to African perspectives of the self, the multiplicity of the self makes it possible for a person to have multiple existences in space and time (Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004a; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999). As demonstrated above, a number of selves - the ancestral self, the personal or contemporary self as well as the emergent or future self-occupy a common space at any given time. By virtue of the multiple selves representing different time epochs, the self exists simultaneously in the past, present and future, that is, all the selves co-exist in space unlimited by time. However, co-existence does not presuppose agreement between the various selves, as selves may sometimes be in conflict with one another, triggering the personal self to emerge and manage not only the other selves but also the positions that they occupy (Ogbonnaya, 1994).

An example of the dynamics of this phenomenon may be seen when someone who is destined to be an *isangoma*, gets voices coming from the ancestral self, calling for him/her to go for training to be an *isangoma*, and the personal self refuses to abide by the calling, as it may feel that it is not ready for this commitment (Mkhize, 2004a). How this is resolved rests largely on how mature the personal self is, that is, its ability to transcend the situation and mediate between the different perspectives. Given its ability to resolve tensions between various selves, the personal self is now needed to mediate between traditional and Western selves and, most importantly, temper the influence (power) of Western selves which is self-imposed. Hence the current study, which looks at how the interplay between the various positions or selves is mediated by African black learners who have attended dominantly private, Model C, or English medium schools. This is possible in that, according to traditional African perspectives on the self, the self is never a finished product; instead, it is an ongoing process that is under perpetual construction through ongoing dialogue within and between the selves.

Similarly, the dialogical account of human functioning advances a self that has a "combination of temporal and spatial characteristics…time and space are of equal importance for the narrative structure of the dialogical self" (Hermans, 1996b, p. 33). The spatial characteristic of the self is made possible by the multiple nature of the self. The argument is that each of the selves has its own voice/consciousness/position and it is possible to metaphorically externalize these voices in "an imaginal landscape" such that they can dialogue and even oppose one another in dialogue, through a process Hermans (2001a) refers to as "narrative spatialization and narrative juxtaposition". In this space or "imaginal landscape" time is not linear: it is possible to put side-by-side the past, the present and future periods of individuals' lives and through dialogue move from one time period to the next.

The implication of the simultaneous existence of the self in time and space that both schools of thought advocate is that the self is not fixed; instead, it moves and is in perpetual construction. Through dialogue in space and time, voices that may even be opposed can influence one another; as a result it is possible to move positions, as positions themselves are always in relation to others (Hermans, 1996b). As such, a person that engages in dialogical processes can be transformed by these very processes, thus permitting "one and the same individual to live in a multiplicity of worlds…" Hermans (1996b, p. 33) with multiple voices, views and perspectives, what dialogical theorists refer to as "polyphony".

This has relevance in the South African context, as apartheid engineered an identity binary of two fixed/prescribed positions of white superiority and black inferiority (Fanon, 1986; Manganyi, 1973; Willie, 2003), in the process oppressing the multiple existence in space and the natural continuity of the self from the past to the future (i.e. African identity perspectives are relegated to the archaic past, they are portrayed as something to be rid of). Although post apartheid the democratic dispensation provides the space to challenge the prescribed binary positions, tools are required to confront and deal with power dynamics of the binary that have transcended apartheid. I argue in this study that Dialogism provides the tools to articulate multiple identities without marginalizing the African account of human functioning. As such, Ubuntu stands a

good chance of articulation juxtaposed, on an equal footing, with the other voices within the multiple identity discourse post apartheid (Hermans et al., 1992).

2.4.1.3 Becoming or Perpetual Construction

The idea of Ubuntu aptly captures the understanding that the self is under perpetual construction or constitutes work in progress. Both the dialogical understanding of the self as well as the idea of Ubuntu define the self as fundamentally relational, spatial and dynamic, unlike the traditional Western view that assumes there is only one pre-given, centralized and thinking self (Hermans, 2001b).

Personhood (Ubuntu), in a nutshell, is constructed as one engages with others and the environment (Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004b; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999). According to this point of view, the self can never be finalized; it is relational and dependent on others. While the Cartesian view of the self "envisages self as something 'inside' a person or at least as some kind of a container of mental properties and powers" (Shutte, 1993, p. 46), the self in African thought, "is always distributed at the boundary between the self and the non-self...[this is an] open-ended, dialogically oriented view of the self…" (Mkhize, 2004b, p. 79).

In a similar vein, according to the dialogical self theory, "the other belongs to the self" Hermans (2011, p. 5), yet the voices that constitute it may not be the same and may assume positions that may even be diametrically opposed. In the dialogical self every position is juxtaposed against other positions, and through dialogical processes positions may change as one influences the other (Hermans, 1996b). Hence one's voice is never the be-it-all and end-all, as it is subject to others' voices. While this (that is arriving at common goals or consensus) is facilitated through consensus in the African epistemological paradigm, the Western epistemological paradigm uses democratic principles and processes to achieve a similar goal (Ramose, 1999). Given that the dialogical self consists of the other, and is made up of multiple voices that are constantly in dialogue, one can only be if one allows the other to influence the self, in a never ending process of becoming.

Ubuntu, however, takes the idea of becoming, or perpetual construction through engaging with the other, further by extending the other to include objects and things, and by arguing that becoming begins with engaging, or having a dialogue, with one's body (Manganyi, 1973).

2.4.1.4 Becoming Through Relating with Objects and Things

According to Ubuntu philosophizing, people have a functional as well as an appreciative relationship with objects and things (Manganyi, 1973). Two processes, *ukusisa*[1] *and ukunana*[2], demonstrate this relationship. In the former, the well-to-do send a cow and a bull and other necessities to the destitute who seek refuge in their village. The destitute neighbours will in turn keep the male and female calves borne during this period for sustainable livelihood. Similarly *ukunana* is about lending to those who do not have at a particular time with the understanding that they will return whatever item has been lent to them. For both, the principle is that whoever has in abundance, demonstrates his appreciation by sharing with the less fortunate. Success and self-respect are not earned through accumulating wealth as an individual; instead, it is through how one relates and becomes one with the community.

This functional relationship with objects extends to plants, which are used to cure the sick and to promote a healthy lifestyle. For example, it is not uncommon for traditional healers to engage in dialogue with plants when they harvest them for medicinal purposes. In so doing, they appeal to the life force in the plant informing it that the life force is needed to heal others. The same applies when someone dies; before they are buried, a sacred plant called *umlahlankosi*[3] is used in the ritual of taking the person's spirit home from where they died. In Ubuntu, as demonstrated in the examples above, the range of objects, living and non-living, that one can engage in dialogue with is much

---

[1] a destitute or estranged family who seeks refuge in another village is assisted with cattle and other necessities in order to establish themselves in the new village.
[2] To lend something to someone who does not have it at that particular time with the understanding that they will return it
[3] Sacred tree for taking the spirit of the dead home

further extended than stated in the theory of the dialogical self, as propounded by Hermans (1996a). While sharing objects and things, particularly with the needy, is part of becoming, according to ubuntu, apartheid/Western ideology instilled individualistic values, driven by the belief that, in order to become, one has to accumulate objects and things for oneself. This partly explains why today South Africa is ranked one of the most unequal countries in the world, with orphans and the poor struggling to put food on the table, while some sectors, for example the South African Airways, are accused of "wastage and pilferage of food – which is estimated to cost up to R5 million a month" (Skiti, 2013, p. 1).

2.4.1.5 Becoming Through Dialogue with the Body

Manganyi (1973) posits that in order to be, one first needs to become, by relating to one's body. The body is the first thing that points to the existence of an individual, and as such how one relates to the body determines how one becomes. In South Africa, apartheid divided the body into black and white, in the process endowing these categories with bad and good characteristics respectively. The white body was institutionalized as the norm, the ideal in terms of what one is supposed to be, and black was the opposite: all that one should not become. Through a process Hook (2004a) refers to as "psycho-politics", the prescribed and imposed view of what it means to be black, what Manganyi (1973, p. 6) calls the "sociological schema" (p. 6), was institutionalized to supersede black people's point of view of what or who they are, what Manganyi (1973, p. 6) refers to as the "individual schema." This engineering has far-reaching implications for how individuals relate to their bodies, and consequently what they become. According to Fanon (1986), Manganyi (1973), and Biko (1978), the black subject is alienated from his/her body and is forced to understand it from the white person's perspective. This according to Hook (2004b, p. 128), results in an ambiguous binary existence which constitutes psychological trauma he refers to as a "racial neurosis"

Manganyi (1973) offers a solution to this power-driven perpetual subjection of black people. He argues that "The negative prescribed sociological schema (with its barrier

attributes) must be replaced by a more realistic sociological schema (with appeal attributes) defined and developed by black people" (p. 30). Though this would be a solid step in the right direction, in terms of redressing the African view of the self, the power dynamics between the sociological and individual schema are only a fraction of the power dynamics that exist between the superior white and inferior black binary, and cannot be resolved through the very structure of Ubuntu that apartheid compromised.

Moreover, although there are commonalities between Ubuntu and Dialogism as demonstrated above, Ubuntu is not explicit in dealing with issues of dominance and power, something that Dialogism attends to specifically. Based on the essential and inherent goodness of people, as well as of a benevolent world, Ubuntu does not foreground relations of dominance and power, focusing instead on maintaining harmony, and in the event of disharmony or disequilibrium, the restoration of harmony. The power and dominance of one group by another, characteristic of colonization and apartheid, requires that adequate tools are developed to address this eventuality, the extent of which was not anticipated in Ubuntu epistemology. Dialogical tools are required to facilitate an analysis of the power asymmetries, failing which dialogue premised on non-racialism will most likely amount to pseudo-dialogue, where the only voice that has power sustains white dominance (Ramose, 1999). The discourse of non-racialism assumes that "both the majority and minority cultures have equal status and power" (Hermans, 2001a, p. 271). Consequently and probably inadvertently, the power dynamics that characterize the superior white and inferior black identity binary remain the basis of the idea of multiple selves.

2.5 Dialogism and Relations of Power and Dominance

The following section introduces two conceptual tools to analyze relations characterized by power and dominance: words/utterances and language.

2.5.1 Words or Utterances as Dialogical Tools

According to Bakhtin (1986), the lowest unit that expresses a self inextricable from the other, through dialogue, is the word or utterance. He posits:

> An utterance is a unit of speech communication …determined by a change of speaking subjects, that is, a change of speakers. Any utterance – from a short (single word) rejoinder in everyday dialogue to the large novel or scientific treatise -- has, so to speak, an absolute beginning and absolute end: its beginning is preceded by the utterances of others, and its end is followed by the responsive utterances of others…The speaker ends his utterance in order to relinquish the floor to the other or to make room for the other's responsive understanding. (p. 71)

Bakhtin (1986) refers to the bondedness of the self to the other, through words and utterances, as the addressivity and responsivity of words or utterances. In support of this view, Shotter (2009, p. 31) posits that "each and every word expresses the 'one' in relation to the 'other.' Words express the multiplicity of the self beyond the immediate speaker and listener, in that they result not just from the immediate speaker and listener. Instead they emanate from what has already been spoken before but also what has not been said but anticipated in response to the word. This view, which encapsulates the dialogicality of the word, makes Bakhtin conclude that the word is "half someone else's …it is populated…overpopulated… with the intentions of others" (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 293-294). Consequently, words / utterances ensure "everyone involved in an interaction is open to being 'touched' or 'moved' by the otherness of the others and othernesses around them" (Shotter, 2009, p. 31). Dialogical self theorists claim that the converse is also true, that words that expect no answer and are not moved by the other constitute a monologue.

This analysis resonates in the South African context, as "words" or utterances that constructed the apartheid identity binary were not moved by others or the otherness of others, particularly blacks. Instead, in their monologized state, they prescribed the

parameters of their being. For example the notorious architect of apartheid, Verwoerd once said:

> There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live. (Clark & Worger, 2004, pp. 48-52)

As demonstrated by this quotation from Verwoerd, apartheid used "words" or utterances in their monologised state to exclude the other. As a result what was intended for political ends, in this case apartheid, also had psychological ramifications where identity became rooted in politics (Hook, 2004a). On the other hand, revolutionaries like Biko, in resisting the identity prescribed by apartheid, used the same tactic to deconstruct the white superiority and black inferiority binary, in a process he referred to as "mental decolonization." He challenged the apartheid regime's attempt at portraying the white superiority and black inferiority identity binary as the norm. In this regard Biko once said:

> …even in a pluralistic society like ours, there are still some cultural traits that we can boast of which have been able to withstand the process of deliberate bastardisation. The advent of the Western culture has changed our outlook almost drastically…we are judged in terms of standards we are not responsible for. Whenever colonization sets in with its dominant culture it devours the native culture and leaves behind a bastardised culture that can only thrive at the rate and pace allowed it by the dominant culture. (Biko, as cited in Woods, 1987, p. 50)

I argue that it is these "bastardised" cultural traits that constitute the African identity problematic (Hook, 2004a) and that the non-racial identity dispensation has failed not only to deconstruct this identity, but also to reconstruct and articulate, in words, some of the cultural traits that are still relevant, and have outlived colonization and apartheid, and could be the basis of the reconstruction of an African view of the self (Manganyi, 1973; Walker & Mungazi, 1995). Hence, I argue, it will take such utterances or words

to get the African epistemological paradigm articulated, otherwise the desired non-racial, diverse and multiple identity perspective will remain elusive post 1994.

Biko (1978) anticipated the marginalization of African perspectives regarding identity, when he referred to the liberal non-racialism which unfortunately continues to inform the post-apartheid era. His understanding of non-racialism is that it is the liberal white system that promotes equality, yet ignores the African epistemological paradigm, and thus recycles the apartheid white superiority and black inferiority identity binary (Mbele, 2011). Indeed, post apartheid, the non-racial dispensation seems to be doing exactly that: ensuring in the words of Manganyi (1973, p. 12) that "there's no communication equality," prompting some blacks to interrogate this. For example, Thepa (2012) identifies and articulates what can be regarded as the African identity problematic in the groups of blacks in the two scenarios outlined below:

> the post-black, principled and hedonistic ideologists…coconuts within the black elite [who] is our new man cut adrift from the black experience - tribes, traditions and customs - or a man who refuses to be bogged down by "blackness issues." Others may call him an elitist snob, airing the ideological dirty laundry of blackness. Or he could be seen as an icon of the unbridled flourishing of "coconuts" within the black elite. Either way, the code behind blackness …can't be unlocked by the leisure society with fab hair to attend to and golf gigs to go to. This crowd has lost it and often takes their personal pretensions far too seriously to think about anything… .(p. 14)

The other group he calls a group that seeks "self-determination and self-reliance." This group believes that there are black issues that still need sorting out post apartheid, one of which relates to identity. This view is contrary to the view of the group mentioned above that believe they do not want to be bogged down by "blackness issues". How the "self-determination group" is received demonstrates that the identity binary has outlived apartheid. Instead of being viewed as a group that legitimately interrogates the inherited power discrepancies between blackness and whiteness post apartheid, this group is labeled racist; not only by whites, but also by blacks who believe that self-determination is equal to being racist. On reflecting upon this overpowering onslaught on self-

determination by the identity binary mentality, camouflaged as non-racialism, Thepa (2012) argues that, just as Biko predicted decades ago, the reasoning of a colonized mind (to borrow from Biko, 1978) has resulted in a situation where instead of defending their resolve to self-determine, as a historical necessity of redress and importantly a space just to be (Manganyi, 1973), “black formations have cowered under charges of wanting to be separate from the dominant white culture” (Thepa, 2012, p. 14). By so doing they allow the “us” and “them” that plays out between the black “coconuts” and the black "self-determination” group to take root and be perpetuated. This is a clear demonstration that some blacks have shifted from the understanding of the self as inclusive of the other, which by definition is what the African view of the self, Ubuntu, is about.

Biko (as cited in Woods, 1987), in explaining this state of affairs, argued that whites have colonized black people’s minds, so much so that “by some skillful maneuvers, they have managed to control the responses of the blacks to the provocation. Not only have they kicked the black but they have also told him how to react to the kick” (Biko, as cited in Woods, 1987, p. 72).

According to Biko (as cited in Woods, 1987), the non-racial system is a liberal formulation that is designed to maintain the white superiority and black inferiority identity binary, and by implication the African identity problematic, and this time with an endorsement from black people, a phenomenon Manganyi (1973, p. 10) describes as “a form of endemic, chronic sense of insecurity…” or a “racial neurosis” according to Fanon (1986, in Hook, 2004b, p.117).

As demonstrated by the words and utterances above, although some efforts are clearly being made towards the deconstruction of the black/ African identity problematic, there are indications that the rainbow-nation, non-racial-mentality and the apartheid racial neurosis it has sustained, masks the need for the reconstruction of identities infused with African perspectives. Hence, I argue, space and words to do so are critical if we are to understand how multiple identities interact within the self. Instead of providing this space, self-determination efforts are thwarted as they are interpreted as tantamount to

racism, thus perpetuating communication inequality between black and white voices. I argue that inequality between the two voices is tantamount to there being no dialogue between them, as the prerequisite for dialogue is equality between people and the willingness of the dominant voice to listen to other voices (Manganyi, 1973; Ramose, 1999).

The section above gives examples that demonstrate that there is a process/ dialogue on "self-determination", or what Manganyi (1973, p. 19) refers to as "mutual knowledge" amongst blacks, that should happen first, which should inform the reconstruction agenda and the recreation of the African narrative.

Using dialogical speak, I argue that South Africans should, as demonstrated above, produce words and build up utterances that bring out the marginalized other or otherness of the African epistemological paradigm on identity, that remains marginalized post apartheid. It is at that point that the marginalized African perspectives on identity can participate in the many voices that constitute the identity discourse through a process Hermans (1992) calls "narrative spatialisation and narrative juxtaposition" where voices representing one position are lined up against other voices, and a dialogue between them ensues. Once formulated, African perspectives on identity would first position themselves in the identity landscape where they would be juxtaposed with other identities, towards the articulation of non-racial multiple identities.

However, this can only happen on condition that the space to self-determine is made available for black people. Thus, as Manganyi (1973, p. 24) argues, they will be able
"to adopt a posture of positive, creative isolation. Group introspective analysis – an inward look – …mandatory for us in an attempt at restructuring our value system where black people indulge unhindered on self-reflection, on self-definition…"

Otherwise as Thepa (2012) argues, the African identity problematic will continue unabated with some people, "drowning in coconuts 'n rainbows" (Thepa, 2012, p. 14), unable to see or articulate the perpetuation of white superiority through the façade of

non-racialism post apartheid. This is the very phenomenon that Biko (as cited in Woods 1987, p. 55) picked up in his writings when he stated: "So while we progressively lose ourselves in a world of colourlessness and amorphous common humanity, whites are deriving pleasure and security in entrenching white racism and further exploiting the minds and bodies of the unsuspecting black masses."

I argue that as long as the space for self-determination is not provided and equality between the voices that constitute the multiple identities is assumed, white monologism will prevail. According to Bakhtin (1984, pp. 292-293),

> Monologism, at its extreme, denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and equal responsibilities, another I with equal rights (thou). With a monologic approach (in its extreme pure form) another person remains wholly and merely an object of consciousness, and not another consciousness. No response is expected from it that could change anything in the world of my consciousness. Monologue is finalized and deaf to other's response, does not expect it and does not acknowledge in it any force. Monologue manages without the other, and therefore to some degree materializes all reality. Monologue pretends to be the ultimate word. It closes down the represented world and represented persons. (emphasis added)

This I argue is tantamount to the violation of basic human rights, as it goes against all the principles of democracy that pertain to freedom of self-expression and by implication all efforts directed at forging non-racial, diverse and multiple identities post apartheid.

As long as the space for self-determination is frowned upon and discouraged, words like non-racialism will remain just that: words. They will remain, contrary to what is expected in a democratic setting, undialogized, that is, unable to constitute a shared commodity or utterance, what Shotter (2009, p. 19) refers to as a "product of a reciprocal relationship between speaker and listener …". Consequently the non-racial agenda will be monologized to mean and stand for what the identity binary stood for during apartheid, that is, white dominance and black inferiority. This will compromise

all efforts to articulate diverse and multiple identities inherited post apartheid, which should by right be dialogic.

2.5.1.1 Language as a Dialogical Tool

Language, according to Bakhtin (1986), is essentially an expression of the points of view or worldview of our communities, what he refers to as collective voices. Given that during apartheid, white languages (and by implication white voices) were the only ones declared official, thus giving them a superior status, is a clear indication that apartheid interfered with identity development in that "identity development involves a struggle with others' voices" (Mkhize, 2004b, p. 68). Hence I argue that language is critical in the formation of multiple identities and the reinstatement of African epistemological paradigms of human functioning post apartheid. For the purposes of this thesis, two types of languages will be referred to that can be used to analyze relations of dominance and power: national and social languages (Bakhtin, 1986).

2.5.1.2 National Languages

Despite there being numerous languages in South Africa, the Nationalist government only recognized two official languages English and Afrikaans as national and official languages during apartheid. Clearly, language was used to drive a political agenda of black dispossession and incorporation under what is considered a superior culture (Mkandawire, 2005), an ambition that faced huge resistance when Afrikaans was introduced alongside English as a medium of instruction in black schools. Students rose against this decision as there was a realization that language was being used to centralize and promote one ideology over another, what Bakhtin (1986, p. 68) refers to as "verbal-ideological centering" To this day, English has a higher status than that of the other languages, the justification thereof being that English is a "universal language". This begs the question: how does a language that represents one ideology, having been given a superior status, and suppresses other languages and their ideologies, "prohibits…serious questioning of [its] ideology and underlying assumptions"

(Manganyi, 1973, p. 26), represents single-voicedness…or what Bakhtin (in Vice, 1997, p. 5) refers to as an “authoritative monoglot language”, claim universality?

If as Bakhtin (1981, pp. 291-292) contends, “languages…are specific points of view on the world” and if there is agreement that certain languages were installed as “universal” during apartheid, it should be expected that, within a democratic dispensation, the opportunity for the expression of different points of view would be coupled with interrogating how this authoritative monoglot language status of some languages continues to influence identity discourses in South Africa, post apartheid. Declaring that South Africa has eleven official languages does not necessarily address this; instead, it seems to be promoting a situation where the “language collective, the plurality of speakers, viewed as a kind of ‘collective personality, the spirit of the people’ is often extolled but ‘denied any real essential significance’” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 68).

2.5.1.2.1 Social languages

Social language can be defined as "a discourse peculiar to a specific stratum of society (professional, age group, class, rural residents, etc.) within a given social system at a given time" (Bakhtin, 1982, p. 430).

Apartheid was entrenched in multidimensional ways and likewise was resisted on a number of fronts, language as demonstrated above being one of them. The language of resistance resulted in a number of social languages, including Tsotsitaal, a suburban invention by black youth who sought self-expression in the midst of oppression. Tsotsitaal according to Hurst (2010) is not neutral instead it is an enactment of identity and the assumption of power within black areas, for example townships. For example, the word “ingamla,” meaning a white person in English, is used to denote not only a white person, but more significantly what whiteness represents: success at the expense of others. Hence *ingamla* is also used to denote blacks that have assimilated to whiteness, taken the individualistic values shifted from Ubuntu and selfishly acquire wealth without being considerate to the destitute.

Further, although Tsotsitaal as a medium of self-expression is not confined to the townships, and is a strong feature of the rural areas as well, the youth in rural areas have different language and identity dynamics that warrant a different response. They are largely exposed to their home languages and, given their under-resourced backgrounds, may only get exposed to other languages at school (De Klerk, 2002). Despite this limited exposure, the language of instruction in school is more often than not English, a foreign language that does not "carry important values of social identity, cultural affect, heritage and tradition – a rich historical legacy" (Wright, 2004, p. 111) that would promote self-expression of youth in rural areas and possibly inform the curriculum in schools with black learners. What complicates this even more is that the rural-urban divide instituted during apartheid impacts on education outcomes, as demonstrated in the Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality (SAITO & IIEP, 2011) results, where rural learners are consistently shown to perform less successfully than urban learners when reading in English. The message that is loud and clear is that rural English is of a lower standard than urban English, resulting in the widening of the urban-rural divide. It is in view of the above-mentioned that an interrogation of social languages in identity formation becomes critical in the South African multi-racial schooling context.

2.6 Conclusion: Towards the Idea of Ubuntu-as-Dialogue

This chapter presented key theoretical approaches to identity formation: the Cartesian self, socio-cognitive perspectives, Africentrism, Ubuntu and the dialogical view of human functioning. Founded on dualism the Cartesian perspective of the self cannot be representative of cultures where the body and mind are one inseparable entity (Burkitt, 1998; Christofidou, 2009; Hermans, 1992). Although socio-cognitive perspectives acknowledge the other in a process referred to as perception, this "other" is viewed as separate from the self and hence such perspectives fail to take into consideration African indigenous perspectives which are characterized by mutual interdependence between self and other. Thus, socio-cognitive perspectives perpetuate the "white superiority" and "black inferiority" dualism, or identity binary, associated with colonialism and apartheid. Clearly, these perspectives are not in line with the ideals of a

non-racial and equal society post apartheid. On the other hand, alternative views like Africentrism seek to affirm African perspectives on identity formation in the midst of inherited inequities, the result of colonialism and imperialism. Power inequities are dealt with at a macro level. They have been critiqued on the grounds that they seem to be caught up in the either/or discourse, this time in favour of African approaches. Although this critique is not entirely accurate, Africentric approaches have not developed tools to analyze how the multiple identities, resulting from the hybridization of cultural practices, play out internally within individuals (Hermans, 2001). In other words, it is not evident how that which is originally outside the individual, in the form of various social practices and linguistic discourses amongst others, becomes part of the person's internal world, and gets enacted in daily interactions.

It is argued that single-handedly none of the above perspectives can meaningfully account for the identity dynamics in South Africa, especially in the post-apartheid era. Further, it is argued that attempts to re-claim African perspectives of identity formation should take cognizance of the Ubuntu philosophy, which is premised on the idea of ongoing dialogue between the human person and other, similarly constituted selves (abantu). This dialogue is extended to spiritual and non-living entities in general, and incorporates aspects such as the multiplicity of selves and be-ing as perpetual becoming (Manganyi, 1973; Mbigi, 2005; Mkhize, 2004b; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999). It is argued that the process to recognize historically devalued African perspectives on identity formation should in the first instance incorporate Ubuntu philosophizing (Biko, as cited in Woods, 1987). It is further proposed that the second process should involve the facilitation of a dialogue between the various worldviews, where they engage one another in meaning-making, on an equal basis and with due cognizance of the historic power discrepancies between these various points of view. Dialogical Self Theory provides useful tools/machinery for this exercise because of its capacity to "deconstruct self-celebratory monologues to identify silenced voices and 'the nature of their otherness' (Bell & Gardiner, 1998, p. 40). It is when Ubuntu is re-constructed and re-incorporated into the identity discourses that the identity binary can be challenged, paving the way for truly dialogical and multiple selves – a process I refer to as Ubuntu-as-dialogue (i.e. dialogism informed by Ubuntu philosophy).

CHAPTER 3: THE EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

This chapter gives a critical review of literature that articulates the experiences of black learners attending formerly white schools and institutions and how these impact on their identity formation. The South African experience is juxtaposed with international experience, particularly with findings in the United States, to demonstrate that education received by black African learners in white schools is mostly alienating, as it is centered on Eurocentric philosophies and values that are normed on middle-class white males. The literature reviewed seeks to highlight practices that perpetuate white supremacy and black inferiority in these schools. The review focuses on both the local and international contexts, the United States in particular, seeing that a number of similarities characterize the United States and South Africa as far as segregated and desegregated schooling is concerned. Just as in South Africa during apartheid, education in the USA was one of the main drivers of white supremacy and black inferiority. Both countries continue to grapple with the inequities of the past in education (Nkomo et al., 2004). Further, just like the black learners in the United States, the numerically limited representation of black learners in historically white schools in South Africa, earns them a minority status, although they belong to a majority racial group in this country. Beginning with the international context, the review focuses on the following key areas both locally and abroad: (1) alienation of black learners in white institutions, (2) the disconnect between formerly white schools and black communities, (3) racial identity, (4) black voicelessness.

3.1 The International Context

This section looks at the experiences of black learners attending formerly white schools and institutions and how these impact on their identity formation. While the review has been drawn from an international context, where it applies to the South African context, this is indicated as such.

3.1.1 Alienation of Black Learners in White Institutions

According to Moyer and Motta (1982, p. 21), alienation is "the feeling and fact of disconnectedness from social settings such that the individual views his or her relationship to the social context as no longer tenable." For the purposes of this study, alienation is defined as the psychological tension that black learners in white schools feel when their lifeworld, the day-to-day communal interdependence, which is effectively the social ethos that is promoted in their African communities, is dominated by the lifeworld characteristic of the Eurocentric schooling system, namely individualism (Erasmus & Ferreira, 2002; Kagan, 1990). Alienation and underachievement have been found to be common in black learners attending predominantly white schools (Wallitt, 2008).

Studies have consistently shown that black learners in predominantly white schools tend to underachieve (Bowe, 2009; Kagan, 1990). This is attributable, amongst other factors, to the alienation of these learners due to the mismatch between their culture and the culture of the school. It has been argued that black learners' culture does not provide them with the necessary capital to achieve academically (Bowe, 2009; Flores & Garcia, 2009; Heaven & Bester, 2001; Kagan, 1990; Von Robertson, Mitra, & Van Delinder, 2005; Wallitt, 2008). Writing with reference to the South African context, Erasmus and Ferreira (2002) argue that black learners under-achieve because "A large number of learners attending historically white schools hail from non-technological cultural backgrounds" (p. 28). According to these researchers, black learners' culture is deficient; and supposedly puts them at a disadvantage in terms of learning outcomes. Arguments of this nature are typical of the "blame the victim" mentality of the apartheid era; they conveniently ignore that the ideals of a non-racial education system notwithstanding, South African (formerly white) schools remain Western spaces, that are normed on individualistic, white, male, middle-class values, that do not allow for the expression of indigenous African conceptions of selves, including the understanding of, amongst other elements, what it means to be an intelligent person (King, Houston, & Middleton, 2001; Wallitt, 2008). Explaining black learner under-achievement by focusing on what is considered to be black learners' cultural deficiency, and neglecting

to recognize that the education system is biased against them, constitutes a misdiagnosis of black learners' under-achievement and sustains the hegemony of white values and culture.

Alienation of black learners in white schools is attested to by Von Robertson et al. (2005, p. 41), whose participants' opinions included the view, amongst others, that "[t]here's nothing really for black people to do" Similar observations have been made in South Africa: it has been shown that not only do black learners' languages acquire a second class status, their languages are rarely used as languages of learning and teaching, and in some cases are not even permissible on the school premises, the logic being that black learners attend such schools to learn to speak English (De Klerk, 2002; Makubalo, 2006; Shockley, 2003).

Comments from a participant in Makubalo's (2006, p. 71) study in South Africa underscores this point. The participant remarks as follows:"when teachers if they hear you talking other languages they'll tell you this is an English medium school; you came here to speak English so speak it; you came here to learn English so learn it, speak it."

Likewise, while the language(s) of instruction, the architecture, and the set syllabus collectively reinforce western value systems, African cultural activities and artifacts are conspicuous by their absence, except on rare cultural events, for example, Africa or Heritage Day (Dei & McIsaac,1997; King et al., 2001). In foregrounding whiteness, schools systematically reproduce and sustain the apartheid identity binary of white superiority and black inferiority (Massey, 2004; Sedlacek, 1999).

In a culturally alien environment that does not affirm them, black learners' academic performance is compromised (Williams, 2003). Shockley (2003, p. 1) writes about "a…mismatch between Black culture and the culture of schools." Shockley (2003), Williams (2003) and Wallitt (2008) found that black learners have consistently to straddle two different worlds: cultural backgrounds that promote collective social norms and mores, and schools that favour a different set of social norms based on individual achievement and competition. The difficulty and frustration of straddling two worlds is

demonstrated in a study by Wallitt (2008) where a Cambodian student attending a predominantly white school commented as follows on the issue of straddling cultures:

> I would say I was basically American, since I was raised here, but I used to have that culture inside of me, being Cambodian, having the language and everything, and being Buddhist and all that. I don't know, it's being back and forth. Both cultures. Learning to adapt with both of them. I live between two lifestyles. It's like you go out into the world and you have to speak English. And then when you come home you got to speak Cambodian. And you got to be a little bit of both of them to get an education and to be a part of your family (p. 5).

It should be noted that it is not straddling lifeworlds *per se* that is problematic, but straddling unequal worlds where whiteness is promoted to the exclusion or denigration of other cultures. Cultural exclusion has been shown to have negative psychological ramifications for minority learners. Heaven and Bester (2001, p. 593) found the "alienated to be anxious … [and] to have low self esteem." Subjecting black learners to an environment that consistently promotes white superiority and undermines black culture also impacts on their identities. While some learners assimilate to the dominant culture, others adopt an ambivalent stance and yet others reject white supremacy outright. In South Africa, Makubalo (2006) investigated how black learners negotiate their identities in a predominantly white school, and found that participants were caught between assimilation and retaining their black identities. For example, Thabo, a black Tswana-speaking student in a formerly white school wanted not only to speak English, but to speak it as if he were English. He wanted to speak English with an "English accent [because]…you can't go to the suburbs with an African accent…" (Makubalo, 2006, p. 63). At the same time, when asked which language he would choose as a language of instruction other than English, he confidently declared that he would choose his home language because "… it would make me feel even if I'm not at home, the fact alone that I'm speaking my home language will make me feel at home no matter where I am." (Makubalo, 2006, p. 63)

This fluctuation between assimilation and a critical reflection on the situation leads to feelings of ambivalence and confusion, and this shows that black learners are generally aware that their identities are undermined by the schooling system.

The following sections deal with various forms of alienation and how learners, both locally and abroad deal with each form. These are: othering, spatial engineering, spatiality and classroom arrangement.

3.1.1.1 Othering

Promotion of western value systems in schools sustains the identity binary of white superiority and black inferiority: whiteness is accorded normative status, is then institutionalized and inculcated through the curriculum and various schooling activities (Hill, 2004; Steyn, 2001). This is coupled with positioning blackness as a contrast to the norm, as abnormal, as the "other" (King et al., 2001; Wallitt, 2008). This process, referred in the literature as "othering", is intended to make those being "othered" feel like misfits. In other words "othering" is alienating. Without guidance, and lacking tools to negotiate how they are positioned in this biased environment, black learners resolve this conflict in a myriad ways, more often than not in ways considered in this study as pathological. In this regard, many studies have demonstrated that a significant number of black learners in white schools attend special classes, and are referred for psychological intervention, as they are deemed to suffer from a myriad psychological conditions, like anxiety, hyperactivity and attention deficit disorder (Harris & Marsh, 2010). The following section looks at the various ways black learners respond to othering.

3.1.1.1.1 Assimilation as a Response to Othering

When learners assimilate, they adopt western culture and become westernized. This manifests, inter alia, in their pretending to be white. DePalma (2008) cites an instance where a student reported on an Asian friend who described herself as "white":

> I have a friend that is Asian, with two Asian parents. I decided to bring her to a function on campus that was comprised of all Black people and she said, "Oh my gosh…I'm the only white girl in here". (p. 772)

Wallitt (2008) reports similar findings where a black student remarked: "I'm too Americanized. Like my parents sometimes get mad at me when we are eating…" (p. 6). Those who assimilate not only take on new identities, they experience tension with these new identities as they are not accepted by their counterparts in school, particularly their black fellows who label them "orios" / "coconuts", loosely translated, "wanna-be whites" (Harris & Marsh, 2010; Willie, 2003). The quandary of being black in a predominantly white environment not only negatively affects their academic achievement; their self-esteem is also affected. This is demonstrated by a study conducted by Science Netlinks (2006, cited in Coleman, 2007) where it is reported that, "when asked to draw pictures of scientists, students of color never drew pictures representing members of their ethnic group". (p. 3)

This finding is corroborated by a study conducted by Pizzolato, Chaudhari, Murrell, Podobnik, and Schaeffer (2008), where a student reflecting on how othering affects his self-esteem, remarked:

> It's ridiculous! And I AM smart I think. I get good grades, but all this stuff, these stereotypes and the looks people give me when I talk in class, it makes me question myself more than I should. But I can't stop questioning. I mean am I really good enough to be here? Am I really smart enough, or am I just delusional? And I hate that I have to even wonder. I just feel like an outcast…It's like everyone is always looking down on me…and now sometimes when I look down on myself I'm not as sure of my own self, and that's what I really hate-more than the other people - the fact that I'm not sure of my own self anymore. (p. 7)

Caught in an environment that consistently promotes and affirms whiteness, some black learners begin to doubt themselves. Lack of confidence generates feelings of insecurity, anxiety and low self-esteem (Von Robertson et al., 2005).

3.1.1.1.2 Oppositional Culture: “Acting Black” as a Response to “Othering”

For some black students, the only way to deal with “othering” is to rebel against the status quo. This usually manifests in what is perceived as negative conduct, for example, violence, absenteeism, and under-performance. This deliberate decision by black learners to go against the white establishment has been referred to as “acting black” (Kagan, 1990; Ogbu, 2004; Williams, 2003; Willie, 2003). Ironically, engaging in negative conduct inadvertently confirms negative stereotypes about blacks, the view that they are lazy, rude and violent, for example (Lehn, 2009). Oppositional behavior not only confirms stereotypes associated with blacks, it also justifies enrolling black learners in special education programmes, as it is deduced from such behaviours that they have emotional and behavioural disorders. This largely explains the disproportionate over-representation of blacks in special education programmes in the United States (Webb-Johnson, 2003). This state of affairs feeds into the justification for general poor academic performance by black learners, and results in the view that blacks are intellectually deficient, as they lack the cultural capital that is required in order for them to make it in predominantly white institutions. The argument that it is black deficiencies that undergird poor academic performance, and subsequent placement in special education programmes, gives rise to the vicious cycle of misdiagnosis, mistreatment, poor academic performance and, ultimately, unemployment later on in life.

3.1.1.1.3 Ambivalence as a Response to “Othering”

While some assimilate or rebel against westernization and othering, others are reportedly ambivalent about this situation. DePalma (2008) reports about a student born to Korean parents in the United States who in response to the Asian student who regarded herself as white, remarked:

> I know when I was younger, I knew I was Korean-American because I was born here. I didn’t like identifying with the Koreans that recently came to the States.

> It's weird, but we were different…but I would never consider myself white, but then at times I can see why an Asian might say she's "white" because of the people she's grown up with and possibly relate to are more white than Black. (p.772)

This feeling of ambivalence is also evident among black South African students in formerly white schools. In a study by Makubalo (2006), a black student first positions herself as having Sepedi as her mother tongue, which she claims 'she can't really speak' (p. 73), then she portrays English as a "first language", in which she claims to be competent, and which "she regards as a good medium of communication between different people" (p. 73). In the same breath she goes on to critique the use of English, as she argued: "…in another way it's bad because people are forgetting their roots and their own languages because they are conforming to English …when you learn English…you learn the culture of the English… I don't know it contradicts." (p. 73)

This ambivalence can be interpreted as demonstrating that the school, though dominated by western discourses, provides an opportunity not to see situations like this strictly within the boundaries of a segregationist-inspired binary. The school could instead be viewed as presenting an opportunity to present other forms of selves, and other ways of knowing, a space for reflection and negotiating identities. This phenomenon is demonstrated by some students who mitigate white hegemony by appropriating it. For example, DePalma (2008) observes that instead of assimilating or being ambivalent about their identities in the midst of westernization, students simply welcome some aspects of it and use it as cultural capital to their benefit. For example, one student in a study by DePalma (2008, p. 772) argues: "there is no American, Yes, we are all "American" citizens". Makubalo (2006) observes a similar trend in South Africa where black learners claim that English belongs to everyone; that there are no boundaries. One student argued that English should not be used in a particular way. In his words, "we speak however I want, when I want" (Makubalo, 2006, p. 68). Pizzolato et al. (2008) corroborate these findings: students reported that their experience in schools provided an opportunity to reflect and negotiate their identities, albeit in a hostile environment.

However, instead of leveraging on these opportunities to promote cross-pollination of cultural capital between the various race groups, and thus allowing for the emergence of truly multiple identities (Pizzolato et al., 2008), schools stifle this, by promoting the dominance of the western value system and, by implication, the western individualistic self at the expense of communal understandings of the self, that characterize African perspectives. Because this is done, the African identity problematic remains unresolved, and also the opportunity to build truly diverse and multiple selves on the basis of equality, a critical factor in enhancing black learner academic achievement, is not maximally utilized.

3.1.1.1.4 Causal Factors that Lead to a Differentiated Response to "Othering"

In an effort to establish how black learners could subvert "othering" and by so doing improve academic performance, a number of researchers have investigated the factors that lead black learners to respond to "othering" in a differentiated way (Cokley, 2003; Graham & Anderson, 2008; Pizzolato et al., 2008). The following are some of the factors that are found to impact on the response of various learners to "othering", and consequently affect their academic performance: resources to explore the self, parental support or lack thereof, epistemological and learner orientation.

3.1.1.1.4.1 Resources to Explore the Self

3.1.1.1.4.1.1 Parental Support: the Role of Family and Community

High school and college generally marks the transition from childhood to adolescence, a stage where learners explore the self (O'Neil, 1998). This process of self-exploration, and how it is resolved, depends largely on the resources at the learners' disposal. Where there is no support, and there are no tools to manoeuvre the identity landscape, black learners are found to distance themselves from their ethnic group and identity. The family and community environment, particularly parents, provide the resources that they need for self-exploration. Vygotsky's (1978) notion of the zone of proximal

development resonates here, in that parents provide their children with the necessary tools to scaffold meaning from the known to the unknown. They provide them with the utterances that affirm blackness and academic success. In other words, parents provide the necessary grounding that confirms that black identities can include academic achievement, and that achievement is within their reach, to counter the voices that equate blackness with failure, and to counter the culture of white hegemony that is promoted by the school. Parents therefore instill in their children the confidence and model behaviours that articulate the marginalized black voice, and counter the "acting black" oppositional behavior (Graham & Anderson, 2008; Pizzolato et al., 2008).

Pizzolato et al. (2008) contend that significant others, like parents, are likely to have experienced being black in white-dominated settings themselves, and therefore have enough experience and insight to provide the knwledge, information and the right utterances to articulate the black learners' experiences in predominantly white schools. This they do within certain theoretical identity frameworks, that enable the learners to gain perspective on their experiences, and how these impact on their identity formation. Significant others include "family members, professional counselors, peers, academic advisors and trusted faculty members…and therapist[s]." (Pizzolato et al., 2008, p. 7) Significant others' support is therefore key in ensuring that black learners are assisted in their identity development, in the midst of a context that promotes white cultural values at the expense of other cultural systems. This is important in order to avoid a situation where black learners "must construct their young adult racial identities from the raw and flawed stereotypes perpetuated in the media and popular culture" (Adams, 2005, p.285).

Significant others, particularly academic staff members involved in Pan African Studies (PAS), are found to be of special significance in that they ground African-American students in who they are by providing them with a historical context that provides them with cultural grounding. Cokley (2003) concurs with Adams (2005), and adds that there is a correlation between teacher and family belief in the academic ability of the child and his/ her academic performance. Cokley (2003) further identifies black role models with a go-getter attitude, a good work ethic and determination as key to the enhancement of black learner academic performance.

Parental and significant other intervention programmes in the identity development of black learners is necessary, and of great assistance, in that these interventions ground black learners on who they are, and by so doing begin to challenge the predominant superior white and inferior black mentality. However, these interventions cannot have maximum and sustainable impact on black learner identity formation, in that these teachings are either confined to the home environment or are an additional course or ancillary that some learners register for at educational institutions. This constitutes marginalization of the black knowledge system and literally translates to the marginalization of the black cultural perspective and, by allowing the western cultural framework to dominate, pronounces it as the norm, as the superior knowledge system. Black learner identity development is therefore compromised as it is founded on an entrenched white cultural hegemony and a marginalized black culture.

3.1.1.1.4.1.2 Epistemological Orientation and Learner Orientation

Pizzolato et al. (2008) found that students who have a specific epistemological orientation, those who view identity as relative in the midst of diverse identities, do not get stuck, unlike those who believe that there is only one type of identity, or those who wait for parental intervention. Instead, such learners see an opportunity to engage with the multiplicity of identities that the school presents, and to find their own identity path within these. In this regard a student remarks: “My job is to figure out what I want to believe about myself even though there are inconsistencies” (Pizzolato et al., 2008, p. 7). An epistemological orientation that is conducive to self-determination beyond the black and white binary was found to result in black learners with certain characteristics: commitment to school, self-confidence, ethnic identity and a sense of agency or commitment to their communities. A learner with such disposition said: “School is very serious to me. It is something that can’t be played around with. It’s your future and you need it” (Graham & Anderson, 2008, p. 482).

On the issue of self-confidence and agency, Graham and Anderson (2008, p. 482) observed: “They possessed great confidence in their cognitive abilities and believed the only persons who would stop them from excelling academically were themselves”.

Self-confidence seems to be linked to strong identification with blackness or ethnic identity, and this in turn correlates with academic identity. Graham and Anderson (2008, p. 484) pointed out:

> Because they connected to their African American heritage and ancestry, they adopted positive, yet aggressive attitudes towards schooling, believing it was one of [the most] important variables in life to improve race relations while dispelling myths and destroying stereotypes…a way to overcome this [racism] adversity.

On agency they observed "their desire to improve and impact those around them seemingly motivated them to work tirelessly to achieve academically" (p. 482). They further noted: "Their quest for self-improvement through educational channels included an understanding of a larger picture, improving the African American community." (p. 487)

This Moyer and Motta (1982) refer to as a collective self esteem. In sum, the differentiated responses to "othering", covered in the sections above create an impression that black learners resolve the identity dissonance by finding ways that work for them. Differentiated responses are regarded as progressive, in that they take the debate of black identity formation beyond the deficit orientation ascribed to blacks, through the white superiority and black inferiority identity binary. Nonetheless, a differentiated response to identity formation by black learners in predominantly white schools is not adequate to address the African identity problematic. It does not address how communal/collective and individualist orientations to identity inter-phase with each other, nor how power struggles between the various forms of identity articulate. Failure in this regard means that the deficit analysis and orientation on matters of black identity formation then becomes the most accessible form of analysis at the disposal of most researchers of this topic. As a result they tend to misdiagnose and institute intervention programmes that are misled, thus sustaining the binary of superior white and inferior black.

3.1.1.2 Spatial Engineering and Alienation

Spatial engineering in the schooling environment has been found to also promote black alienation (McGregor, 2004b; Paechter, 2004b). McGregor (2004a, p. 2) observes, "The architecture of schools reflect and maintain political, technological and social influences from wider society …". Other scholars (Jacklin, 2004; Nespor, 2004, & Paechter, 2004a) argue along similar lines, when they posit that white superiority and black inferiority, and consequently "othering" and alienation, also manifest through the built environment. The architecture of the white school, and the physical space that it provides, contrasts quite sharply with the architecture and physical space that the home environment provides for black learners, particularly for those who attend school and reside in designated black areas. A student in Karlsson's (2004) study captured this distinction:

> I was on the school debating team, I was eventually chosen to represent the school in some circuit where we came up against other schools. It was hosted at [an independent school]. The experience of going there with the teachers and going into the [school] and looking at the buildings and the school hall. It was amazing. Just to see the contrast. … I was aware that I came from a disadvantaged institution … I became very despondent about having so little. (p. 337)

The home environment, and the school environment, in most areas where black learners come from, cannot be compared with the home or school environments in white areas, where schools are equipped with libraries, laboratories, well-kept gardens and where sometimes even sick bays are standard. The physical environment of black learners in general is characterized by cramped townships and inner-city houses, essentially the size of an outbuilding or granny flat in the white suburbs. This stark contrast sends an unequivocal message: black inferiority and white superiority. This "othering" of the black learner through physical infrastructure and the concomitant architecture is alienating; it reinforces long-standing stereotypes of black under-achievement. The binary of advantaged whites and disadvantaged blacks plays itself out even through the built environment, and causes feelings of inadequacy, dejection and hopelessness in

black learners. Effectively, black learners are constantly reminded that they are inferior to their white counterparts and this has an unimaginably negative impact on their self-esteem.

The discrepancy in the two environments demonstrates that there is no synergy between the inclusion of black learners in historically white schools, and the general inclusion of black people into a society from which they have been marginalized for years (Soudien et al., 2004). Socio-economic exclusion issues, for example poverty, impact negatively on the schooling of black children in these institutions. A learner in Wallitt's (2008) study captures this disjuncture when she says: "If you look at Savanna's house and Victoria's house, it's not really a traditional American house. Like us, we don't even have a dinner table because you just don't eat on dinner tables." (p. 6)

The immediate lifeworld, their home environment, is found wanting when compared to the other lifeworld of the school - an epitome of affluence and influence. Physical space has also been found to create a platform for various power-discrepant social and interactive relationships between blacks and whites; a phenomenon McGregor (2004a) calls spatiality.

3.1.1.3 Spatiality and Alienation

A more subtle manifestation of "othering" of black learners is through spatiality, "the *interactive* relationship between physical and social space …"(McGregor, 2004a, p. 2). McGregor (2004b) found that the way space is organized in schools produces particular social relations which in turn impact on black learner performance. Some researchers have found that some white schools have created classrooms or spaces within classrooms for learners with special needs, and there is a steady rise of black learners who are enrolled in these programmes (Shockley, 2003). Placement ranges from learners labelled as being disruptive in class, delinquent, and suspected of having, or even sometimes diagnosed as having, all forms of psychopathology (R. o. S. Africa, 2002b; Lehn, 2009; Paechter, 2004a; Shockley, 2003). Paechter (2004b) gives an example of one such learner, a first grade black learner who, due to neglect by the

teacher and the physical and emotional abuse at the hands of white learners, would bunk classes and come home. The mother of the learner reported that "just days after school started, I was canning tomatoes and looked up a little after noon and there was his little head peeping over the front door. He said 'I came home Mom'" (p. 314).

His mother understood this to mean he was being bullied. She remarks: "Jerry was afraid to go to the bathroom that year, because the kids wanted to take his money or harass him" (p. 313).

Another preschooler, an adopted Korean living in the US, who experienced emotional abuse by a teacher, remarked: "My teacher doesn't like me. My teacher is a dork and a loser" (Paechter, 2004b, p. 8). This very child was later expelled from the school because, according to the teachers, he "has the maximum number of attendance violations" (p. 8). On hearing about his dismissal, he said: "I don't care, I don't need school anyway" (Paechter, 2004b, p. 9).

Studies that have investigated this phenomenon attribute it, not to the learner *per se,* but to interactions between the white educator and the black learner. The white educator brings into this spatial relationship what I refer to as the "the self-in-space", a Eurocentric ethos that promotes individualism, achievement-as-an-individual and competition. On the other hand the black learner brings what I call "the self-in-relation-to others-space", a communal self, oriented towards group achievement. When these selves meet, the resultant interaction reflects the wider uneven political and social manifestations of whiteness and blackness in society (Karlsson, 2004; McGregor, 2004a). For example, black learners are notorious for their silence in groupwork, when they are expected to give an individual opinion, which in turn is taken to justify their low scores in these tasks. Contrary to this general conclusion, poor performance in tasks of this nature can be attributed to the communal orientation of black cultures in that they regard the collective as more important than individuals (Johnson-Bailey, 2002). Although learners sometimes work as a group, they still get assigned an individual mark and the individual contribution in a group is closely guarded by the educator, whose task it is to reward it. What seems like a legitimate teaching tool, one that should favour

black learners in that it promotes collective action, can be shown instead to be an instrument that promotes individualism, a clear indication that space can be used "to produce and reproduce practices which maintain persistent and unequal power relations" (McGregor, 2004b, p. 13).

3.1.1.4 Classroom Arrangements and Alienation

Physical arrangements, particularly seating arrangements, and the rules that govern movement in class, give teachers power over learners. The teacher's desk is normally located in front of the classroom, sometimes put on an elevated platform, for surveillance of the classroom, in order to instill discipline (Paechter, 2004b). The teacher's desk is normally a no-go area for learners, and thus becomes the centre of authority and power. This arrangement is complicated where there are black learners, white learners and white teachers. The presence of a white teacher as a power figure means that white learners have role models in positions of power; meanwhile black learners have none (Coleman, 2007). Usually, the only black adults in school play very subservient roles as cleaners, groundsmen, and tea-ladies, amongst others. This hierarchical arrangement, according to Dixon (2004, p. 20), "represents the beginning of a particular kind of social knowledge" that white is superior.

The sections discussed above have looked at alienation and its impact on black learners' identities. The following sections look at other related factors impacting on black learner academic achievement and identity. First, the disconnect between white schools and black communities is discussed.

3.1.2 The Disconnect and Discontinuity Between Black Communities and White Schools

Both the disconnect and the discontinuity between historically white schools and black communities impact on black learner academic achievement, and feed into the white superiority and black inferiority binary (Harris & Marsh, 2010). This disconnect is due

primarily to misconceptions brought on by the Cartesian interpretation of what the aims of education are, the foundations of which are individualistic Western values (Horne, 2004). The school curriculum is underpinned by work done largely by western scholars such as Einstein, Pythagoras, Freud, Piaget, to mention a few. This inadvertently sends a message that knowledge production and meaning-making is a prerogative of Western scholars. Schools teach Western knowledge and concepts which celebrate, amongst other notions, the idea of individual achievement (Wallitt, 2008); indigenous knowledge systems are marginalized, thus disadvantaging black learners raised within a communal ethos. This insular approach to education means that black communities do not have a voice on what education is, let alone knowledge production, leaving black learners straddling the community education and school education divide, and experiencing inner conflict regarding what it means to be educated (Chavous, 2002; Dei et al., 1997; Horne, 2004). Given this discrepancy, black learners do not start school on an equal footing with their white counterparts.

Hence Africentric scholars like Asante (1988) and Harris and Marsh (2010) argue that there is a cultural mandate in education, and that the mandate of education is much broader than merely producing knowledgeable black learners, a phenomenon Africentricists call schooling, which they claim is characteristic of how education is perceived by the West (Asante, 1988; Shockley, 2003). They argue that black learners need to be educated instead of being schooled. Educating a black child, according to these scholars, means ensuring that black culture is the basis of a black child's education. They argue that instilling a collective ethos and agency into the younger generation is traditionally part of educating a black child. However, given their inheritance of an unequal, pro-white society, black learners may not learn in order to be knowledgeable. These authors argue that this is not only unAfrican; by allowing black learners to be schooled rather than educated, black people themselves would be contributing towards their own oppression.

To be educated is primarily about ensuring that black learners become responsible agents of change, to ensure that black communities are not marginalized. However, given the current discontinuity between the culture of the schooling system and that of black communities and learners, Africentric scholars posit that black learners under-

perform compared to their white counterparts (Lomotey, 1992). Hence Africanists, such as Walker and Mungazi (1995) suggest a

> redefinition of education to reflect the needs of Africa today and tomorrow…to evaluate the continent's present educational systems within the spirits of Sankomfa [which means]…the return to the source and fetch…the source of this renewal [which] is indigenous African culture, history, and identity-elements that…suggest the power within African people to shape new directions. (p. 1)

3.1.3 Racial Identity

Scholars that have investigated black learner performance in white schools have identified racial identity as one of the factors that impacts on academic performance, and by implication the white superiority and black inferiority binary. Chavous (2002) observes that "racial identity has been cited as a major factor in African-American students' social adjustment, such as daily functioning and behaviours, as well as in academic outcomes in predominantly white educational settings." (p. 145)

A student in a study by Von Robertson et al. (2005, p. 40) commented as follows: "Well, I'd just say that 'race' is always a factor." Researchers are however divided on this issue. Some argue that when black learners embrace racial identity that affirms their blackness, that is an identity that is centered on the black culture, learning is facilitated (Harris & Marsh, 2010).

Other researchers argue that a racial identity that does not promote groundedness in African culture promotes academic achievement. Fordham and Ogbu (1986), Fordham (1988), Fleming (1984) and Sedlacek (1999), for example, argue that black learners that are associated with high academic achievement choose to act white; that is, they assimilate into the white culture and improve academic achievement. In support of this view, Harris and Marsh (2010) argue that in contrast, those that act black
are associated with under-achievement, that is, they "…adopt an identity oppositional to the dominant culture, which includes a cultural frame of reference that does not value academic success." (p. 1245)

Another group of researchers argue that it is ambivalent identities that promote black learner academic achievement. Harris and Marsh (2010, p. 1242) concluded that "[s]pecifically, blacks in the *race ambivalent* and *race similar* profiles have higher achievement and educational aspirations, and attribute more value to schooling and are less detached from schooling than are those in the *race neutral* profile."

These findings are corroborated by Graham and Anderson (2008), who argue that black learners do not have to choose only from the acting white or acting black binary. They found that black learners who are aware of racial discrimination and concomitant barriers are able to rise above the "acting white acting black" binary and reflect good academic achievement. Arguments like these portray blacks as having the opportunity to make choices in terms of their identity narratives and, depending on which choices they make, they either thrive or fail to thrive within the academic setting. Such arguments tend to ignore how limiting the academic milieu and the white schooling community at large is for the expression of black identities. Thus, putting the responsibility of "choosing" which identity narratives black people adopt, and how this impacts on academic achievement, is viewed as an old strategy of blaming the victim in case anything goes wrong. These arguments are orchestrated to prove black deficiency and white achievement, thus promoting whiteness at the expense of other identities.

3.1.4 Black Voicelessness

Black learners are found to be generally silent in the classroom environment, while their white counterparts are found to be ever ready to speak out (Graham and Anderson (2008). In a study by Wallitt (2008), a learner reflecting on the voicelessness of black learners in the classroom, said:

> the way that we [black students] were raised, compared to the way other people [white students] were raised, is totally different. No matter what, we always have to respect everyone…I pay attention; I stay quiet; and if they ask me a question, I'll answer it, if I know the answer. And that's how I was raised. (p. 6)

The comment by this learner indicates that silence by black learners in the classroom needs to be contextualized within their cultural upbringing. However, white teachers are bound to interpret it within the white cultural framework and thus see black silence as indicating less confidence and even less intellect as compared to their white counterparts. Once a deficit diagnosis is made, intervention strategies that may be instituted are bound to be inclined towards fixing the deficient learner, when there may be nothing wrong with the learner. In this particular case, if anything needs fixing, it would be the education system that promotes western cultural values. By disregarding contextual factors and misdiagnosing black learners' voicelessness as indicative of inability, black learners are positioned as deficient and prone to failure. This has a negative impact on their self-esteem as well as their academic performance (Shockley (2003).

Other scholars have interpreted voicelessness as a manifestation of the oppositional black culture that eventuates in classrooms. Oppositional black culture, referred to above as "acting black", is a reaction to the perceived promotion of whiteness through school. In protest, black learners use a strategy that some researchers have called the "cool pose" (Graham & Anderson, 2008, p. 494), which means defying the status quo by not engaging as is expected of learners, in classroom discussions, for example.

Whatever the reason for black learners' silence in classrooms, the failure of faculty/teaching staff to problematize this silence and outspokenness by the black and white learners, respectively, perpetuates uneven power dynamics between the two groups. It has been found that where teachers do not manage and regulate the power dynamics in class, white learners dominate (Johnson−Bailey, 2002). This clearly demonstrates that despite the legislated policies that are supposed to promote equity, the interventions instituted do not seem to translate into equity at the micro-level, in the teaching and learning environment, to create a situation that would enable and enhance black learner participation and achievement, in view of the entrenched power dynamics between blacks and whites.

If unchecked, the silencing of black learners in the classroom may lead to an uneven exchange of knowledge and consequently the stunting of the academic development of black learners and their natural or preferred collective approach to knowledge production/construction (Abagond, 2011). Facilitation by the teacher enables learning spaces (classrooms) to become tools either to enhance or hamper learner performance (McGregor, 2004c). Hence the failure of teachers to interpret black learners' silence in class within an appropriate cultural framework, positions black learners as deficient and promotes black under-achievement.

The section above has looked at studies conducted largely in the United States that looked at experiences of black learners in historically white schools and universities. As demonstrated above most findings are corroborated by the South African studies. The findings demonstrate unequivocally that, although the education system is strategically placed at a macro-level to assist both countries deal with diverse cultures, historically white institutions are found to be implementing deficit-based models that seek to accommodate the black learner into a schooling system that is normed on white values. This approach is flawed as it is based on a distorted perception that the debate is about the inclusion of the marginalized to an already existing education system.

In South Africa this type of inclusion has been framed within a non-racial education system which promotes the integration of black and white. Biko (as cited in Woods, 1987) warns of the hypocrisy of such a system when he argues:

> The integration they talk about is first of all artificial in that it is a response to a conscious manoeuvre rather than the dictates of the inner soul. In other words the people forming the integrated complex have been extracted from various segregated societies with their in-built complexes of superiority and inferiority and these continue to manifest themselves even in the "non-racial" set-up of the integrated complex. As a result the integration so achieved is a one-way course, with the whites doing all the talking and the blacks the listening. (p. 21)

Since the theoretical frameworks that are used to craft the education agenda at a macro-level fail to address the power imbalances between the entrenched white superiority and

black inferiority identity binary, created during apartheid, at a micro-level schools inadvertently become the legitimate perpetrators of white superiority and black inferiority. This is an indication that, post apartheid, the race equality bar is set so low as if the "achievement of this (integration) is in itself a step towards the total liberation of the blacks" (Biko, as cited in Woods, 1987, p. 70). According to Biko (ibid, p. 70), as "nothing could be more misleading."

Consequently, this approach fails to articulate the real inequities, other than access, that should be at the crux of education transformation (Soudien et al., 2004). It is silent on the articulation and redress of inequities in identity narratives through education, given that western dominance that characterized the previous segregationist dispensation was institutionalized, inter alia, through the education system (Soudien et al., 2004). A similar dispensation during apartheid prompted Biko (as cited in Woods, 1987, p. 100) to write: "It (integration/non-racialism) is a concept long defined by whites and never examined by blacks. It is based on the assumption that all is well with the system."

To demonstrate how exclusive inclusive education based on non-racialism can be, the following section presents findings of South African studies that have investigated the experiences of black learners in white schools. The section is meant to show that, although there are many similarities with the international, particularly the US, experience, there are issues unique to the South African context that perpetuate the superior white and inferior black identity binary that need to be addressed.

3.2 The South African Context

Despite the commitment to a non-racial, human rights dispensation, founded on principles of equality and equity that South Africa has committed to post 1994 (Erasmus & Ferreira, 2002), and despite the commitment to a non-racial education system to drive this agenda, black learners' experiences in such institutions demonstrate that the white superiority and black inferiority binary and the concomitant African identity problematic is perpetuated through this system.

3.2.1 Experiences of Black Learners in Historically White Institutions in South Africa

As in the international context revealed in the studies reviewed above, the schooling system in South Africa also fails to address the African identity problematic, and by so doing it re-enacts and reinforces the black inferiority and white superiority binary. The South African literature is presented and discussed under the following headings emerging from literature: (1) schools as mediums for social differentiation, (2) parental representation in school governance, (3) black families' role in their children's schooling career, (4) language of teaching and learning, (5) language and identity in relation to social class/ positioning, (6) language and identity in relation to policy that devalues African languages, (7) communication patterns for black learners, (8) educator establishment, (9) relationship between white teachers and black learners, (10) the nature of interaction between white teachers and black learners: the socio-psychological context, (11) the "decline of standards" discourse, (12) segregation and racism in informal arenas of the school, (13) black learners' response to assimilation (De Klerk, 2002; Pandor, 2004; Soudien, 2010; Sujee, 2004).

3.2.1.1 Schools as Mediums for Social Differentiation

The commitment of the South African government post apartheid is that schools and government institutions in general should contribute towards a non-racial society based on equality and basic human rights (R. o. S. Africa, 1996b). Despite this understanding at the macro (government) level, this intention has not translated into practice at the micro (school) level. According to Soudien (2010, p. 105), the school remains "a medium for social differentiation…[it] allocates people to specific class positions. It is a sorting agency rather than an integrative agency."

Various institutions and practices are created consciously or unconsciously as mechanisms to sustain white dominance. For example some schools have groups of parents, normally housewives, who organize themselves into committees such as the

“Mothers of Grade 6”, Parents’ Committee or Catering Committee. These parents volunteer to perform services like handling logistics whenever there are sporting or other school functions. Although the committees in principle are open to all, they become the preserve of those who have the time to participate in them, usually the well-to-do “stay-at-home-moms” that do not have to work. These mothers, most of whom are white, are always available at home to nurture and support their children, assisting them with homework, sport, and all other extramural activities. Meanwhile, their black counterparts, although they can afford to send their children to historically white schools, usually cannot afford not to work. The schools organize activities during the day and count on this structure to ferry the children to and from sporting events, amongst other activities. Of significance is the situation that if black parents are unable to come up with a sustainable way of ferrying their children, these children run the risk of being dropped from such activities. Thus, although South Africa officially does not differentiate and discriminate according to race, differentiation and discrimination creep in, in very subtle yet through well-orchestrated social class differentiation mechanisms (Dawson, 2003).

Social differentiation also manifests itself in terms of living arrangements, distance to school and transport. While white learners usually live in the vicinity of the school or can rely on their parents to drive them to school, a majority of black learners commute using public transport from the townships and other far-flung areas. Public transport is often unreliable, hence black learners are often late for school. In a study by Dawson (2003), black learners voicing their frustrations in this regard, said: “You’ll never see a white person standing up for being late for class” (p.15). In the same vein, another learner said: “if the bus breaks down or the taxi is not on time, we get detention for being late, but it’s not even our fault” (p.15).

The school management often fails to acknowledge late-coming by black learners as mostly a socio-economic issue. Instead, they apply punitive measures and racialise it, as evidenced by the comments from one of the principals who publicly enquired as follows at the school assembly: “Why is it always the black people that come late?” (Dawson, 2003, p. 15). Apart from blaming black learners for what are systemic and structural problems, statements of this nature are likely to impact on the black learners’

confidence and self-esteem. Further, coming late is generalized to black people, thus treating them as a homogenous group, an apartheid tactic often used to discredit black people (Chiroro, Tredoux, Radaelli, & Meissner, 2008). Remarking on this phenomenon, Biko (as cited in Woods, 1987, p. 111), says:

> Now this is part of the roots for self-negation which our kids get even as they grow up. The homes are different, the streets are different, so you then begin to feel that there is something incomplete in your humanity, and that completeness goes with whiteness. This is carried through to adulthood when the black man has got to live and work.

Despite the good intention of a non-racial, inclusive education system post apartheid, the "inferior black" and "superior white" identity binary is kept alive by apartheid-engineered tactics, whereby black learners are constantly reminded of their inferior position vis-à-vis the superior position of whites.

3.2.1.2 Parental Representation in School Governance Structures

Black parents are under-represented in school governing bodies of white schools (Sujee, 2004). Under-representation of black parents in governance structures happens with support from the South African Schools Act (R. o. S. Africa, 1996b). Nowhere in the Act is it stipulated that there needs to be a balanced representation of black and white parents on the school governing body. Further, the Act assumes that parents have certain skills (e.g. reading and writing) and hence the School Governing Bodies are assumed to have the capacity to govern a formerly "white" institution, appoint teachers and make school policy. Skills of this nature are, however, generally distributed disproportionately in favour of white parents, a typical inheritance or remnant of apartheid. Soudien et al. (2004) conclude as follows in relation to the South African Schools Act:

> … the Act projected parental identity around a restrictive middle-class notion of who parents were and how they functioned. Central to this notion were particular understandings of how time is used, what domestic resources are

> available for the schooling process, how much cultural capital parents can draw on in relating to school and so on. (p. 108)

While some proponents of integration, for example De Klerk (2002), interpret the creation of a black and white middle class as an effort to level the playing field between blacks and whites, Soudien et al. (2004) warn that, by and large, the creation of a middle class amongst the (formerly) oppressed is one of "the modalities of the dominant group as it seeks to maintain a hold on the social order." (p. 105). While the black middle class can access historically white institutions, this is restricted to a small percentage of blacks who can afford this. Consistent with the apartheid norm of divide and rule, the majority of black learners continue to attend school in the townships and rural areas. This arrangement creates a rift between the black "haves" and "have nots"' contributing to South Africa being ranked the second highest most unequal society in the world (Pandor, 2004). Blacks educated in historically white schools or institutions more often than not go on to occupy middle-class positions in society; thus they are perpetually differentiated from the masses of the working class. They may be alienated from the very values of the working class that they embraced prior to being admitted to historically white institutions.

The irony is that acquiring a place at a historically white institution, and subsequently getting a decent job and the concomitant middle class status, does not level the playing field. In the final analysis, the white agenda of divide and rule succeeds under a legitimate non-racial education system. White value systems and cultural capital are absorbed by the black elite and consequently whites emerge victorious. Post apartheid, race may not be explicitly used as the basis for discrimination and oppression, but class becomes the new modality to achieve similar goals (Biko, as cited in Woods, 1987; Soudien et al., 2004). So instead of the schooling system dealing with how to forge diverse, truly multiple identities and by so doing addressing the African identity problematic in particular, as black learners attend historically white schools in droves, a new type of identity is created. This identity is that of a black and white elite who join hands in the name of a "good" education for their children (Dawson, 2003; De Klerk, 2002; Soudien et al., 2004).

Black parents speak with conviction that white schools provide good education, without necessarily having defined and articulated what constitutes good education in the first place. A black learner in the study by Dawson (2003) represents this parental voice when she says:

> Before I came to High School X, I knew there was racism in this school, I knew that black people were treated differently, but my mother still insisted that I come here, because my cousin came here before I did, and her mother said it was a good school. (p. 9-10)

Ironically, in the process, blacks partner with whites to reinforce the existing stereotypes that are consistent with the apartheid black and white binary of inferiority and superiority respectively. These findings corroborate the observations by Goduka (1998) and Jansen (1999) that parents' perception that white schools offer good education has an influence on learners' sense of self. Meier and Hartell (2009, p. 187) observed a "tendency on the part of black learners in desegregated schools to deny and reject their racial and cultural identities." Learners who reject their backgrounds in favour of whiteness end up acting white (Ogbu (2004), and are referred to as "coconuts" and "orios". This is aptly demonstrated by a remark by a black girl in a study by Dawson (2003, p. 11): "…the school is mainly for whites and sometimes you don't fit in, but they want you to fit in, so you just have to be like them and do the stuff they want you to do. Follow them."

While assimilation may make black learners feel accepted in white schools, it alienates them from their communities who do not appreciate what these learners have become, what is commonly referred to as a black-on-the-outside and white-on-the-inside phenomenon (Soudien, 2010).

The school provides the site or space for the reconfiguration of the present democratic order, which is aligned to the entrenched old order of binaries, instituted by apartheid, and the pre-existing structural socio-economic inequities post apartheid.

3.2.1.3 Black Families' Role in their Children's Schooling Career in Formerly White Schools

Black families play an important role in the enrolment of their children in historically white schools. As observed by De Klerk (2002, p.11);

> the parents … are actively and knowingly promoting shift from Xhosa to English in their children. For political, economic and educational reasons, they want their children to be assimilated into a single unified national culture which will probably be Western to the core.

They exert pressure on their children to achieve in white institutions in order to get out of the vicious cycle of poverty and poor education. This it is envisaged will enable them to play a meaningful role in the communities in the future. Using Bourdieu's work as the point of departure, Lareau and Horvat (1999, p. 37) argue that "… students with more valuable social and cultural capital fare better in school than do their otherwise-comparable peers, with less valuable social and cultural capital."

A student in a study conducted by Pizzolato et al. (2008), in the United States, confirms this. A black student remarked that he did not have any support system:

> I can't really have an intelligent conversation with [my foster dad] about college and what's going on, because he doesn't - he hasn't been. I mean he's old. He hasn't been. I mean the dude never even got to finish high school. (p. 5)

Most black learners come from economically depressed homes that do not have the support system or, according to Lareau and Horvat (1999), the social and cultural capital that is taken for granted in white families. According to Lareau and Horvat (1999, p. 42), "… cultural capital includes parents' large vocabularies, sense of entitlement to interact with teachers as equals, time, transportation, and child care arrangements to attend school events during the school day."

The absence of a basic, yet crucial support system, for instance the services of a housekeeper and child minder, means that black girls in particular have to perform all

the chores that white girls may not worry about. After school, the time is spent on house chores: washing dishes and clothes, cleaning up the house and cooking while their white counterparts largely have “servants” who take on that responsibility. Ironically, these “servants” happen to be the black girls’ mothers who work in the suburbs. They come home late in the evening, are mostly illiterate or have no qualifications and as a result cannot supervise homework, a situation that Erasmus and Ferreira (2002, p. 32), refer to as “circumstances that oblige parents to make arrangements that burden their children with heavy responsibilities”

The average black parent’s inability to meet the white school’s cultural and social “standards” means that they may not be able to negotiate their cultural value system into the white school, and this impacts not only on their children’s performance in school, but also on what their learners in turn consume as social and cultural capital. The school, by promoting white culture and ignoring and sometimes even denigrating the cultural value system of black people, for example by declaring English which is not their mother tongue the language of teaching and learning, creates an impression that the white culture is the standard and that other cultures are substandard. This creates feelings of inadequacy in black learners, and their parents’ failure to challenge, or even address, the status quo may even be viewed as confirming that indeed white is superior (Biko, as cited in Woods, 1987). Black learners’ sense of self and what it represents is compromised, and they may start internalizing this, as an indication that blacks are failures, that they are inferior to whites and that such a situation is a “standard” or a norm.

Some black learners, just like their parents, regard attending formerly white schools as a privilege (Dawson, 2003). They come to this conclusion when they compare the white schools to the schools in the townships or black areas. In a study by Dawson (2003) for example, a black learner remarked as follows:

> At [this school], discipline is much stricter. At [my previous school] the rules are not followed. Teachers go out with pupils, pupils bunk, and teachers and principals don’t do anything, even if they know that the pupils are bunking. It’s better like this, because you know you have to behave, you can’t go over the

> rules…At high school X I like the education. At [my former school] we were corrupt. You could just do whatever you wanted to do. Here we have some discipline, not completely disciplined, but some discipline. When I get out at the end of the day, I am always proud I have gained something. (p. 15)

Given the observation that black parents and their children believe there is quality education in white schools, and that black schools are not an alternative, means that white dominance is perpetuated with a level of endorsement from the black community.

3.2.1.4 The Language of Learning and Teaching

The language of learning and teaching is another aspect, identified in the literature, as an area of concern for black learners in formerly white institutions. Language is a significant part of an individual's identity. During the apartheid era, black languages were not accorded official status, English and Afrikaans being the only recognized official languages. This apartheid legacy is perpetuated within the current democratic dispensation by declaring all, including African languages, official yet allowing a situation in formerly white schools where only English and Afrikaans are languages of learning and teaching. This, Mkhize (2004b, p. 69) concludes, is "about the position and power of the people who speak [these languages]." English and Afrikaans, which are traditionally white languages, are accorded a superior status and by implication this promotes whiteness. Assigning inferior status to black languages impacts not only on the social positioning and identity formation of black learners; it has been shown to have negative repercussions for learner achievement (De Klerk, 2002; Makubalo, 2006).

3.2.1.5 Language and Identity in Relation to Social Class/Positioning

De Klerk (2002) found that black parents send their children to white schools in order to improve their standard of living. They perceive attending formerly white institutions as a means towards upward mobility. Black parents are aware that Western languages and culture are positioned to be equivalent to success; as a result they are eager that their

children acquire this “winning formula”. While some parents are aware that, by allowing their children to imbibe white languages and culture, they risk trading their culture for the sake of social class positioning, others are willing to sacrifice who they are, their identities, for the sake of climbing the social ladder (De Klerk, 2002). Given that the positive correlation between Western culture and success is not a perception but a reality, created deliberately by apartheid and global market forces, this construction to this day means that whites in the main remain the high earners, possess and control the means of production and generally are economically much better off than their black counterparts (Commission, 2013). There is evidence that black parents are conflicted on the impact of sending their children to formerly white schools (De Klerk, 2002). Some believe that, by sending their children to formerly white schools, they are ensuring that their children acquire the white cultural capital that they need for the workplace or economic advancement. Others believe that by acquiring white cultural capital, blacks are actively participating in their own oppression and, by implication, are also participating in the sustenance of the white superiority and black inferiority identity binary post apartheid.

Both arguments are challenged by an argument that opting to imbibe white cultural capital, particularly the use of Western languages, may not necessarily translate into a self-centered aspiration to advance economically, or even represent giving in to the white superiority and black inferiority binary, instead it may be a way of challenging it. Makubalo (2006), for example, argues that black learners use English simply as a tool to deal with the oppressive system they find themselves in. They speak English simply to get grades, because that is how the language is positioned: black learners have to use it in order to pass; it is a gateway to qualifications and success.

Moreover, these learners are not necessarily helplessly subsumed by western culture; they deliberately appropriate the language as well as the concomitant Western culture to get what they want, but deliberately switch to their languages and culture when they are in their spaces, at home or, for example, in the company of friends (Makubalo, 2006). It is the contention of this researcher that this shift is a well-calculated move to access what has been engineered to be a system of success, without losing touch with who they

are. Makubalo (2006) found that not only do learners appropriate the language and white culture; they also fight for self-expression within the schooling environment. Whenever given a chance, they counteract and challenge dominant white discourses at the school, for example, by using their vernacular during class and in the playground.

Although black learners recognize white dominance and resist being positioned as inferior, the fight or resistance is confined to a few learners who have this consciousness. This resistance is made invisible by not only the limited number of subscribers, but it is also not recognized, at a macro-level, as a broad strategy to counteract mainstream white hegemony. This silence perpetuates white superiority and black inferiority.

3.2.1.6 Language and Identity in Relation to Policy that Devalues African Languages

Historically white institutions still teach in either of the two apartheid official languages, English and Afrikaans, despite a diverse learner population that includes black learners, whose mother tongue is neither of these languages. This is despite the promulgation of the National Language in Education Policy section 3 (4) (m) of the National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996) (R. o. S. Africa, 1997), and the Language Policy for Higher Education (R. o. S. Africa, 2002a), both of which promote multilingualism to redress language inequities (Chick, 2000; Mda, 2004b). This, combined with the existence of white educators who lack the capacity to teach African languages, means that black learners are not supported in their language development, and this in turn impacts negatively on the performance of black learners (Meier & Hartell, 2009). Rectifying the situation may mean overhauling the system by either employing educators who can teach in African languages, or replacing the educator cadre employed at the schools, a process that is laden with labour relations issues and which would be difficult to implement within the current legislative climate (Meier & Hartell, 2009; Soudien et al., 2004).

As much as some parents and learners indicate that they would prefer to be taught in their mother tongue, in order to level the playing field with their white counterparts, they also realize that due to the backlog in the indigenous language development resulting from apartheid, and because English is regarded as a language of success that has international and economic clout, they prefer English as a language of instruction (Mda, 2004b; Meier & Hartell, 2009). At the same time, being coerced into learning in English because it is the only language available, other than Afrikaans, and because of its world-renowned status, puts undue pressure on black learners, who become resentful that their languages are not accorded the same status, not by their making but because of the unfair advantage accorded to English and Afrikaans during the apartheid era. Despite all the developments at macro-level around non-racialism and the equality of all race groups, schools have a tendency to ignore languages spoken by black learners and instil the language of the dominant culture as the norm (Mda, 2004a).

In defiance of the school's language policy which only allows learners to speak English during school hours, some black learners use their mother tongue in school to reclaim their sense of self, and as a measure of self-affirmation (Makubalo, 2006; Soudien, 2010). This limited usage of mother tongue is confined largely to informal spaces, for example during breaks. Chick (2000) found that, during the formal education programme, "participants were having to negotiate their identities within an English-only discourse" (p. 35). The opportunity to use different languages to leverage different cultural positions is lost; instead using English reinforces the stereotype that English or "white" is superior and "black" is deficient. This perpetuates the marginalization of other languages and by implication the cultures associated with them. A student in protest against this marginalization asked: "Hey, hey, Mr. Gregbowe! Mr. Gregbowe! How come when you say *o'er* they call it poetry, but when you say *Ahma go home now*, they call it slang?" (Bowe, 2009, p. 265).

Mda (2004a) concluded as follows on the language question: "[w]hile the populations of schools and higher learning institutions are linguistically diverse, the institutions remain monocultural, ethnocentric and monolingual English or Afrikaans" (p. 171).

3.2.1.7 Communication Patterns for Black Learners in Historically White Schools

Communication in general is guided by social and cultural norms and etiquette. For example, in black cultures youngsters do not keep eye contact with adults as a sign of respect. On the other hand they talk a lot outside, all of which can cause a fracas with white educators who may interpret such behavior as an indication of being rude and uncultured. Chick (2000) found that the way communication is handled in white schools promotes the one-at-a-time discourse. The teachers manage the content of what is communicated, how it is communicated, how frequently it is communicated, to whom and by whom. This is done through triadic dialogue: "the teacher initiates, learners respond, and the teacher evaluates their responses" (Chick, 2000, p. 39). This communication strategy does not encourage a true dialogue. Black learners in particular are disadvantaged by this process, as it is based on white middle class values. Hence, the western discourse is inadvertently promoted, as this is what most white teachers know and are comfortable with. Even when the opportunity presents itself for the expression of diverse discourse, the teachers, through the triadic dialogue process, gatekeep certain discourses (Chick, 2000; Dawson, 2003). The frequency of the interaction with individual students within a triadic dialogue is found generally to limit the time given to each student to engage in the classroom. Black learners end up getting very limited airtime in the classroom, thus compromising their voice and generally the black cultural discourse. In the process, black learners' identities are compromised as they cannot find expression in the classroom or the school in general. The implicit (e.g. triadic discourse) and explicit (e.g. school language policies) communication systems position whiteness as superior to blackness.

Triadic discourse in the classroom promotes individualism, in that learning is viewed as an individual matter and this, according to Chick (2000) and Goduka (1999), disadvantages black learners on two fronts. First, they may not be allowed to engage in "side talk" to clarify their understanding. Second, individualistic practices promoted in the classroom are contrary to the black learners' collectivistic approach to knowledge. Despite these fundamental differences in terms of approaches to learning, when learning breaks down or in instances of learner failure, more often than not individuals and not

the system (teachers, administrators,) are blamed. Further the one-at-a-time discourse advantages white learners who are brought up within this discourse. As a result, their chances of passing, within a learning environment that promotes individual expression, are better than those whose background promotes collective action. Chick (2000) concludes that "such discourse constructs social identities for students familiar with it (mostly white and Indian middle-class) as competent, and for students who are not (mostly black African) as incompetent, and possibly rebellious." Chick (2000) surmises that "like English-only and decline-of-standards discourse, communication patterns help maintain existing power relations."

Although there are examples of counter-discourses, in terms of some educators who try to use the space provided by a diverse learner intake, to promote the articulation of other discourses, particularly the black African discourse, these efforts are thwarted by the profound institutional support given to the dominant white discourse and the concomitant systems put in place to protect and guard this discourse (Soudien, 2010). In the absence of these opportunities, black learners are disadvantaged on two fronts: first, they are deprived of the opportunity to have their cultural experiences affirmed within the prestigious schooling environment, a critical process for identity formation. Second, in view of the institutionalized white culture, and the policing of non-deviation from it, they are deprived of the opportunity to negotiate their cultural experiences, and because of this these institutions lose out on an opportunity to establish multicultural non-racial identities. Instead, they promote white middle class identities at the expense of black African identities.

3.2.1.8 Educator Establishment in Formerly White Schools

White teachers are generally a majority, even when the majority of the learner population is black; black teachers are conspicuous by their absence. More often than not, the only black adult that is employed by the school is a non-professional, for example a gardener, a tea lady, or a cleaner. Nonetheless, there is evidence that black learners prefer to be taught by black teachers. They say: "We'd just like to be taught by

a coloured teacher or a black lady or something, because in this school, who can you talk to?" (Dawson, 2003, p. 16).

In the same study, instead of listening to the black learners' appeal, the (white) principal defended the status quo. He remarked: "We don't want black teachers here, because if you go into Soweto, you won't find a white teacher in their classrooms, so why must a black teacher come here?" (p. 16).

The white learners, in support of the principal remarked: "No way!" "Not a chance!" "We want to learn something at least'' (p. 16). Dawson (2003) observes that black teachers are not welcome in white schools because "the mere entry of a Black teacher into a predominantly White Classroom challenges entrenched hierarchical systems of social distinctions" (p. 2). Black teachers' competence is questioned; they are assumed failures before their competence is assessed. This communicates and reinforces what Meier and Hartell (2009) refer to as the "racialised notions of white competence and black incompetence" (p. 185).

3.2.1.9 Relationship Between Black Learners and White Teachers

The other element of institutional racism is the relationship, or the lack thereof, between black students and the white faculty (Johnson−Bailey, 2002; Von Robertson et al., 2005). Similarly to the finding in US tertiary institutions Chavous (2002) white teachers in South African schools have been shown to be prejudiced against black learners (Moletsane, Hemson, & Muthukhrishna, 2004). Sedlacek (1999, p. 541) argued as follows: "[t]his prejudice can take such forms as lower expectations of Black students than are warranted, overly positive reactions to work quality, reducing the quality of communication, and reducing the probability that faculty know students well enough to write reference letters."

The absence of black faculty is found to compound this problem in that, if they were part of the institution, they would bring the black cultural element into a white

institution, an important factor for black learner performance (Von Robertson et al., 2005).

3.2.1.10 The Nature of Interaction Between White Teachers and Black Learners: the Socio-psychological Context

White teachers are found to mete out different treatment to black and white learners (Dawson, 2003). This is evidenced in the way white teachers interact with both white and black learners. The frequency and the quality of the interaction is found to be biased in favour of the white learners. In a study conducted at an Afrikaans school, one of the black learners remarked:

> There's definite favouritism. If a white person speaks something wrong, it goes undercover. Get a black person to do something- 'The Brixton police come in' 'It's like the blacker you are….If you are black and you do something wrong then it's like you've sinned. (Dawson, 2003, p. 10)

In the same study other learners commented:

> We don't get much attention and sometimes we feel excluded. …. (If there is) noise in the halls, the principal speaks in English because (he assumes) it's our fault. Things get stolen; English class gets blamed. The cops come in; they search us first, before the white kids. (Dawson, 2003, p. 10)

These findings are corroborated by Meier and Hartell (2009) who found that white teachers tend to give more constant and consistent feedback, as well as more positive reinforcement, to white learners than they give to black learners. White teachers are found to either ignore black learners during classroom activities, what Moletsane et al. (2004) refer to as passive racism. When they do attend to them, they are not given consistent positive feedback to the same extent as that given to their white counterparts (Carter, 2005; Von Robertson et al., 2005). This differential treatment is found to be easily facilitated when educators segregate white learners from black learners, under the guise of academic performance or language. Black learners are consistently positioned

as unknowledgeable, invisible and not as smart as white learners. The differential treatment, particularly being positioned negatively in the classroom or the school in general, is met with resistance from black students; for example a student in a study by Carter (2007), who is repeatedly ignored by a white teacher, said:

> I'll be like "what's up? How come you don't want my stuff written on the board?" I'll be like, "write mine on the board". (DC: You'll say that to the teacher?) Yeah. They'll be like, "okay, fine". It does make a difference you know? Even that little thing proves something to me, you know? (p. 548)

3.2.1.11 The Decline of Standards Discourse

The schools report that, by admitting black learners to the school, they find that they do not have the cultural capital to match the English standards that undergird the school curriculum. For example, teaching Shakespeare to non-English speakers is found to be challenging (Chick, 2000). Black learners were also allegedly not au fait with basic skills that are taught in households that have a western orientation, for example critical thinking and moral behavior.

Positioning Western ways of knowing as the normative standard, vis-à-vis all other knowledge systems, is the basis for the argument that other ways of knowing are sub-standard and would necessarily give rise to the decline of standards, if they were to be part of the school curriculum. Just like the English-only discourse, the decline of standards discourse is in line with the apartheid binary of superior white and inferior black, as it "…serves both naturalizing and stigmatizing functions" (Chick, 2000, p. 39). By promoting the western knowledge systems at the expense of indigenous ways of knowing, the power relations between the two, inherited from apartheid, are maintained. An opportunity to allow for the expression of diverse knowledge systems in the classroom is lost, and so are "the opportunities for learners to co-construct a truly multi-cultural identity: one that is multiple, overlapping and changing" (Chick, 2000, p. 39).

3.2.1.12 Segregation and Racism in the Informal Arenas of the School

There is reportedly a lot of segregation in the informal arena of the school, where social relationships take place (Carter, 2007; O'Neil, 1998). Just as in all the other dimensions of school life, black learners are dominated by their white peers in these social spaces. Although there are reported cases of friendships between black and white learners, these are most prevalent and sustained in primary school. At high schools, when learners are more aware of what black and white means in society, friendships across the colour bar are largely at superficial levels. In a study by Dawson (2003) for example, one of the black learners stated that the only reason for having an "across-the-colour-bar" group of friends was because "I fit in well here, because this is the smokers' circle!" (p. 14). Otherwise, at every opportunity, black learners are found to congregate in one corner while their white counterparts congregate in another. One of the black learners remarked as follows, on not having white friends:

> With the white kids mostly we don't have that bond. Yes…Just some of them we talk to, about general stuff…about school work mostly…we don't talk to them about the things I would talk to them (black learners) about like music and boyfriend problems". (p. 14)

Williams (2003) observed similar trends in the US, whereby black learners did not play and eat together with their white counterparts in middle or high school, contrary to the trends observed at elementary school. It is mostly during adolescence that learners grapple with identity and hence race matters, and this may explain the reversal of elementary school trends (Dolby, 2001; O'Neil, 1998; Williams, 2003).

Carter (2007) investigated the strong influences of same-race peer networks on black student achievement and racial identity for black achievers, in predominantly white schools. Carter (2007) found that these spaces, either formal or informal, are used as counter-spaces, resistance spaces that "represent institutionalized mechanisms that serve as protective forces for these students and allow them to maintain a strong racial sense of self, while maintaining school success in a racially hostile environment" (p. 543).

These are spaces where black learners affirm their identity, as it is mostly misrepresented, “othered” or even discounted by the predominantly white schooling environment. Carter (2007) further argues that, according to Fordham and Ogbu (1986), they do this to “enact their fictive kinship …a sense of peoplehood or collective social identity…” (p. 547). These spaces are used as a mechanism to affirm and be affirmed by other black students, who are also experiencing the same sense of alienation that schools foster, through white-biased programmes that promote their invisibility and hypervisibility, for good and bad things respectively.

Although this counter-space provides these learners with room, tools and resources to counter white hegemony, and to establish collective social identity, since these spaces are not formally acknowledged as legitimate spaces for the production of knowledge of what being black means, with the view of influencing the school cultural or identity programme, they remain informal spaces that the school cares very little about. The wealth of knowledge generated in these spaces is not channeled back and integrated into the classroom or the formal education programme of the school. Although there is evidence that these platforms are beneficial to the black learners’ academic performance, by running parallel to the academic programme of the school, they are not effective in addressing the issue of white supremacy and black inferiority that white schools promote, largely through the hegemonic formal academic programmes. Moreover, black learners are left to their own devices to determine the content of what it means to be black. Without the necessary guidance, these groups risk falling into the trap of developing an oppositional culture, instead of fundamentally pursuing matters of the African identity problematic that colonization and slavery gave rise to.

3.2.1.13 Black Learners’ Response to Assimilation

Contrary to the assimilationist perspective, which argues that due to immersion into a Eurocentric environment in historically white schools, black learners are coerced into assimilating into the white culture, Soudien (2010) and Makubalo (2006) found that there is more to identity formation for black learners than assimilating. Black learners resist and actively rebel against assimilation, yet at other times they deliberately

appropriate or adopt some of the Western ways Makubalo (2006) in order to participate in the power that this culture wields. The use of English is an example: black learners resist and defy the school policy that dictates that they should use English during school hours. They alternate between English and their home language as a way of "showing that they could deliberately shift from one identity position to another and that none of the positions were sacred" (Soudien, 2010, p. 363).

Black learners are able to reflect on the predicament they are in of straddling the two lifeworlds, and the demands that this puts on them, but at the same time they are able to look at this situation, put it into perspective, rise above the conflict, position themselves and poke fun at their predicament. Soudien (2010) reported that, "They laughed at the African accents rumbling around them and the pretentious English turned on to impress others" (p. 363). Black learners are aware of the hybrid identities that are a result of the meeting of the African lifeworld and the school Western lifeworld. They are also aware of the tension that this causes and will, as they see fit, vacillate between a hybrid identity and what Soudien refers to as the essentialized identity, for instance when they claim to be pure Pedi or pure Zulu, depending on the circumstances.

What develops in schools is a continuous "struggle between competing discourses that construct, maintain, and change social identities in those communities and the wider society" (Chick, 2000, p. 27). However, despite the black learners' efforts to negotiate their identities, the environment does not provide a platform for a fair negotiation for black learners, given that whiteness is made prominent and given unfair advantage. Learners are largely left to their own devices to wade through this difficult environment. Though parents and communities are key in facilitating and mediating all their children's experience as they grapple with identity formation within a very complex environment (Makubalo, 2006; Soudien, 2010), they send conflicting messages to their children. While the motive is to ensure they receive the "best" education (De Klerk, 2002; Soudien et al., 2004), on the one hand they are coerced by their schools to assimilate into whiteness, and on the other hand their communities taunt them -they are seen as sell-outs of the black culture when they do. As a result, black learners become

"both insiders and outsiders of the multiple worlds they inhabit" (Soudien, 2010, p. 360).

Chick (2000) contends that schools, like all societal institutions, "are often sites of struggle between competing discourses, a cultural arena where ideological, discursive and social forces collide in an ever-unfolding drama of dominance and resistance" (pp. 29-30).

Schools do not only provide space for learning, they also provide spaces for the construction of identities. In white-dominated institutions, the struggle is between the dominant groups, who seek to protect the entrenched white hegemony, and the subordinate groups, who contest the position accorded whiteness. Chick (2000) argues that these sites, at micro-level, also "have the potential to construct a truly multicultural South African identity, one that is dynamic, overlapping, inclusive and egalitarian" (p. 32). In South Africa, this would mean finding a theoretical framework that provides the skills to redress the power imbalances between the black and white identities, that in turn perpetuate the African identity problematic at a school or institutional level. It is the contention of this study that the dialogical view of human functioning, premised on the idea of Ubuntu, exhorts us to recognize others who are different from us, and provides the necessary tools to engage with the power dynamics inherent in identity discourses that are played out in multi-racial schools.

Having reviewed the international and local literature on the experiences of black learners in predominantly white institutions, it is now appropriate to present the objetives and research questions that the current study sought to address. The concluding section summarises the chapter and provides further justification for the study objectives and research questions.

3.3 Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of the current study is to understand how the schooling system contributes to the formation and reproduction of self-narratives or identity perspectives

which are utilized by black learners in the post-apartheid South Africa, in order to make sense of their location in formerly white schools. It is envisaged that this will contribute to the transformation of the education system in South Africa from a monocultural education system into a system that affirms a diverse cultural milieu.

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To identify and analyze the various self-narratives (identities) available to black learners post apartheid;
2. To establish the circumstances under which the narratives are evoked and how they are reproduced; and
3. To identify the mechanisms used by black learners to negotiate the tensions and contradictions between different self-narratives (identities) arising from their location in different cultural worlds.

3.4 Research Questions

The research questions listed below seek to illuminate identity formation in black learners who attended predominantly white schools in the context of a non-racial South African education system.

1. What are the various self-narratives available to black African learners in post-apartheid South Africa?
2. How are the various self-narratives evoked and reproduced? (That is under, under what circumstances do these self-narratives or identities become salient?)

How do the black African learners negotiate the tensions and contradictions arising from these different self-narratives or identities?

3.5 Concluding Remarks

The literature reviewed above indicates unequivocally that the inferior black and superior white identity binary is reproduced through the schooling system. None of the literature, however, provides what I consider to be a critical framework in resolving the African identity problematic, in order to articulate the hybrid or multiple identities, including all the power dynamics inherent in them, as well as how these dynamics are negotiated, as black learners move from one space (e.g. school) to another (e.g. their communities). This process needs a framework, that not only recognizes the power asymmetries inherited during the apartheid era, between the black and white identities, it also needs to provide tools to express the hybrid identity inherited post apartheid.

This study seeks to contribute to the identity discourse at both the diagnostic and intervention levels, by arguing that the framework required for transforming the education system from one that perpetuates a mono-cultural society to one that promotes diversity, is as proposed in Chapter 2, Ubuntu-as-dialogue. It is the argument of this study that the combination of Ubuntu and Dialogism provides tools to deal with the entrenched power imbalances between the black and white identities, and is therefore ideal for the redress of the African identity problematic, as well as the articulation of a diverse multiple self that is emerging, as a result of cultural inter-mingling in desegregated schools (Hermans, 2001b; Raggatt, 2007; Rober, 2005). In particular, the dialogial view of human functioning, informed by Ubuntu philosophy, is well positioned to answer the key study questions, namely the identity narratives available to black learners in post-apartheid South Africa, the mechanisms or instances by means of which these identities are enacted, the interplay between various identity narratives, how black learners move from one identity narrative to another, depending on changes in situation, time and place, and the negotiation of power differentials inherent in various identity narratives.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the study methodology and design. It begins with a justification for the narrative/interpretivist paradigm as the theoretical basis for the study of self-narratives. This paradigm is premised on the notion that there is a multiplicity of realities that are socially constructed (Bhatia, 2011; Bruner ,1990; Bruner, 1996; Polkinghorne,1988; Polkinghorne, 1991; Smith and Sparkes, 2006 & Turner,2007). The discussion of the paradigm is followed by the presentation of the study design. The voice-centred relational method, a qualitative method grounded on listening to the voices of respondents (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008), is presented next. This method is deemed appropriate as it is suitable for studying people's lived experiences and realities (Camic, Rhodes & Yardley, 2003; Creswell, 2007; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008). The chapter then addresses issues of reliability and validity in qualitative research and concludes with a section that discusses ethical considerations.

4.2 The Narrative/Interpretivist Paradigm

The narrative/interpretivist and the rationalist paradigms, according to Bruner (1990) are the two ways of knowing, "each providing distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality (that) ...are irreducible to one another" (p. 11). The rationalist paradigm is premised on reality constructions based on logic and scientific processes (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008). By positioning its knowledge claims as universal, this paradigm discounts other modes of knowing as illegitimate (Howard, 1991). On the other hand, the narrative/interpretivist paradigm posits that reality /meaning-making/lived experience is open-ended and unfinalizable. Bruner (1990; 1996), Polkinghorne (1988), Sarbin (1986), Smith and Sparkes (2006) all argue that it is appropriateness to the task at hand, and not universality, that determines whether one uses the former or latter paradigm. The latter is considered appropriate for a study on

self-narratives because narratives or stories are the best mode to understand how people make sense of their lived experience (Bruner, 1990; Sarbin, 1986).

According to this paradigm, narrating lived experience creates opportunities for the articulation of multiple perspectives and multiple identities/self-concepts -- a strong feature of the post-modern world, characterized by the intermingling of cultures, a result of migration and the movement of people (Bhatia, 2011). Multiple identities form as one meets and engages with the other, or otherness/difference (Bamberg, 2011; Berger & Quinney, 2005; Bhatia, 2011; Bruner, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1991; Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou, 2008). The view that the self is not static but exists in a perpetual state of becoming, an alterable ongoing project that cannot be finalized, requires multiple levels of analysis (Bruner, 1996; Neisser & Fivush, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1986). Hence the researcher adopts the narrative interpretivist/paradigm as a paradigm of choice for this study. This paradigm not only challenges the claim of the rationalist paradigm to be the universal way of understanding meaning-making, it also questions the rational/ Cartesian conceptions of the self aligned to it. Contrary to the Cartesian view, that sees the self as independent and separate from the body, the narrative/interpretivist paradigm theorises selves “as active and interpretatively constituted through embodied narratives” (Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p. 169).

This distinctive and dichotomous representation of the two views of the self, however, need not mask the myriad views, as well as criticisms, of the narrative/interpretivist paradigm. The key arguments that distinguish scholars that fall under this paradigm are the unitary and non-unitary conceptions of the self. Some scholars, Gergen (1991) for example, argue that due to the post-modern existence that involves intermingling of cultures, a self that is united and coherent is not possible. Instead, the self is fragmented, multiple, variable, unfinalizable and contradictory. In buttressing this argument, Ronai (1995, p. 128) posits that people engage in “drawing, erasing, drawing again, composing, and destroying narratives of the self within contexts that are constantly in flux.” As such, the self is continuously structured and restructured through narration (Smith & Sparkes, 2006). Other scholars, for example McAdams (1993; 1997), are opposed to this view. Instead, they argue that the “I”, guided by the community’s

history and culture, synthesizes all experiences sequentially into a unified, singular, integrated and continuous self. In support of this argument, White (1996) argues that a non-unitary self is tantamount to self- fragmentation and as such is pathological. One of the major criticisms levelled against the narrative interpretivist paradigm is that the very mechanism on which the paradigm rests, that is the stories that people tell, is not reliable. They argue that stories rely on people's memories, as well as what they wish to portray as representing the self, and as such stories may very well be distorted to preserve their conceptual self (Neisser & Fivush, 1994). Others have attributed the distortions to the researcher whose interpretation, they argue, is bound to be subjective, as it is influenced by her theoretical background (Neisser & Fivush, 1994). Scholars of the narrative/ interpretivist paradigm consider these criticisms to buttress their argument that meaning is shaped by the other, by culture and the theories people hold (Bruner, 1996). Hence they declare this subjective interpretive stance upfront, as a justification for their existence -- as another way of knowing (Sarbin, 1986).

Bruner (1996), however, argues in favour of transcendence from either/or arguments. He argues: "The dilemma in the study of man is to grasp not only the causal principles of his biology and his evolution, but to understand these in light of the interpretive processes involved in meaning making" (pp. 184-185).

This study draws upon Bruner's (1996) argument for transcendence from either/or arguments. The study suggests Dialogism as an alternative theoretical understanding. I argue that Dialogism normalises the tension between the divergent views that promote self-plurality, unity and particularity of self, rather than viewing one as the only way of knowing, and superior to the other. This approach is critical within the South African context, in that the institutionalisation of the rationalist paradigm, as the universal way of understanding meaning-making, and a total disregard of indigenous ways of knowing, gave rise to and justified the superiority of individualistic, independent, egocentric, rational conceptions of the self during apartheid. This dominant self, aligned to Western ways of knowing, and summarised by the Cartesian mantra "I am because I think", seems to have transcended apartheid despite its being incommensurate with the government's intention to promote diversity post apartheid.

Locating this study within the narrative/interpretivist paradigm and dialogism allows the researcher to reveal the short-sightedness of universalizing a culture-specific narrative, as if it is the only way of knowing when there are other ways of knowing (Bruner, 1990; Polkinghorne,1988). According to Ubuntu, an indigenous epistemology, for example, the self is relational, multiple and perpetually influenced by the other, as well as the socio-cultural context (Mkhize, 2004b; Ramose, 1999). Unlike the disembodied view of the self propounded by the Cartesian school of thought, Ubuntu, silenced by apartheid, views the self as embodied in, and fundamentally about, the other. The narrative interpretivist/paradigm enables the researcher to unveil where and how "narratives are silenced" and where others are promoted as "master narratives", by macro-level sociohistorical and sociocultural factors, and at a micro-level in everyday conversations between people, and how this impacts on identity formation (Squire et al., 2008, p. 2). Dialogism creates an environment for rival approaches to dialogue, both at macro and micro levels, and thus facilitates the decentering of the automatic dominance of one view over another.

This approach is necessitated by the failure of non-racialism, a discourse installed post apartheid to promote diversity. I argue that non-racialism promotes a reconciliation narrative rather than confronting the power asymmetries between Western and indigenous ways of knowing, and the concomitant rational and relational selves they represent. This omission, given the diversity imperative of the post-apartheid era, renders both non-racialism and reconciliation narratives inappropriate and regressive (Polkinghorne, 1988). Non-racialism, to use Mumby's (1993, p. 6) words, "functions as a narrative strategy of containment that effectively provides a totalizing...reading of the ... [apartheid legacy] and hence precludes the possibility of a political, resistant reading that enables critique of [the status quo]".

Striving for reconciliation of paradigms and concomitant selves contradicts the very essence of diversity, which implies plurality of meaning and multiple self-narratives. Bruner (1990) argues that given that differences are inevitable in diverse societies, neither isolating "rival approaches" nor reconciling the irreconcilable is necessary. Smith and Sparkes (2006), building on this view, opine that what is required instead is a

discourse that allows the “dialogic relations” to emerge between the rival approaches (p. 186). Otherwise, as is the case in South Africa, the dominant discourse will be perpetually sustained. However, given the historical power discrepancies, this should be coupled with the researcher’s facilitating a process which allows for the articulation of all voices, particularly the marginalized, indigenous voices, as well as allowing for the contextualisation and interpretation of silences where applicable (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Bhatia’s (2011) study demonstrates the relevance of this approach in instances where there are historical epistemological power imbalances.

The purpose of this research study is to generate an accurate description of the interpretive narrative accounts participants use to make meaning. However, given the contested nature of identity formation, and recognizing that, in the South African context, identity formation, particularly for the marginalized groups, has traditionally meant negotiating the self against largely violent forms of otherness (Bamberg, 2011; Bhatia, 2011), I intend using the Voice-centred Relational Method in the next sections, to provide a critical analysis and interpretation of the narratives provided by the participants. As it is shown below, this method is appropriate as the study seeks to uncover how submerged narratives come to the fore as the participants participate in the never-ending struggle to construct and negotiate identities. The method enables the researcher to show that, although it is critical to “allow indigenous voices to have their say”, some may not be willing or are unable to do so, because of “colonised consciousness” (Gubrium & Holstein, 1999, cited in Berger and Quinney, 2005, pp. 569-570). Berger and Quinney (2005) warn that, should the researcher fail to exercise her authorial obligation, she may also unconsciously perpetuate the status quo.

In order to avoid too much reliance on the researcher’s analysis, which could compromise participant voices, the first approach will be complemented with the one that invokes dialogical tools, for example juxtaposition of meanings of self, in order to investigate the various self-narratives the participants have at their disposal. Drawing from the dialogic perspective of the self, and the conflicting and contested meanings of self, advocated by the same, the aim was to establish in each narrative *who* is speaking and from *what* perspective, or whether the person is ventriloquating, that is, if their

utterance incorporates voices of others, for example their cultural group (Bakhtin (1981). The other strategy that was used is what Brunner (1986) refers to as the "subjunctivising strategy" where, through juxtaposed meanings, individuals transcend the creation/performance of unique meanings of selves, and co-author new selves that include the other where, as Shotter (1989, p. 188) puts it, "The 'otherness' which enters into us makes us other."

This is the ideal for this study, if all self-narratives, particularly the indigenous selves, are to be given an equal platform, as it is not only the multiplicity of the self that represents the marginalized indigenous meaning of the self, it is also that, according to this view, the self is also the other. As such, words like "I" and "you" themselves transcend the subjectivity of an individual, and represent a cross-over between the self and the other. Unlike in the rationalist paradigm, where the researcher's goal is to uncover the static bounded Cartesian self, the narrative/ interpretivist paradigm and dialogism enable the researcher to work with the participants to unravel all narratives, suppressed narratives, perpetually deconstruct and reconstruct meaning and selves, within a landscape characterized by power, conflict and contradictions.

4.3 Study Design

The study was qualitative in its design (Camic et al., 2003; Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Maxwell, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994). True to the adage that "design follows function," positivists in pursuit of singular rational reality/truths, and assuming that research moves in a linear form, develop a logical strategy or plan in advance, that outlines how the research is conceived and conducted (Maree, 2007; Maxwell, 2005). However, for a qualitative study, such conceptualizations are not a good fit. Qualitative research has a relational and multiple reality ontology, and as such, requires a commensurate research design, one that according to Maxwell (2005), is ongoing and cyclical.

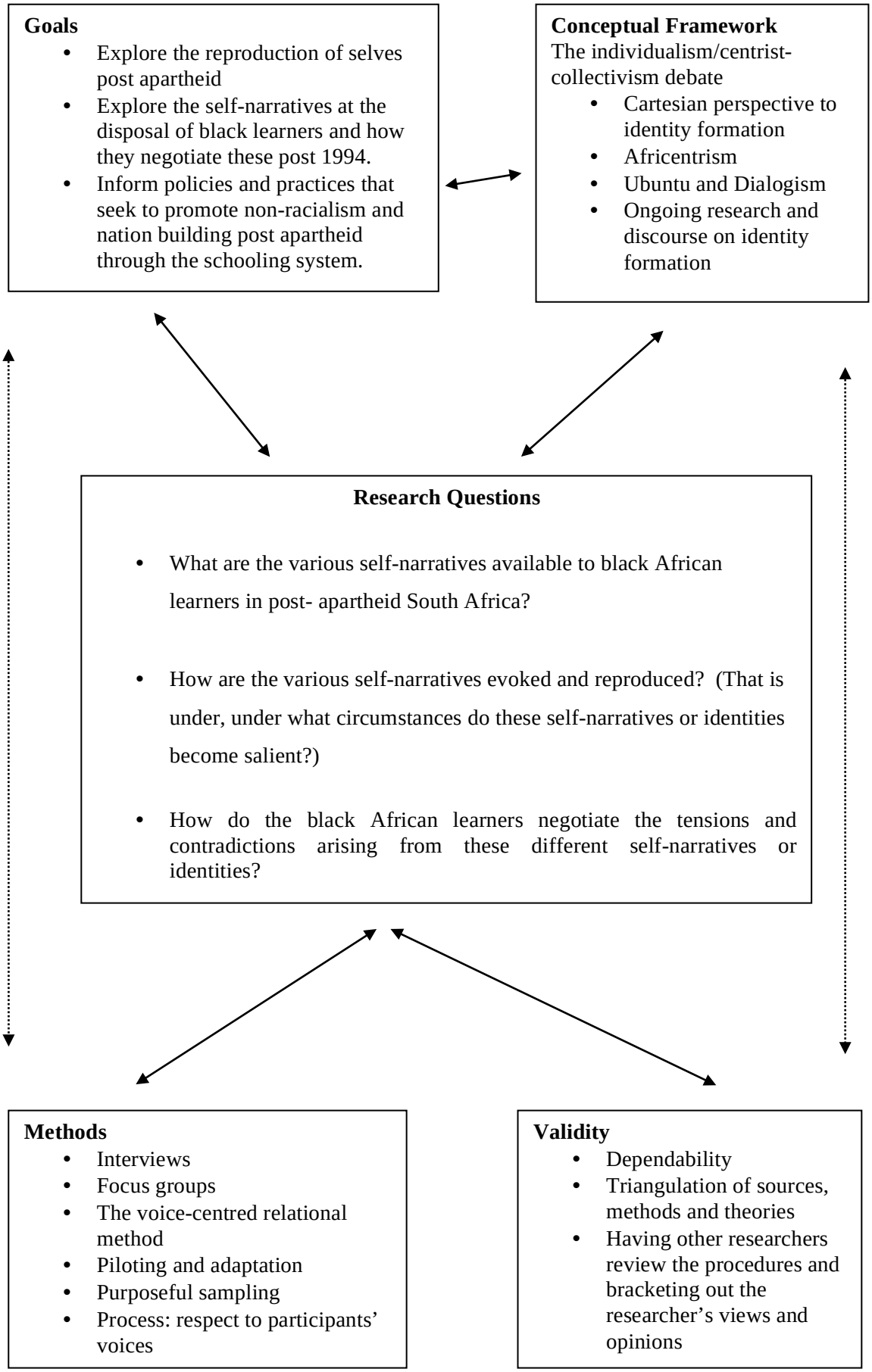
Given that this study seeks to explore the reproduction of selves post apartheid, the researcher settled for a research design that creates opportunities for the articulation of

multiple perspectives and multiple identities/self-concepts (Bruner, 1990; 1996; Polkinghorne, 1988). Hence, Maxwell's (2005) interactive research design model was adopted for this study as the interactive features of the design are commensurate with the nature of the study. The multiplicity of self narratives, and the understanding that these may include voices fraught with contradictions and inconsistencies, typical of narratives (Bhatia, 2011), made a flexible design mandatory. Maxwell (2005) opines that under such circumstances such a design is critical if the objectives of the research are to be met. Maxwell's design ensures flexibility through the interaction and coherence between the various components and allows the researcher to reflect on any component of the design and to change or modify where necessary. For example, the research process may require the modification of research questions, which in turn may result in the adaptation of research methods (Maxwell, 2005).

According to Maxwell (1998), there are five interactive research components as indicated in Figure 1 below: the goals, the conceptual framework, research questions, methods and validity. The '*goals'* motivate for the rationale or purpose of the study; it also states the issues that the researcher wishes to engage in through the study. The '*conceptual framework'* refers to the theoretical background and prior research findings that guide and inform the study. It incorporates the literature, preliminary studies and personal experiences that the researcher draws on for understanding the people and issues being studied. '*Research questions'* indicate what the researcher seeks to understand by conducting the study. The component '*Methods*' refers to what the researcher will do in conducting the study, specifically the techniques and approaches used to collect and analyze data. '*Validity*' refers to how the results and conclusions might be wrong. It also seeks to highlight plausible alternative interpretations and validity threats to these, and how these will be dealt with, and indeed generally why results should be considered credible (Howard, 1991; Maxwell, 2005). Maxwell (1998) and Creswell (2007) argue that the extent to which the five components listed are related to each other constitutes the design of the study. This relationship is dealt with extensively in the sections below.

Figure 1 below illustrates the interactive design model and demonstrates the dynamics listed above.

FIGURE 1: The design of the study



Interaction between the various components is an important feature of this model, as it ensures that there is a coherent relationship between them and that the goals of research are accomplished. As such, the researcher selected methods that not only enabled her to answer research questions but that are also able to "deal with plausible validity threats to the answers" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 5). As such, interviews and focus groups (refer to methods in Figure 1) above were used, as both are considered to have this capacity. According to Polkinghorne (1988), interviews enable the researcher to answer the research questions, in that they provide stories, the basic evidence about the narrative of participants. Focus groups were conducted after interviews as a triangulation exercise specifically to compare findings and maximize the validity of the findings.

4.4 Methods

4.4.1 Population and Sampling

In qualitative research a study population is everyone that has experienced the phenomenon under study (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011; Kumar, 2011). Hence the participants for this study were drawn from a population of black learners who attended formerly white schools. Unlike in quantitative research, where the sample has to enable the researcher to generalize findings statistically to the general population, in qualitative research the sample is purposive. As such, participants and sites are selected because they can give in-depth information/data to inform an understanding of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2007;Denzin et al., 2008). While sample size is important for the generalizability and validity of findings in quantitative research, in a qualitative study it is the credibility of the sample that is key, that is, the sample is made up of critical groups that are relevant to the study. This strategy, referred to as maximum variation, is important for getting valid findings in qualitative research (Brikci & Green, 2007).

Given that the purpose of the study is to investigate the various self-narratives available to black learners post apartheid, participants were students from Further Education and

Training Colleges who attended formerly white schools. These students were sampled as they have lived experiences of being black in a predominantly white environment, and as such are more likely to shed light on the self-narratives that black children have post apartheid.

In line with the maximum variation strategy, the sample also included what Hennink et al. (2011) refer to as "critical cases," that is, participants who attended white schools during the apartheid era in the years just post the democratic period. This was done, as in qualitative research "purposely selec[ting] a wide range of variation on dimensions of interest" (Brikci & Green, 2007, p. 10), is considered critical, to ensure that the sample is credible, as well as for theoretical validation, that is testing the theories the researcher starts out with. This strategy is further useful in that it assists the researcher to keep track of patterns and themes that cut across all variations. Most importantly, maximum variation "increases the likelihood that the findings will reflect different perspectives – an ideal in qualitative research" (Creswell, 2007, p. 26), as it increases the credibility of the findings.

Further, maximum variation assisted the researcher to avoid sample bias, that is only selectively choosing participants who are likely to have similar views on the topic at hand, as this also compromises the credibility of the research findings. Though the other aspects mentioned above, for example maximum variation and avoiding sample bias, are important for the credibility of the findings, the primary goal for purposeful sampling in this particular study was to achieve theoretical validation (Maxwell, 2005). Hence participants were those whose lifeworlds and experiences could provide a test for the theoretical framework of this study, for example theories like the Cartesian perspective on the self, dialogism and Ubuntu.

The demographics of the sample were carefully considered, hence the sample included males and females, as well as rural and urban participants, given the historical imbalances of gender as well as the rural and urban divide in South Africa, and the potential impact this could have on the findings (Brikci & Green, 2007). Of the two colleges from which the participants were sourced, one was located in a major industrial

city, while the other college was located in a smaller and less industrial urban context bordering the rural areas.

The table below reflects the sample and the key demographic variables that were considered likely to impact on the study in various ways. The description of the participants below was made to enable the researcher to expand, that is, make inferences during analysis of the narrative data, based on the knowledge and circumstances of the participant (Polkinghorne, 1988).

Table 1: The Demographics of the Sample: Interviews

Participants who attended formerly white schools in the post-apartheid era				**Participants who attended formerly white schools immediately (just) post democracy**			
Interviews							
Male	Female	Rural	Urban/Township	Male	Female	Rural	Urban/Township
4	6	4	6	1	4	2	3
TOTAL			**10**	**TOTAL**			**5**
GRAND TOTAL							**15**

The sample size was small. A total of fifteen black learners who attended former white schools participated in the study. This was consistent with the general rule in qualitative research, that the purpose is to "achieve depth of information by 'mining' each participant deeply for their experiences on the research topic" (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 17), rather than using sample size for reasons of comparability as well as generalizability, as positivists would. Sampling proceeded until a stage Lincoln and Guba (2001) call redundancy, that is, when information is saturated and is repeated from one participant to the next (Hennink et al., 2011; Kumar, 2011). Of the fifteen learners who participated in the interviews as shown in Table 1 above, six also participated in a focus group discussion. Table 2 below gives the demographics of the focus group.

Table: 2: The Demographics of the Sample: Focus group

Participants who attended formerly white schools in the post-apartheid era				**Participants who attended formerly white schools immediately (just) post democracy**			
Interviews							
Male	Female	Rural	Urban/Township	Male	Female	Rural	Urban/Township
1	5	2	4	0	0	0	0
TOTAL			**6**	**TOTAL**			**0**
GRAND TOTAL							**6**

4.4.2 Instruments

Interviews and a focus group were used as research tools for this study, as they are considered best suited for it, in that they allow for the expression of the multiplicity of self through stories/narration (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004).

The interview and focus group questions were formed as guided by the theoretical framework of this study, as well as by various life studies which, like this one, were based on lived experience. Mkhize (2005) reflected on the use of interviews to show that negotiation of tensions within a multiple and polyphonic self is beneficial for career education. Such a self is purported to be adaptable to the unpredictable and uncertain work environment, that has become a feature of the post-industrialization era (Mkhize, 2005).

In a similar vein Kabaji (2005), used folktales/narratives to uncover the tensions and the negotiations that characterize gender construction in the Maragoli, a Kenyan tribe. He established that as much as patriarchal structures and values are constructed and transmitted through narratives, female narratives depicting their struggle for self-expression co-exist with those that drive male domination.

The case studies referred to above demonstrate that real lived experience is best captured through narrative accounts / telling stories (Camic et al., 2003). Given that the interview, according to Polkinghorne (1988), provides stories, which are the basic evidence about the narrative of participants/their life experience, and given that focus groups provide a platform for the articulation of the multiplicity of perspectives and meaning, interview and focus group schedules were developed for this study.

Further, considering that the study is on self-narratives of the marginalized, the interview guide was informed by the work done by Gilligan (1982), who used interviews to elicit women's marginalized voices on moral reasoning. Just as Gilligan (1982) used interviews to provide empirical evidence that women's moral reasoning is different from, rather than inferior to, that of men, as argued by Kohlberg (1981), this study seeks to challenge the superior white and inferior black binary, on similar grounds (JuujÄRvi, 2006; Louis, 2005). The interview guide was modeled on the Ethic of Care Interview (ECI), a semi-structured interview developed by Skoe (1993) and based on Gilligan's work. For the ECI, a real-life dilemma is probed with a list of questions, to provide structure to the interview. Similarly, Mkhize's (2005) study on career education for marginalized learners recommends that participants be invited to tell a story about the phenomenon at hand, and that this be followed by "a number of engaging questions and reflections to elucidate various aspects of the story" (p. 97). The work of Goodman, Walling, and Ghali (2009) resonates with Gilligan's and Mkhize's works, in that they also point to the importance of asking questions that are aimed at shedding light on marginalized narratives, in order to unearth injustice and to bring about social change. They urge researchers to ask questions that put forward hidden or deliberately shunned realities.

A semi-structured interview schedule guided by the work of these scholars is attached (Appendix 5).

4.5 Pilot: Testing the Feasibility of the Interviews and Focus Group Method

Following on the recommendation by Maxwell (2005, p. 57) to "carry out a pilot study if any facet of your design needs clarification", I used a pilot study to test some of the ideas that emerged from the theoretical framework, as well as to test the methods. Maxwell (2005) posits that pilots are useful in that they give the researcher a sense of the meaning which people give to their everyday lives, the concepts and theories that people hold, as well as their interpretations and the impact these have on their behaviour. I conducted a pilot in order to capture the real-life experiences, interpretations and perspectives that people have, as in qualitative research these constitute the researcher's theory. In this regard, the aim was to test out some basic arguments attributable to dialogism and Ubuntu, particularly the multiplicity and the dialogicality of the self. Not only was I keen on findings that would confirm these perspectives, I also wanted to engage with other perspectives that refute these.

In preparation for the main study, I also tested the methods, as the methods, according to Maxwell (2005), are the "make or break" of research, in that they enable the researcher "to answer the research questions and also to deal with plausible validity threats to these answers" (p. 5).

I tested two methods, the interview schedule and discussion guideline, for the focus groups. The aim was to ascertain whether there were any challenges with the two methods that could threaten the credibility of results. I also wanted to check that the questions made sense to all participants, particularly those whose first language is not English. Hence I included, in the pilot study, participants who had isiZulu and IsiXhosa as first languages. The pilot also sought to check if there would be difficulties with the flow of questions, as well as whether there were items I had left out that needed to be included.

4.5.1 The Pilot Sample

I chose to use my neighbourhood for the pilot study as there is a fair number of males and females in this community who attended formerly white schools. As such, they made a good sounding board to shed some light on the interpretations and understanding of being black in formerly white schools. Four members who had attended formerly white schools in the period just after the dawn of democracy and those who attended such schools later, participated in the pilot. They comprised the same categories that I would interview and with whom I would have a focus group discussion for my research. People from the neighbourhood were chosen, as I believed that they would give me good feedback and make helpful suggestions about the methods.

The sample was made up of the same number of males and females, that is, two males and two females. Participants had IsiZulu and IsiXhosa as their mother tongue and English as the first additional language.

Table 3: The Demographics of the Pilot Sample: Interviews and Focus group

Participants who attended formerly white schools in the post-apartheid era				**Participants who attended formerly white schools immediately (just) post democracy**			
Male	Female	Rural	Urban/Township	Male	Female	Rural	Urban/Township
2	2	1	3	0	0	0	0
TOTAL			**4**	**TOTAL**			**0**
GRAND TOTAL							**4**

4.5.2 Piloting and Adaptation

The pilot was conducted in order, first, to get a better understanding of the meaning of the experience of being black in a formerly white school, in order to test some of the assumptions that had emerged from the theoretical framework. Second, I wanted to

practise working with the interviews and focus groups, in order to shed some light on these data collection tools in general, vis-à-vis the purpose of the study.

Using a semi-structured interview protocol as a guide (Appendix 5A), participants were requested to tell a story about their lives and experiences as black learners in predominantly white schools, and what that meant with regard to understanding themselves. The idea was to elicit what the black learners thought of themselves, their relationships with their fellow white and black learners as well as their families and communities. Enabling factors, as well as challenges, of being a black learner in a predominantly white school were explored. The request to narrate their experiences was followed by a number of probes to elicit the various dimensions of their experiences. Finally, participants were asked to describe themselves, and what attending a predominantly white school meant to them.

Several things were learnt from the pilot and these informed how I conducted the main study. It was confirmed that interviews and focus groups are indeed a good tool to elicit narratives, and a good platform for the facilitation of the multiplicity of meaning. Through interviews and the focus groups, the theoretical framework that points to the co-existence of unitary/ individualistic and multiple/communal selves was confirmed. Though I did not have to adapt the theoretical framework, I modified the interview and focus group questions, and made them simpler and accessible to all participants. (Appendix 5).

4.6 The Main Study

The following section describes the main study, deals with procedure, research analysis as well as ethical considerations.

4.6.1 Procedure

Three aspects of the procedure are detailed below: getting approval / ethical clearance for the study, participant recruitment, scheduling and conducting interviews and focus groups.

Ethical clearance was sought to conduct the study by submitting a research proposal to the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee for approval and, once approval was granted, the process of participant recruitment begun.

The population of this study was FET (Further Educaiton and Training) college students who had attended formerly white schools post 1994. For student recruitment, I used strategies recommended by Hennink et al. (2011): gate keeping, advertising, research-based recruitment, formal networks and snowball recruitment.

As gatekeepers, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education was approached to authorise the study, before written consent was solicited from both institutions from where the participants were drawn. The second strategy was to recruit qualifying and willing students to participate, by means of an advertisement or posting a notice. Student Affairs offices in FET colleges were also approached, as they keep a data base of student information disaggregated according to gender, previous school attended and age. All those identified by this database were approached and requested to participate.

Snowball sampling was employed where those interviewed identified others that could provide valuable information (Hennink et al., 2011; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In order to avoid researcher bias, those who volunteered were requested to refer, as far as possible, participants who had different perspectives on the research topic. The size of the group of recruits or sample was only pre-determined for the focus group. For the interview, the recruitment process carried on until what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as redundancy, that is when information is saturated and is repeated from one participant to the next. Recruitment for the focus group was carried out differently, as for this method the sample size is prescribed not to be smaller than 5 or to exceed 12

participants (Hennink et al., 2011; Maree, 2007; Morgan, 1988, 1993). The interview participants were recruited to participate in the focus group as well.

4.6.1.1 Scheduling Interviews and Focus Groups

Once recruited, participants were invited to attend interviews. On the day of the interview, in order to build rapport, the researcher set the scene by introducing herself, welcomed participants to the interview and engaged in small talk. The researcher then introduced the study in an effort to understand the lived experiences of black learners in formerly white schools, pronounced on the safeguards in connection with confidentiality and the rationale for participant selection and the criteria used in this regard as recommended by Creswell (2007). Participants were given time to ask questions and these were answered to the best of the researcher's ability. They then signed informed consent forms, one of the conditions agreed to being that the sessions would be tape-recorded (Appendices 1 and 2).

In order to ensure the participants' understanding of lived experiences was well captured, semi-structured interviews were conducted, as such a process allows the researcher to guide the interview, in line with the objectives of the study. The first question was an introduction to the subject or theme of the study. It was phrased in an open yet structured way to allow participants to narrate an experience or experiences that stood out the most for them about being a black learner in a predominantly white school in the post-apartheid era. Participants were invited to expand on the positive aspects, the challenges and dilemmas that they experienced at the time (Appendix 5).
Subsequent questions were probing questions that emanated from the participants' answers, what Maxwell (2005) refers to as "evolving data" (p. 150). The researcher allowed free flow of narratives, and from these built subsequent questions (Hennink et al., 2011). I probed for clarification particularly where there were multiple and contradictory meanings.

In line with Maxwell's interactive design, questions posed in focus groups were used to validate the theoretical framework (Figure 1). As such, questions were informed by the

theoretical framework on self-narratives, for example the individualistic Cartesian perspective towards the self, Africentrism, Ubuntu and Dialogism (Hermans, 1992; Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004b; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999).

As participants were telling their stories, I recorded them on tape and took extensive field notes, noting their non-verbals as well as my reactions to what they were saying, until I reached what Lincoln and Guba (1985) call redundancy, a stage when information is saturated and is repeated. I also noted the tensions and contradictions that they have had to negotiate as a result of their identities meeting with other identities, particularly the dominant Western identity. The utterances that represented power dynamics between the various positions that these identities occupy in society were noted and probed; so were the voices that represented opposing views or counter-narratives (Bakhtin, 1981).

Although I encouraged free flow of information in order to get uninterrupted descriptions of their experiences/lifeworld, I probed now and then when seeking clarity, particularly when the statement of the relevant participant was ambiguous or contradictory. Transcriptions of the interviews were done as soon as possible, and no later than five days after the interview, as the interviews were well-spaced with a maximum of two interviews per day. Although it had been indicated on the consent form, as well as at the briefing sessions, that the interview was scheduled to last for an hour, some participants took less and others more time than anticipated. On average, the interviews lasted between forty-five and sixty minutes. During the transcription it would sometimes occur that a few issues were not clear to the researcher. In cases such as these, brief follow up interviews were scheduled to clarify the matter. In total there were two such interviews.

In line with the interpretivist approach of studying phenomena from multiple perspectives, and for the purposes of increasing the credibility of results, focus groups were conducted after interviews (Hennink et al., 2011; Maree, 2007; Morgan, 1988, 1993).

For the purposes of this study the model of conducting focus group sessions described by Hennink et al. (2011) was adopted. For the focus group session I was a facilitator, and employed the services of a research assistant who was familiar with this method, for note-taking. For consistency I used the interview protocol as a discussion guide (Appendix 5). The discussion guideline, as well as the facilitation, were developed and conducted in order to assist the researcher meet the objectives of the study (Maxwell, 2005). After welcoming and thanking the participants for attending, I introduced the research team and their roles, emphasizing that a facilitator is not an expert. Next, the purpose of the study was outlined, setting the tone to complement the theme of the discussion. I then outlined the process the discussion was going follow, the anticipated duration of the discussion and I explained the "house rules" or guidelines for group conduct, for example only one person was to speak at a time. The participants were then invited to ask questions if any. Once I had made the ethical pronouncement on the safeguards on confidentiality, emphasizing that participants were not to discuss matters emanating from the group outside the group, I requested participants' permission to record the discussions. I then embarked on an ice-breaker during which each member was requested to share her/his nickname and explain how the nickname came about.

Using the discussion guideline (Appendix 5), I ensured the discussion was focused on the research issues, trying by all means not to limit diversity of perspectives or swaying the discussion in any particular direction. Just as in interviews, participants were requested to share the experiences that stood out the most about being black learners in formerly white schools. They were encouraged to elaborate on the positive aspects, the challenges and dilemmas, as well as the facilitating factors. Debate and discussion of each issue raised was encouraged.

As with the interviews, the discussion was recorded on tape and the research assistant took extensive field notes, noting and recording non-verbals. I also took note of and recorded my reactions to what was being said, until information was saturated. Just as with the interviews, I also noted the tensions and contradictions that they had to negotiate, as a result of their identities meeting with other identities, particularly the dominant Western identity. By so doing, a dialogic environment was created that

juxtaposed various perspectives on identity. This environment enabled the researcher not only to establish the nature of selves, it also enabled her to reach an understanding of how dominant and suppressed narratives and selves are formed and sustained. Through juxtaposing narratives, the researcher established *who* was speaking and from *what* perspective. The researcher could also tell the voice that was articulating an individual meaning of self, ventriloquating or regurgitating voices of others (Bakhtin, 1981), and when they transcended unique meanings of selves to co-authoring selves that include the other (Bruner, 1986).

The utterances that represented power dynamics between the various positions that these identities occupied in society were noted and probed; so were the voices representing counter-narratives (Bakhtin, 1981). All the while I encouraged free flow of discussion to avoid the deference effect, "whereby the participants say what they think the moderator wants to hear rather than voicing their own opinions" (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 164). As recommended by Kvale (1995), I prepared a questionnaire that participants completed at the end of the session, in anticipation of sensitive issues that could not be discussed openly during the focus group discussion (Appendix 6).

Focus group findings broadened the quantity and quality of perspectives through discussion (Sarantakos, 2005), in addition they complemented the interview data and as such, maximised the validity of the findings.

4.6.2 Analysis

According to the narrative/interpretivist paradigm, studying lived experiences can only be inferred or interpreted from the participants' expressions/stories (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008; Maree, 2007). Further, although inferring or interpreting largely means understanding people's lives from their point of view, and within their contexts, researchers' subjectivity and their points of view also make their way into the research process. The researcher is encouraged to exercise reflexivity; which might entail admitting to and declaring the epistemological, ontological and theoretical assumptions that drive the analysis and interpretation of data (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003).

The Voice-centred Relational Methodology was used for the analysis of data, as this methodology subscribes to the relational ontology of the narrative/interpretivist paradigm (Brown & Gilligan, 1991; Gilligan, Brown, & Rogers, 1990; Mauthner & Doucet, 1998). It entails trying to understand people's lived experience through interpreting their narrative accounts. The narrative accounts are analyzed trilaterally: focusing on the participants' relationship with themselves, with others and with the socio-cultural context. Throughout this process, the interpreter tries to bring out the narrators' experience from their point of view, their vantage point, while at the same time reflecting on her own assumptions / background and how these influence her interpretation. According to Mkhize (2005), it is at the point where these two meet that an interpretation is formulated.

While positivists claim researcher neutrality in their quest for objective reality/knowledge, the qualitative researcher admits to the role of personal assumptions/background in research and the concomitant production of subjective relational reality/knowledge. Qualitative researchers recognize knowledge as a social construction that rests between the research participant and the researcher/narrator and the interpreter, and constantly reflect on how their views, background and value system influence the research process and knowledge production. Given the history of oppression during apartheid, which institutionalized and promoted the apartheid narrative, and suppressed/marginalized "other" narratives and ways of knowing, reflexivity is a crucial process, as it moderates the power apartheid endowed on its narrative over others. This approach is key for the transformation agenda in South Africa as, during the apartheid era, research/science was used to promote, over and over, the colonial narrative of white success and superiority, and black failure and inferiority.

I adapted the VCR Method of Mauthner and Doucet (1998), and used the strategies and techniques outlined below to analyze data. In line with Maxwell's (2005) interactive design model which enables the researcher to answer research questions and to deal with validity threats, I kept memos as a tool to capture my "analytical thinking", that is,

hunches and themes that emerged as I transcribed the interviews. This was done in order to be fully conscious of my theoretical background, and to reflect on how this could influence the analysis and interpretation of data. I also made observations and field notes of the behavioural patterns of the participants, consistently noting my reactions to what the participants had said, particularly noting my biases as these, if not reflected on, according to Maree (2007), can constitute a validity threat. I kept writing memos into the reading process outlined below, and observed emerging themes and concepts that consistently came through the narratives. The method involves four readings and these are detailed below.

4.6.2.1 Reading 1: Reading for the Plot and Researcher's Responses to the Narrative

The purpose of the first reading is two-dimensional. First, it is aimed at identifying the "nuts and bolts" of the plot, that is, the main events, protagonists and subplots, for, according to the narrative interpretivists, the experience of self is organised sequentially, just as the events in a narrative "are organized by the plot into a unified story" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 152).

The researcher listened for recurrent images, words and metaphors in the narrative, that described how participants experienced being black in a formerly white school, the feelings and thoughts they experienced when their identities met with other identities, particularly the dominant Western identity were also noted (Brown & Gilligan, 1991; Gilligan et al., 1990; Mauthner & Doucet, 1998). As I went through these readings, I got a picture of how each participant views her/himself in the light of relationships of dominance, trust, mistrust, interdependence and other influences that characterize these relationships. I observed interdependence in relationships as guided by the theoretical framework - given the relationality and dialogical nature of the self, the respondents' interdependence with the other characters in the story is bound to emerge, as is the relationship with the broader socio-cultural context (Bakhtin, 1981; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Mkhize, 2004b; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999).

The researcher used a coloured pen to highlight words and metaphors, proverbs and idiomatic expressions as indicated above. For example, one of the participants uses a metaphor ‘ndimdaka’ (direct translation: I’m dirty) to describe his African identity.

All utterances that represent what is happening and the images used to describe the self were noted: For example one participant describes how the hegemony of the Western culture affects black learners. He uses imagery ‘olamthuthu’ (direct translation: artificially reared chicken) to communicate that without proper guidance, they become coconuts that are not acculturated and are isolated from fellow Africans.

The second dimension to the first reading is about researcher reflexivity. The researcher pays particular attention to her thoughts and feelings and how these impact on her relationship with, or how she responds to, the speaker. The researcher also documents biases and limitations that could arise from her positioning in society for example race, gender and class (Brown, 1994).

Given my upbringing in the philosophy of Ubuntu which advances collectivism and frowns upon individualistic tendencies, I was concerned that I would be biased towards noting evidence of my value system and that I would disregard anything to the contrary. Mauthner and Doucet (1998) emphasize that the researcher should reflect not just on her assumptions, views and values, but more importantly their theoretical location as they read through the interview. This enables the researcher to track how her theoretical background, values and views might affect how she interprets the participants’ words, and the very interpretation she comes up with in the end. The underlying assumption is that declaring our emotional, social and intellectual bias distinguishes between what is being narrated and our interpretation of the same – a critical distinction as, according to qualitative research, our emotional, social and intellectual location constitutes our ways of knowing, and has validity implications if not disclosed. However, given that biases are not easy to detect, as some manifest without our being aware of them, my supervisor and I read a couple of interview narratives independently, noting emerging themes and concepts, and compared our notes afterwards.

4.6.2.2 Reading 2: Reading for the Voice of the Speaking Person (the Self)

According to Mauthner and Doucet (1998, p. 131), this reading focuses on "how the respondent experiences, feels and speaks about herself…[and how she] uses personal pronouns… 'I', 'we' or 'you' in talking about themselves" The purpose is to listen and attend to how participants portray themselves, their lives and their world. The researcher identifies multi-layered voices, views and perspectives that portray an active self, telling a story in a drama in which the participant is an actor (Brown, 1989). This is done purposefully to minimize the likelihood of the researcher interpreting the participants' words with reference to the former's perspective or paradigm. Instead, the researcher deliberately listens to "how she [the participant] speaks of herself before we speak of her" (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, pp. 27-28). I did this fully cognizant that "I" and "you" go beyond the personal realm or subjectivity, to a space where the individual meets with the other, a phenomenon Polkinghorne (1988, p. 152) refers to as "intersubjectivity."

Together with the research assistant, we identified the various voices in the narrative, figuring out *whose* voices make up the narrative, the aim being to identify the voices of others that might have been selectively appropriated and were being ventriloquated. We listened to how the participants talked about themselves and noted the various selves emerge, representing who the participants regarded themselves to be. In observing how participants portrayed the self we considered the following issues:

- The use of self-referent statements such as "I … ", statements referring to others ("You … ", "They … ") as well as the collective ("We"), statements referring to the self, embedded in relationships;
- The predominant view of the self: whether the self is seen primarily from within (abstract view) or with reference to others (self-other relationships predominate); or both;
- The fluctuations/shifts between various statements or aspects of the self, and the circumstances occasioning the shifts from one position to another; and
- The tensions between the various selves, if any, and how they were being negotiated in the voices that represented how they viewed themselves. This was

in recognition of the multiple and polyphonic nature of the dialogical self (Mkhize, 2005).

The personal pronouns such as “I”, “we” and “you” and all the consistencies, contradictions and conflicts they represent for the self in all its manifestations were highlighted in the interview script, using variously-coloured pens. This is consistent with the expanded version of the VCR method (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998), which incorporates reading for other personal pronouns. Reading for pronouns such as “We” and “you” has been added to the original version which required taking note of “I” statements when reading for the voice of the speaking person (Brown, 1989; Brown, Debold, Tappan, & Gilligan, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1991; Gilligan et al., 1990). The issue of considering only “I” statements is particularly problematic in African contexts where people view the self as multiple, and they also use the pronouns “we” and “you” to represent the self (Mkhize, 2005). This finds support in Ogbonnaya’s (1994) argument that the self in indigenous African thought should be thought of as comprising multiple selves, including a “community of selves” internally, within the person. The shifts and tensions were noted, as I consider them commensurate with the multiplicity of existence, but also as demonstrating inequality and the dominance of some perspectives of selves over others, which has come to characterize a multicultural society. Although tensions and contradictions are a typical feature in any multicultural society, in a country such as South Africa the tensions result largely from the colonial narrative of white superiority that has dominated other narratives, particularly those grounded on Ubuntu, thus rendering blacks inferior. Dominant views on the self and their interplay emerging from each reading were captured and summarized in a summary sheet that had been prepared for this purpose (Appendix 7).

4.6.2.3 Reading 3: The Self-in-Relation

The third reading focuses on how respondents speak about their interpersonal relationships. Hence in this reading we identified how respondents viewed themselves in relation to others. Indications of a self that is dominated by the other, or that is in constant tension or harmony with others, were noted. For the purposes of this study

"other" includes both real and imagined others (Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004a; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999). The former category includes those in the respondents' immediate circle such as their family members (including the extended family), as well as friends, fellow students, lecturers and colleagues. The family category includes the deceased, as in African epistemology they are regarded as "active audiences in the person's psyche" (Mkhize, 2004a, p. 159).

The following questions guided the reading:

- Who is the respondent in relationship with?
- *How* does she *feel* and *relate* to each of those she has a relationship with?
- What is the basis of the relationship (e.g. need, power, dominance, or is it mutual and collegial?)
- What role, if any, do these relationships play in the way the person views herself?
- If they do, what message do they send and how do these messages impact on how the respondent views herself?
- How does the narrator feel, think and act (if she does) in response to these messages about the self and what are the consequences of her response to the self and other selves? (Mkhize, 2005).

The relationship between the actor (narrator) and the important others in her life were noted guided by the questions above, so were emerging themes that characterize each relationship (for example power dynamics between the respondent and other actors and the role of power dynamics in the self-narrative.)

4.6.2.4 Reading 4: the Social and Cultural Context

According to Mauthner and Doucet (1998), the last reading considers respondents' self-narratives within "broader social, political, cultural and structural contexts" (p. 136). The reading identifies various institutional policies that have a bearing on self-narratives (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998). I paid particular attention to the way in which respondents' narratives reflected institutions (for example family, education, and

cultural institutions) and institutional policies and messages that promote and drive dominant conceptions of self. For example, words such as “you don’t do that, you don’t say that”, “allowed”, “not allowed”, were of particular interest to the researcher, as they indicated what the participants might have considered to be normative or socially acceptable. I also noted those instances where participants defied normative voices (for example, as indicated by words such as “for what?” “don’t tell me” “stupid rules” in order to indicate their point of view (Mkhize, 2005).

The reading was guided by the following questions:

- What are the various institutions that are critical to the respondent’s life?
- How does the respondent relate to these institutions (e.g. is it a relationship of power, dominance, subordination)?
- What messages emanate from these institutions and what is their bearing on the way the narrators think about themselves in the context of others?
- Of these messages which ones are embraced and internalized as the norm and which ones are contested and/ or rejected outright, and under what circumstances? (cf. Mkhize, 2005).

I paid particular attention to all the institutional policies and issues and, based on what the respondents said, worked out how messages coming from these institutions impacted on the self-narratives of black learners. Based on the participants’ own words and in line with the “open coding of data” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 97), the nature of the relationship between the narrator and the institutions, policies and practices was highlighted (Appendix 7).

4.6.2.5 Summary and Consolidation of Readings

Strategies involving the categorization of relevant issues, and plotting connections between issues and concepts, were used to consolidate the readings (Maxwell, 2005). Substantive and theoretical categories were used as they help make sense of data or “provide some insight into what’s going on” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 97).

First, I summarized all transcripts, giving a descriptive narrative on the respondents' beliefs and theories on self-narratives, using their own words. Issues emanating from these summaries were categorized. Some of the categories related to the black inferiority/white superiority binary, for example. A matrix was then developed for the purposes of within-case and cross-case comparison (i.e between individuals) (Appendix 7). In order to get "a well-rounded account" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 98) of the findings, the researcher looked for relationships between issues and concepts (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001). The researcher drew connections between the concepts and tried to identify meanings or to theorize about the relationship between them. Transcripts and memos were consulted again in those cases where the researcher wanted to verify emerging concepts and further interrogate discrepant findings.

4.6.3 Design Reliability and Validity

There is general consensus that traditional notions of validity as propounded by positivists are not applicable to qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Hennink et al., 2011; Polkinghorne, 1988). For positivists, validity is guaranteed if certain procedures are strictly adhered to, including a design that controls and restricts researcher participation. On the other hand, for qualitative researchers, particularly in narrative research that is grounded on multiple accounts of reality within the realm of lived experience, validity of findings is relative and negotiated throughout the research process (Cassell & Symon, 2011). As such, qualitative researchers work within an interpretivist framework; and they are directly involved in the construction and validation of multiple knowledge accounts (Cho & Trent, 2006;Creswell & Miller, 2000; Whittemore et al., 2001). Maxwell (2005) refers to this as "interpretive validity" whilst Cho and Trent (2006) make reference to a holistic, open or eclectic validation of the text or action. For these researchers valid conclusions are those that are supported by evidence that enables "alternative or rival interpretations or arguments …to be accounted for" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 174).

Qualitative research has, however, been criticized on the grounds that the researcher is prone to be subjective and selective in reporting the findings. This gives rise to

questions such as: How credible are the findings if the researcher participates and actively engages with the data, including analysis? What if the researcher strategically deploys a few “telling examples” of the issue under investigation, and ignores those that contradict his theory about the phenomena under investigation, what Silverman (2000) refers to as “anecdotalism”. In defence, qualitative researchers argue that validity is not concerned with the objective truth “out there”; rather it is about the truthfulness of the results or “verisimilitude” according to Polkinghorne (1988). Hence the conclusions of narrative research remain open- ended because the truth is not fixed. The aim is to get descriptive detail of participants’ experiences and to interpret these in collaboration with them, in an ongoing dialectical process of testing, confirming and rejecting interpretations.

While there is some degree of agreement concerning the meaning of validity from a qualitative perspective, there are different views on how qualitative researchers ensure the credibility of the results and conclusions. Some scholars opine that attention to methodological aspects of the study, such as triangulation or collecting data from more than one source, varying the method of data collection, using other researchers and even participants themselves to verify the findings will increase the validity of findings (Bless, 2006; Brikci & Green, 2007; Kavle, 1996; Kvale, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Mishler, 1990).

On the other hand scholars such as Maxwell (2005) warn that validation by means of methods is not only based on positivists’ assumptions that one can get to the objective truth by using methods correctly, it is also risky, as it assumes that methods automatically guarantee validity. Maxwell (2005) argues that even when methods are triangulated, researchers are not guaranteed validity as the very methods “that are triangulated may have the *same* biases and sources of invalidity” (p. 112). Maxwell (2005, p. 106) argues that researchers proactively look for “validity threats or alternative explanations.” Rather than polarize these views, I have opted to combine both. This approach is guided by the understanding that validation is not a once-off effect but an ongoing dialogue that requires engaging with the biases and threats throughout the study (Whittemore et al., 2001). In particular, the following threats to validity were identified

and addressed: respondent duplicity and observer bias, misinterpretation of data, and chance associations and systematic bias. Each is discussed briefly below.

4.6.4 Respondent Duplicity and Observer Bias

Respondent duplicity and observer bias happens when the researcher selects respondents with views similar to her own. It could also result from selective attention to evidence in support of her expectations, resulting in biased and even erroneous interpretations (Whittemore et al., 2001). To minimize this threat, the sample comprised respondents with diverse perspectives (maximum variation/heterogeneous sampling). Rich detailed data were collected and interviews were transcribed verbatim, taking into account the extra-linguistic cues that were noted in the memos. The whole idea was to reveal the whole picture of what was going on, rather than what I expected to see (Cho & Trent, 2006). This is in line with Maxwell's (2005) recommendation that validity is enhanced by using data that is rich, detailed and varied enough to get the most complete picture.

4.6.5 Misinterpretation of Data

Misinterpretation of the data by the researcher threatens the validity of the study. This occurs when the researcher's interpretations are coloured by her own biases and assumptions about the study or population at hand. Reflexivity is very important in this regard. This involves the researcher reflecting critically on her own assumptions, biases, theoretical orientations and other personal variables that have a bearing on her interpretations (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In mitigation of this validity threat, not only have I disclosed my own biases towards the Ubuntu perspective, I also reflect on how my positioning as an African woman with a predominantly Western type education, who grew up during the apartheid era, impacts on my interpretation of the findings.

Feedback on the findings was also sought from the participants. Member-checking does not assume the correctness of the researcher's interpretation as a matter of fact. Neither

does it assume that the truth corresponds with the participants' accounts. Instead, it seeks to ensure that data is interpreted as accurately as possible. For Whittemore et al. (2001), this involves ensuring that the understanding of all participants' lived experiences, including the most marginalized voices, are depicted as accurately as possible. The researcher recognizes that the entire study is based on a specific ontological and epistemological basis. In this regard, I listened more than once for possible meanings or contrapuntal voices (either complementary or in contradiction of one another) in respondents' narratives (Brown et al., 1991). In a further attempt to establish the evidence that my own voice as a researcher was being accounted for in the narratives, my interpretations were discussed with my supervisor and another researcher familiar with the VCR method. This process "involves testing the validity of knowledge claims in a dialogue and the acknowledgement that valid knowledge is constituted as conflicting knowledge claims …argued in a dialogue" (Whittemore et al., 2001, p. 9).

Consistent with the idea of a dialogical self, testing the validity of knowledge claims is a collaborative process, and it is during this process that meaning is negotiated. It was during this dialogue with the participants as part of the member-checking process that discrepant cases and findings were brought to the attention of the respondents for their comments. The evidence I got from the participants either substantiated my explanations/interpretations or it confirmed the discrepancies (i.e. ambiguities, tensions and contradictions inherent in the lived experiences of the participants).

4.6.6 Chance Associations and Systematic Biases

Like all self-report methods, interviews are considered inherently vulnerable to various validity threats. Self-reports may not be a true reflection of what is going on and as such could decrease credibility of findings (Whittemore et al., 2001).

In order to counteract this validity threat, participants were asked to tell a personal narrative involving their lived experiences of being a black learner in a predominantly white school. The invitation to narrate a personal account was meant to minimize the likelihood of participants providing a rationalized account that might ensue from a

question and answer type session. Further, data were collected from a diverse group of respondents using interviews and focus groups, a process called methodological triangulation (Brikci & Green, 2007). The findings were then compared across the two methods, within cases and between cases (within case and between case comparisons) (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

4.7 Reliability

According to Graneheim and Lundman (2004), reliability originates from a positivist research tradition and has very limited relevance to qualitative research. Dependability is a preferred term in qualitative research. Unlike in quantitative research, the researcher's subjective interpretation is a crucial part of the research process in qualitative research. Dependability is about the repeatability of a particular set of research findings; that is, how accurately they would be replicated in a second identical piece of research. Hence, narrative studies rely "on the details of their procedures to evoke an acceptance of the trustworthiness of the data" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 177).

The first procedure the researcher used is called member checking (Simon, 2011). Using this technique, I engaged in deliberate dialogue to allow for negotiation of meaning between the researcher and the respondent. I had follow-up sessions with the participants to check that they agreed with my interpretation of their narratives. I also made use of another experienced qualitative researcher who is familiar with the voice-centred relational method to assist with the interpretation. Both the follow-up sessions with participants and the reflection sessions with the other researcher were very useful, for they either confirmed my interpretation or made me see things from a different angle altogether.

Further, in order to ensure dependability of data, Mishler (1990) recommends that, at analysis, researchers keep returning to the original recordings and "devise explicit transcription rules and a well-specified notation system, including codes for pauses, talk-over, and voice tone" (p. 176). The "results" chapter details the notation system adopted for this study.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations for this study were informed by the work of philosopher Levinas (1985) and social psychologist Martin-Baro (1996b, in Goodman et al., 2009). Both argue that the imposition of the individualistic and detached Western idea of the self as the norm for all, constitutes considerable social injustice. It is unjust and unethical as it ignores other cultures' conceptualisations of the self, for example, those that conceive of "a self [as]... forever linked to [the] other" (Goodman et al., 2009, p. 588). Further, the alienation of the self from the other, found in ethical traditions premised on individualism, promotes a situation where individuals do not take responsibility for the other. Research ethics, they argue, should primarily be about ensuring redress of the marginalized relational self, as this type of self promotes justice and ethical responsibility for the other (Hoskins, 2012). Given the apartheid past, the dominance of the white narrative and the marginalization of the black narrative, ethical considerations for this study are about redress and ensuring that the marginalized black narrative is brought to the fore (Denzin et al., 2008).

As such, I invested in a relationship of trust with the participants. According to Marshall and Rossman (2011), a first step towards justice requires that participants be provided a space to tell their narratives, rather than have their narratives suppressed or told on their behalf. In the current study, participants were allowed to use English or IsiZulu at any point during the discussion as they saw fit. All contributions were considered as equally valid, and participants were encouraged not to hide or self-censor if their opinions differed from those of the group. The following ethical considerations, "grounded on the moral principles of respect for persons, beneficence and justice" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 47), were adopted for this study.

4.8.1 Informed Consent

In line with the principle of respect for persons, I solicited informed consent by informing participants about the purpose of the study, the procedures to be followed,

their role in it and that it was voluntary. I did this with the understanding that there are cultural differences in the interpretation of informed consent between Western individualistic cultures and African collectivist cultures. As such, I took great care not to assume that informed consent means individuals agreeing to participate in the research study, as positivists would. I focused instead on building a relationship of trust (Marshall & Rossman, 2011), in recognition of the observation that, though it is standard practice to get written consent in Eurocentric communities, in communities with a relational existence it is trust more than written consent that guarantees interpersonal validity - that is, "the trustworthiness of understandings emanating from personal interactions" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 50). I also did this in order to establish whether there were community protocols that needed to be observed in order to solicit informed consent.

Given my history as a senior official of the Department of Education, I also ensured that there were no external influences coercing them to participate, that could have come from former colleagues that have authority over the participants. Hence to ensure they did so voluntarily, without feeling obligated in any way, I asked participants the question: "What made you decide to participate in the research project?" (Appelbaum, Lidz, & Klitzman, 2009, p. 37). I emphasized that consent to the study does not mean being bound for the duration of the study; that they could leave at any time if they so wished without any negative consequences to themselves (Bless, 2006). Participants were invited to ask questions and it was only when there were no questions that they were requested to sign a consent form (Appendices 1 & 2).

4.8.2 Confidentiality

Confidentiality or protection of the participants' identity was guaranteed in writing. Participants were informed that there were safeguards to confidential information: as it was only the researcher and her supervisor that would have access to the interview data. Further, the participants were informed that data were to be stored safely in code-protected computers and destroyed after five years. Participants were assured that they would get feedback on the results of the study. They were also informed that they would

have an opportunity to make an input to the finding if they so wished during the process of member-feedback, thereby checking that the findings did justice to their lived experiences. In a further effort to protect the confidentiality of the participants, all the individual interviews were conducted and transcribed by the researcher, thus limiting the number of people with direct access to the participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Silverman, 2011).

4.8.3 Beneficence

According to Bless (2006) and Denzin et al. (2008), the researcher must consider how his or her research should do no harm but should bring about social justice, by redressing past injustices. Given that apartheid deprived black people of self-determination, participants were granted a platform to talk about identity issues, a topic that is often shunned in their academic careers, but lives with them daily. Their participation will contribute towards an identity discourse that South Africa needs, in order to inform research regarding how the diverse multiple identities can be dealt with in the schooling system (Denzin et al., 2008).

Given possible sensitivities and even harm associated with sharing self-narratives, all participants were debriefed at the end of the interview. Psychological counselling was organized in anticipation of cases where the participants suffered flashbacks to negative experiences (Erasmus & Ferreira, 2002), arrangements had been made to refer to the Student Counselling Centre at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. As recommended by Bless (2006), I had made prior arrangements for the participants to be seen by the counsellors at the centre as and when a need arose.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter began with a justification for the narrative/interpretivist paradigm and the utilization of qualitative research methods for the study of situated understanding of self-narratives/identity of black learners in white schools. Having weighed the merits of

this paradigm against those of the scientific quantitative paradigm, the former was considered appropriate for this study, as it enables the researcher to bring marginalized black narratives to the fore as alternative and legitimate self-narratives. Maxwell's (2005) interactive research design was presented next. This model of research design was considered appropriate as it allows the researcher to address the objectives of the study, that is, the articulation of multiple perspectives and multiple identities, particularly marginalized selves. The study population and sampling methods were discussed, as were the methods used to collect data, namely individual interviews and focus groups. The method used to analyze the data, namely the Voice-centred Relational Methodology, was then presented. Factors impacting on the validity and reliability of the study findings were discussed. Ethical considerations were then presented. Chapter 5 presents and discusses the study findings.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents and discusses findings that emanate from the participants' responses to the research questions. The chapter begins with the presentation of the profiles of the respondents, followed by the presentation of the findings and the discussion thereof. Evidence is presented that various self-narratives are available to black learners and constitute multiple selves, as is evidence that shows how black learners negotiate these self-narratives, in the context of the historical power inequity that characterizes them. The findings showed the coexistence of the following self-narratives: (a) black deficiency narrative, (b) white excellence narrative, (c) black excellence narrative, (d) non-racial self, (e) revolutionary/ rebellious self, and (f) a connected dialogically constituted self, informed by the idea of Ubuntu. The findings show that the schooling system has institutionalised the black deficiency and white excellence narratives, and thus reproduces and gives precedence to the apartheid white superiority and black inferiority identity binary. This positioning is, however, contested by the other self-narratives that constitute the multiple selves. As such, the multiple selves are shown to be fluid and are characterized by contradictions, tension and contestation of power amongst the various self narratives. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion.

5.1 Profiles of Respondents

Hereunder are descriptions of the nine participants who are cited in the extracts below. A profile of each of the fifteen study participants is attached (Appendix 8).

N: is a 23-year-old female who attended predominantly white schools from primary to high school. She relocated from the township to the urban areas in order to be closer to formerly white schools.

A: is a 32-year-old female who attended a black township primary school before she moved to a predominantly white high school, only to move back to a black township school to finish her secondary education.

W: is a 32-year-old male who attended predominantly white private primary and high schools.

L: is a 22-year-old female who was adopted by a white family as a new-born baby. She attended predominantly white schools from pre-school to high school. Though she was adopted and raised by a white family, her biological family also played a role in her upbringing.

MO: is a 25-year-old male who attended black primary schools and a predominantly white high school, but remained in the township and did not move to the urban areas.

M: is a 23-year-old female refugee, who attended a predominantly white primary school when the South African government allocated them a house in town. When the family relocated to a coloured area she, unlike her siblings who carried on at the formerly white schools, enrolled at a formerly coloured school.

AM: is a 22-year-old female who attended a predominantly black primary school and moved to a predominantly white high school.

S: is a female whose family moved from the black residential area to a white suburb. She attended a private predominantly white pre-school and then spent all her schooling years in predominantly white schools.

D: is a 22-year-old female who attended a predominantly white high school and moved to a black school for her senior years of high school.

Notation System

The symbols used in the extracts and their meaning are presented in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Notation system

Symbol	Meaning
_____	For original and added emphasis
……	Pause and missing words
( )	Translations
{ }	Non-verbals/body language/expression of emotion/imitation of others
[ ]	Added words
Italics	African languages (IsiZulu and IsiXhosa)

5.2 Self-narratives Available to Black Learners in Post-apartheid South Africa

The analysis identified the following main identity or self-narratives available to black learners: (a) black deficiency narrative, (b) white excellence narrative, (c) black excellence narrative, (d) non-racial self, (e) revolutionary/ rebellious self, and (f) a connected dialogically constituted self, informed by the idea of Ubuntu. Each participant could express or voice different self-narratives simultaneously, or vacillate between various narratives, depending on changes in situation and time. Appendix 10 provides samples of the full interview transcripts from a selected group of participants. The intention is not to communicate that every researcher analyzing the transcripts will arrive at the exact findings, given that the positionality of the researcher most likely had an influence on the issues that were most salient to her. Rather, the idea is to share with the reader the rich qualitative data that emerged in order to draw him or her closer to the context of the study. It is with this understanding in mind that each of the self-narratives is presented and discussed below.

5.2.1 The Black Deficiency Narrative

The black deficiency narrative emanates from the perception that black people in general are inherently or naturally (intellectually) inferior to their white counterparts (Clark & Worger, 2004; Mailu, 1985). It manifests within the schooling system, in a myriad ways. These, as shown below, include: (a) assumed superiority and inferiority of white schools and black schools respectively, (b) co-curricular and social programmes, (c) cultural programme and home environment, (d) lack of or limited parental support, (e) internalization of black inadequacy, and (f) systemic factors.

5.2.1.1 Assumed Superiority and Inferiority of White Schools and Black Schools Respectively

White schools, particularly predominantly white schools, are considered to be inherently better than black schools. As such, black parents enroll their children in such schools, hoping that they will get a better education and better work prospects than their counterparts who attend black schools (Extract 1).

Extract 1:

N: Definitely my parents. They felt the need for us to be exposed…a Westernised side of the world so of the …ehm…of education, so then we could have…a broader aspect of understanding things and not just a aa… standard way…, that you you wouldn't find in most black schools; education, is quite limited but if you go to a white school you get a aaaa better, … more quality education, so you could be more progressive in life and exposed to er multidiscipline and things.

Thobile: So it was about exposure, quality education?

N: Mhhh….I think that sort of made me more strong and more determined, should I say, toooo become a better person to try and break that certain

way of thinking or that (long) ehm that stigma attached to ehm African people. The stigma is mostly that ehm Africans arrrrre…a bit ehm narrow- minded, ehm ignorant, and they're not well educated.

I grew up at Umlazi and then I moved to Malvern but during the time I stayed there, my brother was attending a predominantly white primary school and for that reason I was ... uhm made to also go to a predominantly white school …my experiences going there … it wasn't a culture shock …'cause ehm my brother had already exposed me to uhm mixed race friends and that whole atmosphere so I…fitted in well and blended in well with the kids.

Black schools are associated with poor academic performance. Hence when participant W (Extract 2 below) transferred from a black township school to a white school, he had to repeat Grade 0, simply because his English was considered not good enough:

Extract 2:

W: Oh my gosh!! It's just an acquired lifestyle so …like you start at primary school, eh first thing you get told (imitating the teachers at admission) "eyyy (oh no!) his English is not good!"

Thobile: So you do another grade naught.

W: Something like that … but *elokshini* (in the township) I should be going kwa (to) first year or something! You come back home and you get: (imitating caregiver) "*Hawu awusazi isilungu* (oh no! you do not know English!)…we are going to make him read!!!"

W: From grade 2 *ugogo* (my grandmother) would make me read right up to I mean 12h00 [midnight] and she'd make me read with expression {imitating *ugogo* with an accent and a high – pitched voice similar to that of white English teachers} "the dog went across the road" and you came along and you read "the dog went across the road {imitating how he'd

read just being himself without any pretences} and she will be like “start again go start again!!! ….”

The statement “his English is not good” implies a two-fold deficiency: at a school level as well as at a learner level. It is an insinuation that black schools do not teach good English, hence the black learner is not competent in the language. A reading session with his grandmother sheds some light on the perception that his English is not good enough. From Extract 2, it is clear that his intonation does not match what is considered to be standard English in white schools, hence his grandmother drills him, making him read like a white person, to ensure his English is at an acceptable level for a white school.

The concern, therefore, is not that black learners cannot speak or read English; rather it is that they speak English with the accent of their native tongue. There is evidence that English, thus spoken as a second language, but regarded as the language of learning and teaching, is perceived to interfere with their educational success. Participant N (Extract 3) reported that black students struggled with literacy and the comprehension of what they were learning, and were embarrassed by this challenge.

Extract 3

N: Most of the challenges was more [with] literacy where we’d read a book and of course English being … a secondary language … you didn’t really pick up on some of the vocab, so it was always sort of understanding what uhm you were reading,

N: ….It made me feel as if maybe I was not good enough to be there and ehm …you would also feel as if ehm you would always have to try two times more harder than the standard person, than the average person, ja..so everything was double the pressure for you….read more …being on a lower level of reading and stuff like that …embarrassing stuff like that … {blushes; no eye contact}.

The assumed inferiority of black schools finds further evidence when black learners, who come from these schools to attend previously white schools, tend to be over-represented in low ability classes. Extract 4, from Participant A, talks to this point.

Extract 4:

A: … Now in [school A] at the time… you were divided into different abilities so you had your A student, B, C and then M, L and N, I think it was. I was in the M class, that's how the system worked. If you … I don't know how we got allocated into these classes but I remember that there were more black students in the M, L and N classes.

A: I think from the background of coming from a black school by default… I know for sure that my results were not poor, but because I was from a formerly black school they did not promote me.

The preponderance of black learners in low ability classes is further evidence that the white schools do not have confidence in the quality of teaching in historically black (township) schools. Being so placed instills a sense of helplessness and poor self-esteem in black learners.

5.2.1.2 Co-curricular and Social Programmes

The co-curricular and social programmes portray black learners as deficient. Factors like affordability, unfamiliarity with the relevant activities and white bias limit black learners' participation in co-curricular activities. Participant N expresses this view in the following extracts:

Extract 5:

N: Sometimes my parents, we can't … afford to … take me out for trips…sometimes they wouldn't take me seriously if I said I wanna go surfing. It's not ahm it's not…your typical….Ja we do not do surfing and all that stuff, so I couldn't pretend to take an interest in it, like it, so I

> rather do things …that are not too much of a hassle ... [rather than doing] that cause stress or anything.

The exclusivity theme also features in social programmes. Black learners learn that interracial relationships or friendships are confined to certain spaces, like the classroom, as white learners do not always consider black learners "good enough" to display in the public arena as friends. Participant A reflects on this below:

Extract 6:

A: The interesting thing would be, maybe you are seated with this white girl and you become friends, or you assume that you have a close relationship, but during breaks whites will stick to whites and blacks to blacks….when you came out of the school environment … there will be no interaction with the whites, even if you went to church with them, but there will be no acknowledgement of that relationship. This jerks you to into the realization that this is not a friend. That relationship would then be superficial because it thrives within this context and not outside of that context.

I remember a particular time ... I think we were at the Pietermaritzburg flea market on a Saturday. This girl, whom I thought was a friend, completely ignored me, completely looked away and did not want to be associated with me {with a high- pitched voice and facial expression depicting disbelief}.

This extract shows that the "black is not good enough" stereotype manifests spatially in social spaces. Given the different conceptions of friendship held by black and white learners, in that while black learners think friendship has no boundaries, white learners are not comfortable with public displays of their inter-racial "friendships", such inter-racial "friendships" are confined to certain closed spaces, like the classroom, and not made to manifest in public open spaces like the "flea market" (Extract 6). Results show that, although there is physical contact between black and white learners, this does not necessarily translate to meaningful social relationships.

5.2.1.3 Cultural Programme and Home Environment

While whiteness or white culture is considered the norm and naturally forms the basis of the school programme, the expression of black culture is relegated to random activities that happen once in a while. The following extract supports this:

Extract 7:

N: They [white schools] were not fully accommodative of people's cultures. Heritage Day [was recognized] and then you have cultural clubs once a week so it was just that…You had to conform to their rules and regulations and their codes of conduct.

That black cultural activities are not given the recognition they deserve in a supposedly non-racial and equal institution is further evidence that these schools do not fully accommodate black learners. The expectation that black learners must shed their culture and adjust to the white environment, impacts on their sense of self and academic performance. Participant W alludes to this in Extract 8.

Extract 8:

W: You are not being given the language and your culture. {At this stage participant imitates the words of significant others in the black community, what they would say about them} "*hee yabona laba o lamthuthu lomfana thina emaplazini sibuthiwe*" (You see these coconuts they do not understand the life of hardship of black people living in the rural areas … You are not regimented into age appropriate groups for boys and girls (*ibutho*)). You do not do all of that so that when you are old you get excised. You can imagine…

W: You have a an English session and you are the class that's doing badly, and he [teacher] comes in and he is like Shakespeare and you are like Shakespeare??!! Wait a minute we are in Africa, I don't care about Shakespeare, give me my language.

In Extract 8 above, Participant W shows that the monocultural environment they get immersed in at the white school means that black learners miss out on critical rituals, for example the rite of passage they are supposed to go through, as part of identity formation. Likewise, Participant W is critical of the teaching of Shakespeare in a predominantly African context, and to black African learners who are not familiar with that background as it impacts negatively on their sense of who they are as well as their academic performance.

5.2.1.4 Lack of or Limited Parental Support

Black households do not have adequate cultural and economic capital to support their children's academic programme compared to learners from other social groups. Parents are reportedly "not educated enough" to support their children.

Extract 9:

N: Our parents, …weren't able to progress uhm with their education,…we couldn't necessarily ask them to assist us with homework and stuff like that. We we could only help ourselves. They, … coloureds, maybe whites or non-whites excluding Africans, …had an advantage and their parents could help them and assist them with any school subjects or anything, so we had to always push harder in terms of learning.

Unlike their white counterparts, who have -- educated parents who can support their children with their school work -- black parents in general do not have this educational background. Even those parents who do have the educational background have full-time jobs, and may not have adequate time to support their children's academic work; white

families, on the other hand, could offer help with school work to their children, as they have additional support in terms of domestic help to assist with household chores:

Extract 10:

N: For them it's easy as their mothers do not have to work…They tease us, maybe they had a maid at home, so then they'd say is your mother a maid and just stereotype us like that.

5.2.1.5 Internalization of Black Inadequacy

Though the "black is not good enough" deficient self is largely externally determined, there is evidence that it becomes internalized and that, once internalized, black learners themselves perpetuate it. For example the label "naughtiest", given arbitrarily to black learners by white teachers, gets internalized, and black learners start acting naughtily in line with the inadequacy stereotype as shown below.

Extract 11:

N: I was treated fairly up to high school where there was uhm I think they'd be twice as much cautious with African students because they'd already been … considered …<u>the naughtiest, the naughtiest .</u> So you would have double the attention than the standard uhm normal-non-Africans. Yes, <u>it was true, I won't lie</u>. 'Cos we were hooligans … <u>I think it's in our blood yeah …haaa {</u>soft laugh}. (emphasis added)

Extract 11 above shows that the participants attribute the "naughtiest" label to both external (systemic) and internal (individual) factors. Ascribing black inadequacy (naughtiness) to both external and internal factors constitutes a contradiction, in that it is viewed as inherent in blacks and at the same time it is seen as an issue that is engineered by the system.

Another contradiction is that, while black learners seem to internalize labels such as: "naughtiest" and "hooligans", they reject other labels that are consistent with the "black

is not good enough" narrative. For example in Extract 12 below, Participant N reports that black learners cannot identify with the "coconut" label that they are given for allegedly assimilating to whiteness.

Extract 12:

N: Coconuts coconuts no … Going to a model C [school] doesn't mean that we go to that school to be white, we go there for a better education.

Internalizing one discriminatory label and rejecting another, which is framed along the same lines, characterizes the contradictions and tensions that black learners navigate on a daily basis, in an environment that has little regard for them.

5.2.1.6 Systemic Factors

The genesis of black inadequacy is partly attributed to the undue superiority or power whiteness gained during apartheid, and is challenged as such. Participant W, for example, argues that education and schools in particular are used, just like they were during apartheid, as sites to manufacture or reproduce black inadequacy and inequality.

Extract 13:

W: At this school, there were more white students, and then it becomes another acquired lifestyle: you are around (his emphasis) white people. I started [at] X Christian school, a whole different lifestyle: you talk about (imitating a white voice) "mountains and nature"… all the things you do not have *elokshini* (in the township), you talk about (again imitating a white voice) "excursions", all that nonsense…"what appeals to life" and …and err you know …you go through that phase… I got into a lot of trouble for culturally misunderstanding things: like I'd sing Shabba Ranks' song: Mr Lover Man and they'll be like: (imitating the voice of his school mates) "you don't do that …this is X Christian school !!" I'll be like … in Joburg we used to play a thousand songs …sing a lot of songs like oooohhh I wanna sex you up! "Hey…!!!"

W: And I was forced…I forced myself to read the *Long Walk to Freedom* [Nelson Mandela's biography] at 14. I read it for two years standard 6 and 7…so those were my main tools of intimidation. …to intimidate white prefects who wanna bully me so that I could say (laughing and loudly imitating how he handled it then): "hold on …hold on …hold on …hold … section says ….by the way section says…" and then…I'd bring along *Long Walk to Freedom*… I thought this is how Mandela dealt with such people.…

Given that the binary of white superiority and black inferiority is entrenched or monologized as the gospel truth (Bakhtin, 1981), the process and the various routes black learners traverse towards self-determination pathologises their behavior and inevitably portray blacks as inadequate. As indicated earlier, rather than being passive recipients of the black deficiency narrative, black learners challenge the status quo and embark on a self-discovery and self-determination mission outside the binary. They use tools such as the Constitution and revolutionary literature like Mandela's biography, "Long Walk to Freedom", to assert themselves. These examples show that other identity narratives, like the revolutionary self narrative, co-exist with the deficiency identity narrative. This multiplicity of the self signifies the refusal by black learners to be defined linearly within a binary of white excellence and black inferiority.

A number of local and international studies that have looked at black learners in predominantly white schools have found the black deficiency narrative to be orchestrated similarly, as discussed above, both at the systemic/macro level as well as in day-to-day micro-level interactions. The insistence that blacks should speak English like white people (Extract 2) has been reported by De Klerk (2002) and McKinney (2007). They found that speaking white South African English with an English accent is encouraged by black parents, as they regard it as an investment or cultural capital for future prospects in the job market. McKinney (2007) reasons that "given the nature of white hegemony in the economy and the broader cultural environment, it is not

surprising that varieties of English spoken by white people have come to define the standard for how English should be spoken" (p. 10).

The role of teachers in promoting black inadequacy is corroborated by studies conducted by Steele and Aronson (1995), Solorzano (2000) and Fries-Britt (2004). These researchers found that African-Americans are discouraged from taking certain subjects, on the grounds that they generally underperform in standardized tests. Similarly, Moletsane et al. (2004) found that educational outcomes of black learners are negatively affected by stereotypes that are ingrained in the system. Quinn (2002) reported on a case where a white teacher paid attention to white boys and ignored a black girl who showed the same level of eagerness during his class as he regarded her as lacking in etiquette and manners. Akom (2008) found that black students internalize black inadequacy and disengage from academic work, due to social pressure not to strive for academic success. This, according to Miller et al. (2010, p. 27), is an indication that "historical oppression continues to have psychological ramifications for black learners"

Tatum (1997) corroborates the finding that black deficiency is perpetuated through social interaction. Tatum (1997) found that positive interracial friendships are not easy to form in high school, given that it is a time when black learners start experiencing discrimination and the repercussions of societal stereotype threats, like the assumption that blacks are murderers and criminals. Tatum (1997) found that black learners find it easier to relate to other blacks who have similar experiences, rather than to whites who may not even be aware of what black learners are going through, or, even when aware, may not perceive it as discrimination or racism. In support of these findings, Solorzano (2000) found that relationships between black and white learners are characterised by tension and racial separateness.

Sujee's (2004) study supports the finding that movement from black areas and black schools to white areas and schools promotes black inadequacy. Sujee's (2004) study on the changing demographics of schooling in South Africa reports that the "25% shift of African learners from the ex DET schools to the other former departments and

independent schools (p. 51)" was predominantly to white schools, as they were largely considered better and of high quality when compared to black schools. Sujee (2004) also found that irrespective of the changing demographics, the majority of the teachers in these schools have remained white. Similarly, Jost (2004), and Patterson and Freehling (2001) found that, in pursuit of a desegregated education system, black learners in the United States were bussed mainly to white suburbs and schools, and rarely ever was the movement in the opposite direction. This implies that education in black areas is not good enough and that the white suburbs and the schools found in these areas offer better education.

McKinney (2007) corroborates the finding that the black deficiency narrative co-exists with narratives of defiance against being positioned as deficient. Although black learners acknowledge that English proficiency is linked to economic advancement, they challenge automatic linkage of English proficiency to cultural capital (McKinney, 2007). While black learners acknowledge the power of English and its culture, and how it positions them currently, they believe that English hegemony is not guaranteed permanence, as its cultural dominance could be challenged and the subsequent changes could be in their favour (McKinney, 2007).

The co-existence of multiple narratives notwithstanding, there is a general tendency by researchers to view black learners as deficient and to blame the black learners' culture as lacking, in that it does not provide them with the necessary capital to achieve academically (Bowe, 2009; Flores & Garcia, 2009; Heaven & Bester, 2001; Kagan, 1990; Von Robertson et al., 2005; Wallitt, 2008). As such, most of these studies conclude by blaming the victims (black learners) for the unequal treatment they receive, rather than the education system, the teachers and white learners for their role in institutionalising whiteness and then viewing black learners as deficient, when they are unable to meet the white standards.

Even those authors in whose studies systemic factors and their role in the formation of a black deficiency narrative are considered, for example, Butler, Shillingford, and Alexander-Snow (2011), as well as those who look at black identity formation beyond

the black deficiency narrative, fall into the trap of using an either/or binary framework to explain this phenomenon. Within this framework, the black deficiency narrative falls within a range of binaries, for example black learners are considered to be acting white, (Sedlacek, 1999) or acting black (Kagan, 1990; Ogbu, 2004;; Willie, 2003; Solomon, 1992, in Williams, 2003), or falling within an ambivalent identity narrative (Graham & Anderson, 2008).

This focus on the black deficiency narrative is attributable to the entrenched Cartesian view of the self -- the idea that the self is immutable, inside the person; a given that cannot be changed (Sorell, 2001). This view finds further support in the socio-cognitive theory, in that this approach facilitates the categorization of people, using a framework of perceptual processes that are assumed to be natural, neutral and universal, yet they facilitate the representation of blacks as inherently deficient. I argue that Cartesian and socio-cognitive arguments encourage linear and fixed “either or” binary arguments. By encouraging linear and fixed “either or” binary arguments, the theoretical frameworks outlined above fail to explain the coexistence of other narratives that are in tension with, and contradict, the deficiency narrative and each other.

This study shifts the analysis, to explore the concept of black deficiency beyond the binary of either/or arguments that sustain it, to look at the power dynamics, contradictions and tensions that prevail or co-exist with it.

Having discussed the black deficiency narrative and the factors that sustain it, it is now appropriate to turn attention to its counterpart, namely the narrative of white excellence.

5.2.2 The White Excellence Narrative

White excellence is premised on the understanding that whiteness means being genetically wired to be intellectually superior to other races (Clark & Worger, 2004; Mailu, 1985). The following sections show that in South Africa, despite schools having been designated non-racial post apartheid, predominantly white schools continue to champion whiteness as the norm to be emulated. Among the factors that promote white

excellence are: (a) school demographics, (b) parental perception of white excellence, and (c) school programmes and co-curricular activities.

5.2.2.1 School Demographics

School demographics are shown to support the whiteness narrative. Black learners note that the whole make-up of such schools is white, the majority of the teachers are white, white learners are in the majority, the schools are located in white suburbs, even the education programmes are geared towards whiteness. In this regard, participant A remarks:

Extract 14:

A: R [High School] was 60% white and 40% black. A [High School] at the time was predominantly white, I'd say 30-35% black and 60-70% white and with all the teachers, except the Zulu teacher, all being white. It was a lot of adjustment, a lot of pressure, to fit in and learn the new ways in terms of how you dress, how you speak, and how you carry yourself…a lot of the black kids that went to predominantly white schools, they are under a lot of pressure to conform.

The above quotation supports the view that the overwhelmingly white school demographics and surroundings all reinforce the narrative of white superiority. Further, whiteness is set as a norm or standard and is institutionalized for all white schools, across the board, to observe and implement. Schools become almost like each other's watchdogs, to ensure that the set standards are implemented, and to keep everybody in check to ensure compliance. For example, when School 'A', a predominantly white school that Participant A attended, relaxed the condition of wearing "full-uniform" in hot weather, the other white schools took them to task and accused them of "disintegration," reprimanding them for dropping white standards.

5.2.2.2 Black Parental Perception of White Excellence

Black parents' perception that the whiter the school, the better the quality of education, and the better future prospects their children will have, promotes white excellence.

Extract 15:

A: There was a whole idea [that] Model C schools have better facilities, better education, you'll have better opportunities later in life, so that I think will have been the motivation. My father at the time was particularly attached to High School 'A'… maybe the brand no matter what the case is. I seem to recall an insistence on [going to High School] 'A' to an extent that when I wanted to go to R [High School] [I] had to motivate as to why I needed to go to that school.

The assumed superior quality of education in predominantly white schools is further supported by Participant A's father, who demanded a motivation when the latter sought permission to move from a predominantly white school to another school with fewer white learners.

5.2.2.3 School Programmes and Co-curricular Activities

Academic activities are conducted in English, which is the white learners' home language. English is given the LOLT (Language of Learning and Teaching) status, whilst the black learners' languages are not given any status at all. In some instances black African learners are forbidden to speak their home language within school premises.

Extract 16:

A: At home we spoke Zulu ehm 100% of the time, and at school we spoke English, but we were not compelled, like for example at [High School] R, for as long as you are within the premises of the school it doesn't matter

who you are speaking to, you had to speak English. At [High School] A, it was different.

Similarly, co-curricular activities, for example sports like surfing, are shown to have a white bias, in that they are not part of black learners' upbringing and are not affordable.

Extract 17:

N: Ja, we [black learners] do not do surfing and all that stuff, so I couldn't pretend to take an interest in it, like it, so I rather do things that are more, shall I say, do things that are not too much of a hassle... that cause stress or anything sooo, that's why.

Though co-curricular activities provide an opportunity for intergroup contact, which augurs well for diversity, sporting codes such as surfing, which have a white bias, because the majority of black learners do not have the means to participate in them, is shown to achieve the opposite. Such activities give white learners a platform to excel, while they increase black learners' vulnerability to underperform, and thus reinforce the white excels and black is inadequate stereotype.

However, the whites excel narrative is put to doubt when participant A questions the assumption that the white education system is superior. She argues that white schools do not encourage (African) learners to get good results and to go to university, as such learners from these schools do not aspire for what could be considered top-notch passes (exemption passes) and careers:

Extract 18:

A: My perception is that white schools/ Model C schools do not have a culture of …going to university. There were a few that went. I remember boys talking about going to the army and girls talking about getting married or "temping" at their fathers' shops

Participant N (Extract 19) discerns that white schools are most probably just the same as township schools in terms of quality:

Extract 19:

N: …you do not need to go to a model C school to…ehm, to sort of advance yourself as a person. You can go to …work hard at a township school you can get to the same place, doesn't matter where …you came from, we can all get to the same place.

These extracts show that the white excels narrative is in contestation, that it co-exists with other narratives that render it not excellent.

Other studies have also reported on a number of factors that promote white excellence. In a study conducted in predominantly white Canadian schools, Dei (1996) found that teacher demographics promote white excellence. Non-representation of black teachers within the staff establishment, Dei (1996) finds, not only communicates a sense that they are not good enough to teach at such schools, it also interferes with learning, in that it results in black students feeling isolated due to the lack of black role models and they disengage from academic activities.

Studies conducted in the United States and the United Kingdom confirm teacher demographics as a factor facilitating the preservation of whiteness in schools. Earick (2010, p. 99) for example, reported that in the United States "The White teacher to White student ratio nationally is 1.5:1 while the teacher of Color to student of Color ratio is a disturbingly low 0.25".

Locally, McKinney (2007) noted that English is the LOLT despite the language policy having given all eleven languages an official status, and parents having been given the right to choose. This is despite evidence that shows that not all learners are equally successful in their mastery of the kind of English proficiency necessary to succeed academically in this environment (white school).

Like the narrative of black deficiency, the white excellence narrative emanates from Cartesian theories of the self and, in particular, the view that people are endowed with natural and immutable attributes and intellectual talents. During apartheid this took a racial turn. In this regard, whiteness was imbued with all the attributes of a superior thinking self. Mr. P. W. Botha, then Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, captured this sentiment aptly when he was quoted as follows in the Sunday Times on 18 August 1985:

> We are not obliged even the least to try to prove to anybody and to the blacks that we (white people) are superior people. We have demonstrated that to the blacks in 1001 ways. The Republic of South Africa that we know of today has not been created by wishful thinking. We have created it at the expenses of intelligence, sweat and blood…we are superior to the Blacks; that has been proven beyond any reasonable doubt over the years (Mailu, 1985).

Perceptual processes advanced by social cognition, for example, categorizing people into white and black categories that are imbued with positive or negative characteristics respectively, influence how people perceive difference (Manganyi, 1973). This, to a large extent, explains why there is a general belief that white education is superior, in that South Africans were socialized to perceive whiteness that way. This engineering is instrumental in understanding why parents of black learners accept the superiority of white education without necessarily interrogating "who is integrated into what, how and with what effects" (Nkomo et al., 2004, p. 8). According to Moletsane et al. (2004, p. 72), this leads to black learners becoming victims of the "norm of white privilege…perceptions of authority as vesting in white staff, (and) through the marginalization of black languages in social interaction."

Articulating white excellence within theories that promote a separatist view to the self, or a binary of opposites, fails to recognize the coexistence within the white narrative, and between the binary, of other voices that contradict or are in defiance of this supposedly natural identity. The current study shifts the analysis to explore the contradictions and tensions that are inherent in the white excels discourse: it explores how black learners traverse the maze of the white excels and black is limited binary

challenge, to emerge with an identity that defies white excellence and black inadequacy, yet is influenced by it – a contradicted multiple identity that reflects the intermingling of cultures. Contrary to the argument that whiteness is superior and intelligence a white preserve (given their supposedly inherent superior intellect), there is evidence that the white excels narrative is highly contested. The idea of a non-racial self presented below is but one of the ways black learners contest this space and the way they are positioned.

5.2.3 The Non-racial Self

Voices that depict a non-racial existence have a reconciliatory tone that romanticizes diversity by nostalgically depicting different races living side by side without any discrimination. A non-racial self attempts to show that whiteness and blackness can co-exist as equals, a situation that would nullify the claim of whiteness to superiority.

Extract 20:

N: Fortunately for me I grew up post- apartheid so then, ... the kids … were more welcoming {humming} they didn't really have any discrimination against me. My brother had already exposed me to uhm, mixed race friends, and that whole atmosphere, so I … fitted in well, and blended in well with the kids.

Extract 20 depicts romanticized equality, in that the assumed equality proves to be one-sided, and largely translates to blacks fitting into whiteness. The reconciliatory tone of the non-racial self, or the "we are all the same" narrative, disregards this one-sided reconciliation, and thus perpetuates inequality between black and white. Participant N continues in Extract 21 below:

Extract 21:

N: I … I exposed myself more to different sports like hockey, tennis, so I could … sort of …break away from just that, uhm uhm, to break away from, uhm, to break away from, uhm, that typical, uhm … stereotype. Netball, soccer, whatever, so I did other types of sport to be well-rounded

> …within that …working hard and getting where you want to be in the end.

Participant N played a variety of sports, particularly those associated with whites, in order to prove herself to be equal to her white counterparts and "break away from the stereotype". The theme of working harder, to prove their capabilities and to prove that they are equal to whites, features in most activities. Black learners work harder in the academic field as well, to break away from the stereotype that blacks are not good enough. Equality is shown to be a fallacy, as for them to be equal they have to work harder to fit in and blend in: as such the non-racial self is therefore shown to be conformist.

The non-racial self is also denialist. For example, when participant A joins the white school from a black school and struggles with Maths, instead of being provided with additional support, she is encouraged by her teacher to drop Maths. She chooses not to view this as the teacher discriminating against her, but instead resigns herself to thinking that she is simply not good enough.

Extract 22:

A: …I do not remember …any explicit discrimination … I had a lousy Maths teacher - she was young and naïve. She was frustrated because I was not getting it, and she encouraged me to quit Maths. I don't think that she thought, because I'm black and thought I was not capable, … not to say that racism or discrimination was not there. (Emphasis added)

Participant A's denialism is based on the equality fallacy that makes her assume that achievement is not dependent on race, as exemplified in her statement: "I don't think that she thought, because I'm black and thought I was not capable …". Similarly, her denialism makes her assume that teachers treat all learners equally and know how to handle diversity. This "achievement is raceless" argument is contradicted by her own statement, "not to say that racism or discrimination was not there", as well as an

expectation that black learners need to “work harder” in order to achieve, as both link achievement to race (Extracts 1 and 22 above).

I argue that discriminating against black learners translates to exclusion, contradicting the very meaning of inclusion and non-racialism that this country has committed to. Instead, the conformist and denialist characteristics of the non-racial self reproduce the white excels and black-is-not-good-enough selves/ apartheid narrative. Rather than being equal, black learners assimilate to whiteness. They are labelled coconuts, ordinarily considered a derogatory term that captures the contempt black communities have for those who have assimilated whiteness and have become “white on the inside and black on the outside”. Although black learners may defend being labelled this way, as indicated in Extract 23 below, given that communities have coined such a term strengthens the conformist non-racial self-narrative.

Extract 23:

N: Coconuts, ...it’s that thing about being advantaged, …I don’t think it’s a proper term to call us because, just because … … Going to a model C doesn‘t mean that we go to that school to be white, we go there for a better education. …we go there for a better education. Ja. ….It (attending a white school) doesn’t mean anything to me …..you can go to …work hard at a township school, you can get to the same place, ……but…I don’t know if the discipline is as good as the Model C school …don’t know if I’d made it, as it is hard to control a room full of black people hehe (laughing). Ja…(emphasis added)

As shown in Extract 23 above, co-existing with the voices of conforming and assimilating within the non-racial self is a voice of resistance, an indication that the conformist, assimilationist, non-racial self is conflicted. Participants challenge the assumption that an assimilationist or coconut non-racial self represents conformity or wishing to be white. Instead, they argue that they appropriate whiteness in order to achieve their goals of getting a better education. In the same breath, Participant N denies that they assimilate to whiteness at a white school because it is superior. She claims she

could have done just as well at a black school, yet at the same time doubts whether this would be achievable, given 'ill-discipline' in black schools.

The failure of non-racial schools to deal with diversity, and how they, instead of fostering equality, reinforce discrimination and inequality, has been demonstrated by a number of studies (Vally, Dalamba, & Commission, 1999). The idea of a non-racial self is supported by both local and international studies. On the international platform, Graham, Baker, and Wapner (1985) and Reay, Davies, David and Ball (2001) have found that black learners have to work twice as hard to be on a par with their white counterparts, or to prove their capabilities, particularly their intellectual competence. On the local front, Rudwick (2008) found that the term "coconut" is a derogatory term that black people use. It "reflects negative sentiments toward people who have started to adopt English as their main medium of communication and to adopt a western lifestyle" (Rudwick, 2008, p. 111). Similarly, other studies have portrayed non-racialism as symbolizing conformity. For example, Meier and Hartell (2009, p. 187) observed a "tendency on the part of black learners in desegregated schools to deny and reject their racial and cultural identities". This is aptly demonstrated by a remark by a black girl in a study by Dawson (2003, p. 11), who opined as follows: "… the school is mainly for whites and sometimes you don't fit in, but they want you to fit in, so you just have to be like them and do the stuff they want you to do. Follow them."

However, despite evidence of what could be considered a non-racial, denialist and assimilationist self or the "we are all the same" narrative, some studies support this study's other finding, that the non-racial self is contradicted and conflicted. For example, Rudwick (2008) found that there is at times recognition that English is not naturally superior: rather it has been strategically positioned as "*the* ticket for success" (p. 111). This "love-hate relationship with the English language" (De Klerk & Gough, 2002, p. 370) indicates that what could be considered a coconut or non-racial identity is conflicted and contradicted.

Similarly Makubalo (2006), in his study on English language practices of black learners in desegregated schools, notes that assimilation cannot be assumed to be only about

conforming, as it "takes place under complex processes of contestation and appropriation that involved crossing of borders and authorization of hybridities (p. 2)". This study also found that assimilation happens within a complex process of contestation and authorization of mixed or multiple identities. However, unlike that of Makubalo (2006), this study extends the argument to posit that assimilation is not the only end result. Instead, the contestation and appropriation process results in contradicted, plural or multiple identities, that are highly contested rather than assimilationist or conformist. The novelty of the current study also lies in its use of the idea of the dialogical account of human functioning (Bakhtin, 1981; Manganyi, 1973), to demonstrate the complex relationships and dynamic interchanges in power and position, between the various selves available to black learners who attend predominantly white schools.

5.2.4 The Rebellious / Revolutionary Self

Despite the concern that whiteness enjoys institutionalized power, black learners deploy a variety of strategies to counteract their subjugation. These include outrightly protesting and resisting white superiority, by executing behaviours they refer to as "being ghetto" or "being a hooligan". This rebellion takes a number of forms, such as (1) use of language, (2) unofficial programme, (3) identity clarification and (4) black excellence.

5.2.4.1 Use of Language as a Form of Rebellion

Black learners use their language to rebel against being positioned as inferior: instead they showcase areas of superiority and their strengths.

Extract 24:

N: If uhm, we couldn't meet them on their level, then we'd rebel and go against them. …We'd just speak Zulu and and, uhm, when they discipline us we'd swear them in Zulu…ghetto (means) to be loud …to

> talk without uhm …to comment without actually listening to …you don't when you listen you should be waiting for your turn to talk, sometimes we just listen to wait, just speak, without hearing the other person's side of things. We didn't want to read sometimes, which is common, and just taking our time getting to places, even to class, arriving late….stick to your own types of people in that way than to stick with whites. (emphasis added)

They use their vernacular, isiZulu, a language that whites generally do not understand, and find solace in knowing that they command a language that others (whites) do not understand. This way they use isiZulu to position themselves, in a powerful way, as capable, and to position the other (whites) as deficient. However, the participants are critical of what they consider as a relegation of their mother tongue, isiZulu, to an inferior status as a subject. They contest being taught their own mother tongue at an inferior grade (as a third language). Those schools that offered black learners an opportunity to learn isiZulu as a first language are lauded. The following extract talks to this point.

Extract 25:

W: Third language …!! They are paying for a teacher to teach at third language …only [School] S gave us first language - they dealt with *Inqolobane* (a recognized, authoritative Zulu Textbook used at High School), phonetics, delved into *izaga*, *izisho* (idioms and sayings), … phonetics, the books you'd read, *inkondlo* (poem), *izithakazelo* (clan names), all of that you don't get that at third language….In KZN the language is so connected to the cultural things, ….There is no line, it's all intertwined, whereby I think in the European side I think you can … we learn to understand that you are connected to everyone based on *izithakazelo* and *ukuzibongela* (clan names and praise names), like *uBoyabenyathi u Ndlovu* (Ndlovu clan name) … understanding where it started, that is, the beginning of the pneumatic. Your understanding of you as an African person, where it starts, that is, the centre of the

pneumatics the pneumatic dynamic !!! Not the other way around, not from the spokes to the hub and not the other way round not outside the hub …from the hub to the spokes.

Participants use their vernacular to show that it is through its idioms (*izaga*), sayings (*izisho*), *izithakazelo* (clan names) that the origins and deeper meanings of being an African are communicated. They protest against being provided with a watered-down version of their vernacular ("third language"), as they recognise that language is a primary tool for understanding and communicating who they are, that is, to authenticate their identities outside the prescribed binary. Indirectly, the participants hint at a loss of their rich cultural and linguistic legacy if African languages are not taught at the highest grade possible.

5.2.4.2 Unofficial Programme

Participant MO expresses notions of this rebellious self with respect to how they introduce an unofficial programme that is not endorsed by the school. They create a space where they have the power to determine the various components of such a programme. These activities include dating, parties and showing off.

Extract 26:

MO: It was girls, it was girls, parties, girls and parties. We actually introduced this thing: there was this guy, SH (his name) he was more of a role model to most of us in our grade because all the girls really liked him - he wasn't hot per se but he was dark in complexion and girls perceived him as hot you know; so he introduced this thing of kissing partners, where we don't date just to see your making game as to where it is, so he started … he initiated that. So we all went through that, and then we started from that to being parties during the weekend, so A (High School) was well known for hosting the best - the A (High School) parties in our era. So whenever A (High School) says there's a party you have to be there 'cos that's where you meet all the nice girls and all of

> that. Then we started this thing of uniforms, where we'd dress up nicely and then you'd say your blazer is 10 points. Your tie if you've got maybe a tie or a tie in sports or academics, whatever the case may be, that will be like your show off point - your shoes how clean, your neatness the way you smell …

The unofficial programme is designed as a protest to the prescribed programme of the school that has a white bias and takes very little consideration of their academic and non-academic interests. They create their own space where they have the power to self-determine. This space is used to explore dating, socializing and to guide and affirm one another. The unofficial programme is regarded as an innovation that reaches out to other schools and as such is used as a tool to mobilize other black learners to be part of the self-determination movement. Though not acknowledged or even guided by teachers or those in authority, it is a space where black learners can self-determine, experience success and self-worth.

As demonstrated above, being a revolutionary means being part of a collective, resisting an ascribed identity and expressing the identity of this group – it means collective action and solidarity. Unlike the imagery that expresses white domination where blacks fit in and blend in, with the revolutionary self, the imagery evolves to "stick to your own type" which invokes black solidarity. Notably, without any proper guidance, black learners devise their own tools for survival / self-expression, some of which - like the hooligan self described above - feed into the naughty profile that teachers have ascribed to them.

5.2.4.3 Identity Clarification

The next tool used by black learners in predominantly white schools to rebel against being positioned as inferior and inadequate, is identity clarification. Rather than allowing others to define and position them as inferior, black learners work collectively to reclaim their dignity by asserting their understanding of who they are.

Extract 27:

W: What you see is what you get. I'm very black, I am African. Being proud of the soil, looking like the soil in *Xhosa uthi ndimdaka. When I say 'ndimdaka'* I'm not saying I'm dirty, I'm saying I'm an African, I'm a symbiosis of what you see in this space. In English I feel I'm pretty much a well- grounded African… [a] young adult who is sensitive to the space, the sum of parts that make a whole… There is a common unit standard or common denominator, a set of values that when you understand, you can appreciate the Diaspora, you can take it around the world, you can take it around that constituency but being comfortable amongst …around other races.

Participant W explicitly and consciously positions himself as African, an identity that has a common thread, yet transcends Africa. The analogy he draws between the soil (*ndimdaka*) and his understanding of who he is (identity) captures not only his rootedness in Africa but also the richness of his cultural heritage. The darkness of the soil is associated with fertility and life-giving properties. Incidentally, this rich cultural heritage is relegated to the periphery in predominantly white schools, leading to some learners rebelling against the system that denigrates who they are.

5.2.4.4 Black Excellence

Black learners counteract the narrative of white excellence. They do this by citing examples of excellent black institutions, amongst others. In this regard, Participant A refers to the "KZN legacy schools", that is, black schools that were established by the Department of Education as centres of black excellence.

Extract 28:

A: You had black teachers, black students, but you had a very disciplined school…the school was about business, very business-oriented…[The school] debunked a lot of assumptions about black standards…[it was] well-catered, had a decent lab, [a] decent library, even a computer

> LAN…so you had a fully-fledged school…[The] teachers … were passionate about teaching and learning and wanted you to do well…They were going to offer me a better opportunity than the white school. So a 100% of us sat for exemptions and 97% of us passed…. Many of my colleagues from Model C [schools] who persevered did not sit for their exemptions and ja for whatever reason. [At the black legacy school] we managed a 97% pass rate and that was a scandal because we had dropped the standard in seven years that was a scandal …were the group that got 97%!!! My friends from there have done very well working at international organisations like the World Bank. Incidentally the youngest doctor who is in the news is from that school. You get these kids who are motivated, [who are] fired up.

Black excellence is shown through subtle comparison between a white school and a black school. This comparison is reflected in a number of areas, for example, the demographics of both schools: while the white school had a majority white teachers, and a majority of white learners who were not supportive, in a black school, according to Participant A, both the teachers and the learners were passionate about schooling and wanted to do well.

Studies conducted locally and abroad, particularly in the United States, have noted and reported on the rebellious or ghetto behaviour in black children who attend predominantly white schools. Carter-Andrews (2009) found that the academic performance of black learners is affected negatively when they behave in a manner that is anti-establishment, or opposed to the institutionalized culture of white excellence in predominantly white schools (Carter-Andrews, 2009; Ogbu, 1991). In corroboration, Reyes (2005, p. 510) argues that African-American learners use “Ghetto English” or what he terms “African American Vernacular English” to assert their identities as African-Americans, and to upset the status quo of being defined externally and positioned as inferior. At the local level, similar findings have been reported by Rudwick (2008), who found that black learners speak their vernacular, IsiZulu, in order to resist English hegemony.

The disproportionate representation of black learners with “oppositional behavior” in remedial programmes has been a cause for concern (Harris & Marsh, 2010; Kagan, 1990; Ogbu, 2004; Willie, 2003). The above-mentioned authors argue that instead of tackling the root causes of such problems, amongst which is the observation that predominantly white schools are generally poorly prepared to receive black learners, the blame is shifted to the child who in turn is labelled as “oppositional”. The rebellious behavior targeted at white domination is interpreted as maladaptive, in order to justify the measures that are taken to quell such behaviours (Webb-Johnson, 2003).

Karemera, Reuben, and Sillah (2003) report a relationship between good academic resources and black excellence in academic work. Nasim, Roberts, Harrell, and Young (2005), Kuh and Hu (2001), and Grant-Vallone, Reid, Umali, and Pohlert (2003), all attribute black excellence to the intensity of social support that learners receive from teachers, resulting in the learners developing a very positive self-concept which in turn translated into good academic performance. There is also evidence that learners who migrate in the opposite direction, to predominantly white schools, do not usually get the same benefit (Graham et al.,1985).

Africentric theory views the revolutionary self as a struggle by black learners who are positioned within the identity binary of white superiority and black inferiority. The primary objective of the revolutionary self is to assert a black identity that is founded on an African value system. Asante (1988) and Shockley (2003) advocate a shift from traditional education systems, which they consider to be promoting the narrative of white excellence at the expense of black learners. It is in this regard that Shockley (2003) distinguishes between schooling and education. Schooling “teaches the Black child to conform to the needs and interests of someone else…(while) Education, on the other hand, is an enterprise that affects all of life and living” (Shockley, 2003, p. 48). From an Africentric point of view, true education incorporates knowledge of the self (Shockley, 2003). The Africentric argument finds support in the finding that a school founded on black excellence, not only yields excellent academic outcomes, it also debunks white excellence. Community control and involvement in the schooling

system, as well as institution building, are all important in order to ensure that the black community has a say in important decisions affecting schools in their communities (Shockley, 2003).

It has been shown in the preceding discussion that the revolutionary self exists in the midst of other voices which are at times in contradiction. This would be consistent with the idea of multiple selves-in-dialogue (Manganyi, 1973; Hermans, 2001a). The idea of a self that is connected to others through dialogue, an idea that is commensurate with the notion of Ubuntu, is discussed next.

5.2.5 The Connected, Dialogically Constituted Self

The connected self is partly expressed in the form of a rebellion against being positioned as inferior. The connected self is characterized by constant dialogue with others, including the deceased. Being connected means one is part of significant others, including the immediate and extended family, the ancestors, friends, the soil, and the Diaspora. The boundary between the self and significant others is porous and the relationship is one of constant communication or dialogue. Extract 29, which is taken from an interview with Participant N, best illustrates the idea of a connected self.

Extract 29:

N: Yes. I think am black, I'm not just black by my skin. I am (her emphasis) uhmm, [I am] very involved in my culture and uhm uhm, my beliefs in my ancestors. I think that is more what makes you black, how connected you are to your roots than just your skin tone. …with my ancestors…Ja

Connectedness to the living, the living-dead, the soil and everything that one can possibly relate to, underpins the multiplicity of selves that are interwoven with each other: the divine self, the ancestral self, the personal self and the emergent self (Ogbonnaya, 1994). Manganyi (1973) corroborates this. He posits that the person is interwoven with the divine self and is one with the universe and the natural order of all things, both inanimate and the living. Ancestral connectedness also stems from the view

that the ancestors do not die but simply make a transition to another world, which is elevated above our world, and it is from this world that they continue to participate in the affairs of their descendants (Mkhize, 2004a; Ramose, 1999).

Having positioned herself as firmly embedded in her African roots, Participant N went on to indicate that race did not confine her friendships. She continued as follows:

Extract 30:

N: [A school] I befriended a multitude of races: from coloureds, whites, Indians, …and …blacks …but as I grew towards high school and university I think I had more African friends because that's the …when you sort of relate …you find out that you could relate to them more than another type of race. But I'm not saying that I only have African friends but I am friends with whites but I always will be more relatable to Africans.

It is evident from the extract above that having articulated her rootedness in being African, Participant N is now expanding this view to include being connected to everyone else, hence her assertion that she made friends with everyone. Later on, and true to the unpredictable nature of the dialogical self, Participant N went on to expand the definition of connectedness to mean being westernized.

Extract 31:

N: *Mina* (me), I'm more westernized.

The above, seemingly contradictory, statements from a single person point to the view that, from an African perspective, one proceeds from the premise that the self is essentially good (or trustworthy), and this finds expression in the openness of the African self to otherness. The plurality of the self from an African perspective means that it is open to acquiring otherness through intermingling with other cultures. Participant N's declaration that she is African and more Western at the same time demonstrates that the multiple identities characterizing black learners' selves are fraught

with contradictions and tensions. This is consistent with the idea of the dialogic self. The dialogical self can be articulated from different vantage positions, depending on changes in situations and time (Bandlamudi, 1994). According to Hermans (1996b, p. 33), the dialogical self reflects "a complex narratively structured self with many 'I positions' …occupied by the same person". The self "fluctuate(s) among different and even opposed positions and has the capacity to imaginatively endow each position with a voice so that dialogical relations between positions can be established" (Hermans (1996b, p. 33).

The assertion about being "more westernized" may also mean that the black learners in question have not fully appropriated their experiences in order to arrive at an internally persuasive understanding of who they are (Bakhtin (1982). Under the circumstances, an understanding of the self that is informed by their African cultural backgrounds may be overwhelmed by the whiteness surrounding it, and recede to the background (hence being "more westernized"). It is only after the learners are fully comfortable with their backgrounds, when they endow their experiences with their own voice or perspective, that they are unable to unsettle whiteness in order to speak in an internally persuasive manner. Once this happens, the African self can be taken "around the world" and is "comfortable amongst…other races" (Extract 29). This is part of the process of identity formation or ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1981; Hermans, 1992; Skinner, Valsiner, & Holland, 2001).

It is evident from the above interview extracts that the school is a site of struggle; it is a fertile ground on which different ideologies about the self fight amongst themselves for hegemonic status. Ramose (1999) posits that the self that is based on the African idea of Ubuntu did not fully anticipate the complete separation of self from the other, which has been championed by the colonial worldview. Instead, Ubuntu operated from the perspective of what has been called diunital logic (Dixon, 1977), which sees the other as a mutual reflection of the self ("I am, therefore you are"). Although destabilization or disturbances in human relationships and the natural environment did occur, the ideal state of affairs was to work towards a restoration of harmony or balance as the natural order of things. The colonizer's worldview on the other hand was based on the

subjugation and total control of others, including the natural environment. It is important therefore for any theoretical framework that examines identity from the perspective of multiplicity, to take into account the power dynamics between the different worldviews on which each version of the self is based. Biko (as cited in Woods,1987) argues that African perspectives should unashamedly speak out for themselves, makes sense under the circumstances. Further, it is the author's contention that the idea of the dialogical self, in particular the emphasis on the critical appraisal of the power differential between different points of view (Bakhtin, 1981), provides appropriate tools to analyze relations of power that are inherent in the idea of multiple selves.

Having discussed the various self-narratives available to black African learners attending predominantly white schools in the post-apartheid era, the next section presents and discusses the mechanisms by means of which these identities are evoked or reproduced.

5.3 How the Self-Narratives Available to Black African Learners are Evoked and Reproduced

The various narratives identified above result largely from participants being located between two different worlds: their homes, which represent the black world; and the school, which represents the white world. The self-narratives are enacted in a number of settings and occasions, the following being the most important: (1) transitioning from black communities to white schools and back, (2) school practices, and (3) the social setting including courtship scenes.

5.3.1 Transitioning from Black Communities to White Schools and Back

Narratives such as black inadequacy and white superiority are most evident during periods of transition, as black learners move from their respective black schools and communities to predominantly white schools located in white communities or cities.

The imagery of movement does not end at a literal level, where black learners physically attend white schools, there is a parallel figurative/metaphorical move or shift in identity, as black learners come under pressure to imitate whiteness in order to fit in. The selves are also enacted during the course of an activity or participation in a particular task. Extract 32 from Participant A, who had moved from a black school to a predominantly white school, only to return to a black school to finish her matric, illustrates this.

Extract 32:

A: I was submerged in this environment. It's Zulu but it's different Zulu. The thing of being the other was more pronounced. I struggled *njee* (generally) I struggled for a little while there. Although I was doing Zulu at [High School] A and I was doing [English] first language yes but Zulu was not [offered in the first language]. It was also a different, it was different to what it was [at] School A. I had an accent I had a Zulu … and an English accent. The dualism in another world. I was in a black world.

Participant A reflects on the adjustment she had to make upon her return to a black school, having been to a predominantly white school. She was not familiar with the higher standard of isiZulu offered in the black school and hence her assertion that "I was in a black world". The fact that she had two accents, one reserved for speaking isiZulu, and another one for speaking English, aptly illustrates her experiences as a traveler between different worlds.

Parents play an important role in facilitating this transition. Participant A reports that her parents expected her to assimilate into whiteness at school, and yet act normally like a black person would when they were at home. She refers to this experience as a dual existence (Extract 33):

Extract 33:

A: So there was a lot … that had to happen in that transition…You almost have a dual existence: At school you are immersed and conforming

> [while] at home there are different expectations: you can't talk like that, through your nose.
> … It's a precarious situation. At home you are expected to be normal. There are two different kinds of 'normal' and you have to fit into these two environments, and you have to be adaptable to both of these environments (original emphasis).

The sense of being different from one's cultural background is also enacted as parents visit with their kids to the rural homesteads in order to participate in cultural and community activities. Participant AM talks to this experience:

Extract 34:

AM: You know when you you know when you get home [rural homestead] there are activities like *imigidi nani nani yabo* (there are traditional ceremonies, and so on) like for a boy let me just say for girls who grew up back home [rural homesteads] it was something so exciting so ehm but for us yes we would participate because we're part of the community and like *kusekhaya* (it's home). But for us it wasn't so exciting like hey *ebusuku kufuneka kuhanjiwe* (we are supposed to return [to the city] at night) stuff like that. And my dad was very protective he would allow us [to go]… You know when you there [there is] stuff that you wouldn't understand [and] you don't find them exciting and that's where the weird part comes in like ok you guys are excited, like ehm for for for me and my siblings because we all went to the same school for us we are just there because we don't want to be outsiders. (Emphasis added)

It is as a result of their schooling in predominantly white schools that Participant AM and her siblings do not feel comfortable with traditional African ceremonies. Their difference from other black people who are excited by activities of this nature is most evident when they attend festivities in the rural homestead. They now perceive the cultural ceremonies as "weird". It is the activities in their (predominantly white) school

that they consider to be relevant because they 'transcend race'. This is evident from Extract 35 below:

Extract 35:

AM: Like ehm staff like ehm you are with white students and black… students things that you idolise like celebrities ehm into hip hop into what is trending now, social networks, ehm ehm stuff that ehm we think we we we are so cool to know of, you know. Like it was worse that time; twitter was so big ehm, Blackberries were the 'ish', I remember your 2010 Blackberries were the 'ish' if you didn't have one you know. Everything you think was cool that was the relevant thing to talk about not *umgido wakwenu* (your traditional dance) or anything like that.

Extract 35 above is an indication that black learners transcend black and white culture and participate in a global culture represented by technology, like "Blackberries and Twitter". This transcendence, however, comes at the expense of traditional ways of relating, which are devalued. This further shows that the multiple selves that are part of the dialogical self are not equal. In the extracts above, it is the trendy self that participates in social networks that is prized. It is the participant's visit to the rural homestead that has made this difference most evident. Hence transitions from one context to another are important in elucidating identity narratives.

5.3.2 School Linguistic and Sporting Practices

Linguistic practices and sporting activities provide a fertile ground for the enactment and contestation of various self-narratives. As far as linguistic practices were concerned, the activity of reading and understanding in English made the identities of black learners, in particular the narrative that they were not fully *au fait* with the language of teaching and learning, most salient.

Extract 36:

N: Most of the challenges was more literacy, where we'd read a book and of course English being …it's more of a secondary language … you didn't really pick up on some of the vocab, so …being on a lower level of reading and stuff like that …embarrassing stuff like that … {blushes, no eye contact}.

The speaking of African languages was not permitted:

Extract 37:

A: … at [School] R for as long as you are within the premises of the school it doesn't matter who you are speaking to, you had to speak English.

Black learners contest this positioning, however, by questioning the validity of being persuaded not to take isiZulu, their mother tongue, as well as being taught their mother tongue as a third language.The focus group discussion also demonstrated how the schooling system imposes languages that had the status of being the official languages during apartheid and undermines African languages. The learners are shown to resist this on the grounds that it alienates them from who they are.

Extract 38:

Thobile: Did they give you your language?

W: Third language …!! They are paying for a teacher to teach at third language? … *izaga* (idioms), *izisho* (sayings), i*nkondlo* (poems), *izithakazelo* (clan names) all of that, you don't get that at third language.

Thobile: So it was it for survival? You are also drawing a relationship between language and culture?

W: There is no line, it's all intertwined, whereby I think in the European side, I think you can …I mean there is the South African English and we learn Zulu not *Scamtho* not *Tsotsitaal*, where you learn to understand that you are connected to everyone based on *izithakazelo* (clan names) and *ukuzibongela* (recital of praise names) like *uBoyabenyathi, u Ndlovu* (Ndlovu clan names)

Thobile: They were pushing you towards Afrikaans and you resisted

D: I resisted because I was like NO! because I can't do Afrikaans you know my home language is Zulu so I'm black I have to go with other black people I have to do Zulu with them where will I talk Afrikaans I don't know Zulu at all so that's what those whites were trying to make us do not talk Zulu . Afrikaans is very hard

The extracts from both the interviews and focus group above find support in the idea that "languages…are specific points of view on the world" (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 291-292). Similarly, Skinner, Valsiner, and Holland (2001) argue that socio-ideologies are carried through language. By conferring a superior status to the English language, the ideologies that are carried through the other languages are silenced (Bakhtin, 1986). Hence the protestation by the learners that their languages are accorded an inferior status by being taught to the indigenous speakers as third languages.

Sporting activities provide another setting for the enactment of self-narratives. Sports in predominantly white schools have a white bias; indigenous games are conspicuous by their absence in the formal programme. This puts black learners at a disadvantage, as they are not used to historically white sporting codes.

Extract 39:

M: I remember when I was like tried for the first team in netball they didn't pick me but <u>I knew for a fact that I was good I was excellent</u> but I saw that it was racism and when I tried again in the second team <u>they picked me</u> (Original emphasis)

Participant M likens getting into the first team with the struggle of Mandela for liberation.

Extract 40:

M: For a black person [to get into the first team] it's like Nelson Mandela you know just came out of gaol and suddenly became president in 1994; it's like M [her name] took over …as a goal shooter; just imagine how many white Afrikaner girls are standing in that line waiting for the opportunity, and then [all of a sudden] there came M.

Exclusion from predominantly white sporting codes triggers the revolutionary self in black learners. Playing indigenous games becomes another pathway for self-expression.

Extract 41:

N: Ja, we do not do surfing and all that stuff, so I couldn't pretend to take an interest in it, [I could not pretend to] like it. So I rather do things that are more, shall I say, do things that are not too much of a hassle…[things] that [do not] cause stress or anything.

Thobile: So white girls will be going surfing, and the black girls?

N: They're like, ja … We don't do that!

Thobile: So what were they up to?

N: We'd just either stay in, play indigenous games, or just go to the movies, but nothing too extreme. No extreme sports or anything.

Calculated participation and non-participation in a variety of sporting activities provides an avenue for black learners to deal with being excluded from the dominant and most probably most prestigious sporting codes. It is of note that indigenous sporting codes

that are likely to give black learners an opportunity to excel are excluded from the school sporting menu.

5.3.3 Social Settings and Courtship

Paradoxically, black communities also provide a setting for the enactment of the narrative of white excellence. This happens when family and community members think highly of black learners who attend white schools and have acquired white accents.

Extract 42:

M: The one who went to a Model C school, the one with a twang is the one who is clever 'cos it's English it's fancy English; she could pronounce fancy words…

Thobile: That must have been traumatic.

M: …and she [referring to another learner] also wanted to twang also and they are like no it does not suit you stop it, stop it! You are not in a white school; keep quiet. And like that was the joke that we always cracked. Keep quiet! Keep quiet! You are in a black school, you can't twang!

The above extract shows that speaking 'through the nose' like a white person is a sign of status amongst black people, even when they are amongst themselves. This activity affirms the narrative of whiteness and devalues those who fall short of this narrative, who are told in no uncertain terms to "keep quiet" as they are not from a white school.

5.3.3.1 Courtship Provides a Setting for the Emergence of the Non-racial self

Participant L reported that in primary school they dated across the colour line because the colour of one's skin did not matter.

Extract 43:

L: There were so many mixed race couples like couples… things like that. It was something that was fun. It wasn't, you didn't worry about D is dating A but A is, A is ... either black or white you didn't care about that you just knew D is dating A and that was it. That was [at] primary [school]. That was the cute thing about it; we didn't worry about the colour of the skin at the time.

However the non-racial self is challenged when black boys would not date her [Participant L] as they perceived her not to be black enough.

Extract 44:

L: I was sitting and I think I was listening to music. So this guy came and he started talking to me and his friend said: "No No!! Don't talk to her: she doesn't speak Zulu".

It has been shown above that the self-narratives available to black learners in predominantly white schools are enacted during transitions, and during the course of an activity. Linguistic, sporting and courtship activities also contribute to the enactment of these selves. Mda (2004a, p. 163) corroborates the finding that English is elevated above other languages. He argues that this is unconstitutional in that it goes against "the entrenched language rights and choice and …(the commitment to promote) language diversity and multilingualism in education…" In corroboration, Rojas and Reagan (2003) posit that English, just like any language, is inevitably embedded in culture, and as such is critical for the expression of self.

Further, declaring English as the Language of Teaching and Learning (LOLT) promotes what Chick (2000) refers to as the English-only discourse. This state of affairs perpetuates the "black-is-not-good-enough" narrative and undermines diversity.

This section has shown that the enactment of the apartheid narratives of white excellence and black inferiority is highly contested. White schools remain amongst "the principal generators, justifiers and vehicles of racialized thoughts, actions and

identities…(rather than) new and diverse identities…" (Nkomo et al., 2004, p. 4). They are shown to promote an exclusive education agenda contrary to the country's ambition to build an inclusive, democratic society. Similarly, Pandor (2004) concedes that preparation of white schools for the admission of black learners was lost in the conceptualization of post-apartheid education. The focus, she admits, was primarily "…increased access to education for black children…to introduce quality to existing black education… [It was not anticipated] that black schools would lose pupils to distant white suburbs (hence) few practitioners … prepared themselves for the entry of black pupils" (p. 11). Hence the narrative of white excellence and black inferiority has continued well into the post apartheid era.

The following section presents and discusses the strategies used by black learners in predominantly white schools to negotiate the tensions inherent in their multiple worlds.

5.4 Black Learners' Strategies to Negotiate the Tensions and Contradictions Between Different Identity Narratives

Among the strategies used by black learners in predominantly white schools to negotiate the tensions and contradictions between the various self-narratives were the following: (1) blending in and fitting in, (2) black learner solidarity, (3) returning to black institutions, and (4) foregrounding and reconciling with blackness.

5.4.1 Blending in and Fitting in

In an environment which promotes whiteness as excellent or superior, black learners are forced to conform at school and to be as expected by family when home. Participant A reflected on this conflicted and contradicted existence as follows:

Extract 45:

A: It was a lot of adjustment, a lot of pressure to fit in and learn the new ways in terms of how you dress, how you speak, and how you carry

yourself. To conform…You almost have a dual existence: at school you are immersed and conforming; at home there are different expectations: you can't talk like that, through your nose.

Black learners in predominantly white schools are forced to fit into an environment that is hostile and lacks cultural congruence. The extract below shows this:

Extract 46:

D: We insisted on having a heritage day. We wore our traditional clothing …We wore *isigege* (short traditional skirt that shows off thighs and can also show buttocks) when we walked on stage white teachers were holding their mouths (sign of shock and disbelief).

Black African cultural traditions are not permitted. Instead, the school gives black learners no option but to adjust to the status quo:

Extract 47:

N: No matter, no matter what, you can never find your way. You … always have [to] try to change yourself in order to fit in with them.

At the same time, the learners face rebuke from the very same black community that values attending predominantly white schools, for being out of touch with their culture (being "coconuts").

Extract 48:

W: …[imitating significant others] "*Hhee yabona laba o lamthuthu lomfana thina emaplazini sibuthiwe* (these coconuts have lost a sense of what it means to be black/ African, in the rural areas we are regimented [meaning they have passed the test of being 'real' men or women)" When you are old you get excised [if you have not been to the initiation ceremonies marking the transition from childhood to adulthood].

The community that enrolls black learners in white schools gives them confusing and contradictory feedback when they acquire whiteness or become ‘coconuts’. Black learners find that conforming, or blending in, alienates them from who they are; it compromises them. As a result they deploy strategies to mitigate the pressure to fit in and blend in. Black co-learner solidarity is one of these strategies.

5.4.2 Black Co-learner Solidarity

Black learners associate with each other politically and socially to defy being positioned as inferior. Politically, they educate themselves and conscientise other black learners about being African. They campaign collectively to defy their positioning as inferior. The defiance campaign is aimed at exposing the futility of conforming to whiteness. Participant W articulates this strategy when he says:

Extract 49:

W: At my high school, everyone thought I’m being political whether it is in the classroom, playground, soccer field, [or] during sport. Whether it is outside, when I think it’s time for the alternative mindset… you were able to build …solidarity [among]… people of your race. They [black learners] felt you are taking them [whites] up ‘cos they [black learners] are scared; they are scared of victimization. And I’m like, what is there to be scared of? Black man is free! {shouting on top of his voice}. Let’s engage on these issues!

Black solidarity also entails providing leadership and articulation of the collective voice of resistance, where blackness is insulted, without fear.

Extract 50:

W: I remember at St X [Christian School] Mr K. [criticizing black political leadership]. I said: “I wanna take you on like the dog takes on a bone outside of this. Then everybody goes: Hhaaa! You don’t say that, that’s a principal! You know? They’ll be like, why did you bring this person to

learn here and I'm like, I have a job to do if I made you feel like that… you are like… I made you think like that, good! So that we can engage. I took on the hardest things.

Carter-Andrews (2009) reports on a similar level of engagement, where black learners take on "the role of race expert" (p. 310) in school in order to deal with white hegemony. Black learner solidarity is also expressed at social level. Instead of making friends indiscriminately across the colour line, as they did when their mission was to blend in and fit in, they decide to use their right to freedom of association by relating freely yet purposefully.

Extract 51:

MO: I only had black friends … It's people around me all the time … [People who] understand ghetto black.

However, black solidarity does not mean total exclusion of white learners as friends. Black learners establish friendships with white learners later on in life when they are mature.

Extract 52:

A: At University I made friends again there, but even there, there's still a little bit of dualism. With some friends you note that you are the only black. The integration is still one-sided. It's still you that go to their space … into their lives.

5.4.3 Return to Black Institutions

Black learners leave white schools and return to black institutions when they realize that whiteness is compromising their optimum development and collective expression.

Extract 53:

A: I found these two schools, one in Newcastle and one in Durban. They were the KZN legacy schools …they did well, they had 100% pass rates, they had better facilities than their township counterparts … [they were] well-disciplined, etc. So I applied.

The return to a black institution is motivated by the observation that the white institution is not as good as it is made out to be, at least for the black learners. The individualistic culture in white schools, which values individual merit at the expense of collective effort, compromises black learners' academic achievement and career development. Black learners figure out that they stand a better chance in good black institutions where collective effort is prized.

Predictably, participants did not feel the same about the merit of attending a black school vis-à-vis a white school. Participant A cast doubt on the hypothesis that good performance will follow by virtue of attending a predominantly black school. She reasoned as follows:

Extract 54:

A: Now I feel that it's not important that you attended a black school or a white school or a former model C or whatever. I think it's not important for who you want to become… Things just average out"

Be that as it may, the contradiction that amounts to black schools being good, and not good at the same time, points at the complexity that characterizes black learners' multiple existence, and it is on these grounds that this study foregrounds the idea of Ubuntu-as-dialogue, aimed at mutual recognition, as a possible solution to the dualistic approach favoured by Cartesian approaches to the self.

It has been shown that black learners use various strategies to negotiate the tensions and contradictions that arise, due to being positioned as inferior subjects in a predominantly white environment. It has been argued that it is the fluidity that characterizes the idea of

a self-in-dialogue with its surrounding environment, which was anticipated by the Ubuntu ideal that enables black learners to live in their to-and-fro black and white ideological environment, without essentially compromising who they are. In the section that follows, attention is paid to how black learners maintain this fluid self. In particular, the section looks at how the marginalized African (connected) self is given voice among the myriad voices that are struggling for recognition.

5.4.4 Foregrounding and Reconciling with Africanness

Maintaining this fluidity means negotiating the uneven power relations, tensions and contradictions involved in a multiple self. Through personal reflection and negotiation, they debunk how they are represented. Realizing that they are exposed to many narratives about who they are, and that the narrative of Africanness is devalued, they accept who they are and foreground this narrative, without casting the narratives that define others as inferior. In other words, they allow Africanness to come to the foreground and imbue it with agency, power, or voice (Bakhtin, 1981). An extract from an interview with Participant A, best captures this foregrounding.

Extract 55:

A: It's a black existence. You can't live outside your skin. It doesn't matter if you speak [English] so well, well-mannered mh …[It does not matter if you are] well meaning.

Participant W, cited earlier on, expressed a similar sentiment:

Extract 56:

W: What you see is what you get. I'm very black, I am African. Being proud of the soil, looking like the soil in *Xhosa uthi ndimdaka. When I say ndimdaka* I'm not saying I'm dirty, I'm saying I'm an African, I'm a symbiosis of what you see in this space. In English I feel I'm pretty much a well- grounded African. … There is a common unit standard or common denominator, a set of values that when you understand, you can

> appreciate the Diaspora, you can take it around the world, you can take it around that constituency but being comfortable amongst … around other races.

Having acquired their voice or "speaking consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1982, p. 434), black learners engage in dialogue to bring the African self to the foreground. This is a historically connected self, a self that is proudly rooted in the African soil, as Participant W (Extract 67) tells us. This is reminiscent of the Sankofa philosophy, espoused by African scholars. According to this philosophy, in order for Africans to find out who they are, and participate as equals in the world stage, it is important for them to go back to the source, their roots, and use them as a basis for self-definition going forward (Grills, 2004). This means that the multiple African self is also shaped by African culture and history; it is not dictated to from above (Grills, 2004; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Walker & Mungazi, 1995). At the same time, this self remains open to others' perspectives, which is commensurate with the philosophy of Ubuntu. According to this philosophy, one becomes a human being by participating in a community of other selves, and this involves recognizing the otherness of the other as fully human like oneself (Mkhize, 2004a). Open dialogue, and a willingness to be changed by the perspective of the other, is essential in order for the Ubuntu ideal to be realized (Manganyi, 1973).

Thus, having debunked the narrative of white superiority, black learners carve new identities. They do not abandon the "acquired" western lifestyle/ self, however. In as much as they make a point to challenge its normative power, the view that it is the universal narrative against which other narrative ought to be judged, they do resort to a western-based understanding of the self where this is deemed appropriate: the only difference being that they do so in their own terms -- the western narrative is imbued with their own voice. It is populated with their own intentions and ideals. This resonates with Bakhtin's theorizing. Noting the heteroglossic nature of experience, Bakhtin (1981) argued that the word is half someone else's (half-foregin), and half-one's own. Power is assumed when one "take[s] the word, [and] populate[s] it with [one's own] intention…, [when one] master[s] the word…[and] adapts it to [one's circumstance]"

(Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 293-294). Thus, contrary to the dominant narrative of whiteness that black learners in predominantly white institutions find themselves immersed in, they take this experience and turn the situation around by affirming who they are, from an African experience, without compromising the other.

5.5 Summary of Findings and Conclusion

The findings demonstrate that, by institutionalizing the black inadequacy and white excellence self-narratives, the schooling system continues to reproduce the white superiority and black inferiority apartheid selves. In this regard, legitimate key pillars of the education system, for instance the curriculum and co-curricular activities, teachers, families and communities, are used as instruments, as well as agents, for the perpetuation of the apartheid identity binary. However, findings also show that black learners create a space for the articulation of the other self-narratives, in order to contest the hegemony of the binary. As such they bring other self-narratives, such as non-racial, revolutionary and connected self-narratives, to contest the entrenched black inadequacy and white excellence self-narratives. They use various strategies, such as black learner solidarity, returning to black institutions, as well as foregrounding and reconciling with Africanness, in order to negotiate the uneven power relations, tensions and contradictions involved in a multiple self. This is done to bring the other self-narratives, particularly the marginalized connected self informed by the idea of Ubuntu, to the fore, and to allow for a space for these selves to dialogue, thus enabling a dialogic relationship between these entrenched voices and the voice of the marginalized.

I conclude that the non-racial framework fails to articulate the idea of multiple selves that is implied in the South African ideal of establishing an inclusive and equal society. Black learners carve other representations of the self outside of this framework. The framework they come up with, which I refer to as Ubuntu-as-dialogue, enables the articulation of multiple and dialogical selves through a process of continuous engagement, albeit with due regard for the historically marginalized selves.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The previous chapter presented the findings and highlighted the importance of adopting a framework that is commensurate with the idea of multiple selves in order to enable the articulation of the various selves that constitute the lived experiences of black African learners in predominantly white schools. It was also shown how African learners deploy marginalized African perspectives on self-understanding in order to foreground their strengths. This chapter summarizes the background and motivation of the study, the findings and conclusions that have been drawn from these findings. It captures the unique contribution of this study and highlights implications for policy, theory, research and practice thereof. Lastly, the study limitations and indications for further research are presented.

6.1 Background and Motivation

The purpose of this study was to investigate the various self-narratives at the black learners 'disposal and how they negotiate these in the midst of historical power dimensions that characterize the multiple selves they have inherited through intermingling with other cultures. The aim was to come up with a theoretical framework that enables the articulation of this multiplicity, given the preponderance of theories that perpetuate the 'white is excellent' and 'black is inferior' binary narrative.

The Cartesian theories posit that the self is not dependent on the body or on other people or on the community surrounding the individual; rather it is thought that determines the existence of the self (Burkitt, 1998; Christofidou, 2009; Hermans, 2001a; Sorell, 2001). This assumption, deemed to be universal, without recognition of other worldviews on the self, was the basis of the binary that was driven by the South African apartheid regime. This binary comprised the view that in all categories of human endeavor, whites are comparatively superior to blacks ('white excellence') while blacks are inferior in comparison to the latter ('black inferiority') (Mkhize, 2004b; Steyn, 2001). The apartheid education system was engineered to drive the binary, and thus black people's subordination to whites was perpetuated and justified (Duncan, Stevens, &

Bowman, 2004). Post apartheid, there is an assumption that the non-racial education system promotes equality, and that diversity and the multiple selves that have emerged by default, due to the intermingling of cultures, find articulation through this framework (Moletsane et al., 2004). I have argued that this framework is unable to support such a transformation, as it has failed to deal with the entrenched power dynamics between the black and white self-narratives. As such, the education system has maintained the binary, and the multiplicity of selves, particularly the African perspectives on self-understanding, continue to be marginalized post apartheid.

Other theoretical perspectives considered in this study to elucidate the multiplicity of selves such as the socio-cognitive and the Africentric approach to the self were found not to be adequate as far as the articulation of the dynamics between the unequal components of the multiple selves, is concerned. Though the socio-cognitive approach acknowledges the other, it advances a perceptual process that separates the self from the other, and thus provides the basis and justification for the binary of 'white excellence' and 'black inferiority'. Similarly, by using a centrist view to the self, the Africentric perspective on the self falls in to the same trap of advancing a separatist binary self. These perspectives fail to account for the connectedness and multiplicity of the self, a basic tenet of the African perspective on self-understanding. Having critiqued the Cartesian idea of the self, the socio-cognitive as well as the Africentric approaches to the self as inappropriate for understanding the predicament of black African learners in previously white schools, the idea of Ubuntu and the dialogical view of human functioning, were presented as alternatives. Ubuntu, is the basis for the African perspective on the self. The idea of Ubuntu is based on the understanding that one cannot attain selfhood apart from participation in an ethical community, that is, a community that upholds justice and reciprocity in human relationships. There is a dialectical relationship between the individual and the community. The individual contributes his or her talents in order to enrich the community. Similarly, the community contributes its collective resources and shared wisdom to nourish the individual. The boundary between the individual and the community is porous and this facilitates the ongoing communication between the two. It is owing to the permeability of the boundary between the individual and his or her surroundings that *umuntu* (the

human person) is considered to be in a continuous process of becoming, a process which begins with constant engagement with the other, so that the self and the other continuously influence each other (Manganyi, 1973; Mkhize, 2004b; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Ramose, 1999).

The dialogical account of human functioning as propounded by literary theorists such as Bakhtin (1981), just like the idea of Ubuntu which is the basis of an African view of the self, also advances a self that is multiple and is in constant dialogue with the other. However, although Ubuntu recognizes that there can be a disturbance or disequilibrium between different elements comprising the self, it does not emphasize the relationship of dominance or subordination. This is because Ubuntu, which is based on the understanding that the other ought to be recognized as an integral aspect of the self, what has been termed the complimentarity of opposites or diunital logic (Dixon, 1970), did not anticipate a worldview that is premised on the logic that the other, or nature in general, ought to be subordinated or subjugated. Hence Ubuntu seeks to promote harmony between the various components comprising the multiple selves within the person. Based on the view that opposites can co-exist in a relationship of harmony and balance, Ubuntu did not anticipate the narrative of white superiority that seeks to dominate other narratives, African perspectives on the self in particular. For this reason the author has turned to the dialogical view of human functioning as propounded by Bakhtin (1981) amongst others, in order to fully elucidate how the narratives of ‘white superiority’ and ‘black inferiority’ play themselves out within the schooling context in schools previously reserved for white learners only.

The dialogical view of human functioning accounts for how interaction or dialogue between various self-narratives unfolds amidst relations of power and dominance. This perspective has a built-in mechanism or machinery to wade through relationships where “actors continually alternate the roles of ‘power holder’ and ‘power subject’” (Hermans, 2004, p. 16). The study questions the assumed natural or taken-for-granted superiority of whiteness that manifests in various forms in predominantly white schools attended by black African learners in the post-apartheid era. Commensurate with the theorizing in the dialogical view of human functioning, I have drawn on both accounts of the self, to

argue that there is a need for a combined framework, comprising Ubuntu and dialogism, which I refer to as Ubuntu-as-dialogue, if the marginalized African perspectives on self-understanding as well as the multiplicity and tensions that characterize selves that continue to emerge due to the intermingling of cultures, are to be fully accounted for.

6.2 Findings and Conclusions

In order to summarize the study findings and draw conclusions, it is important to revisit the research questions and the methodological approach.

6.2.1 Research questions

The three main research questions that the study sought to address are the following:

1. What are the various self/identity narratives available to black learners in post-apartheid South Africa?
2. How are these identities reproduced, that is, under what circumstances are these self-narratives or identities evoked?
3. How do individuals negotiate the tensions and contradictions between these identity narratives?

6.2.2 Summary of Findings and Conclusions About Research Questions

The first research question sought to identify the various self-narratives available to black African learners attending predominantly white schools in the post apartheid era. Using the voice-centred relational methodology, it was established that participants identified five main identity or self-narratives: black deficiency, white excellence, black excellence, non-racial, counterhegemonic/revolutionary, ghetto or rebellious, connected and dialogically constituted self-narratives informed by Ubuntu. While the ‘black deficiency’ and ‘white excellence’ narratives are institutionalized by the school and promote black subjugation to whiteness, the rest of the narratives challenge and debunk white supremacy, create space for the articulation of multiple selves, particularly the

marginalized African view on the self. Although the various self-narratives have been sequenced linearly in the text, it is important to note that they co-exist within an individual and are characterized by multiple voices or points of view that are sometimes in agreement, but can also be conflicted and contradicted.

Moreover, given the power imbalances entrenched by the 'white superiority' and 'black inferiority' binary, some self-narratives and the voices that represent them within this multiplicity are suppressed. Ubuntu, the African perspective on the self, is one such self-narrative. Power imbalances notwithstanding, black African learners find a space to articulate and affirm their Africanness in a number of ways, amongst which is the use of African languages in white spaces. Faced with utterances that position them as inferior, black African learners seize the word, so to speak, and populate it with their own meaning and intent. In so doing they shift the power balance between the narrative of white excellence and the one of black inferiority. The use of African languages, for example, shows the limits of the white excellence discourse. The marginalized African self-narrative is imbued with a voice of its own and this enables it to participate as an equal partner with the other voices comprising the multiple selves (Bakhtin, 1981). This intervention enables self-narratives that make up the multiple selves to engage in perpetual dialogue as they alternate in gaining and losing power in dialogue. This challenges the institutionalized monologue of whiteness installed through the binary during apartheid, and perpetuated through non-racialism post apartheid.

With respect to the second research question, which looked at the circumstances under which the above-mentioned selves are reproduced or evoked, the analysis revealed that the various selves are reproduced largely by virtue of black learners being located in a white world represented by the school and the black world represented by their homes and communities. In this regard, three settings were found to be paramount in facilitating the enactment of the various selves: (1) transitioning from black communities to white schools and back, (2) school practices, and (3) the social setting including courtship scenes.

There is evidence that the ‘white excellence’ and ‘black inadequacy’ binary is enacted as black learners leave their communities to enrol in white schools which are considered academically superior as they supposedly offer a better education. Ironically, in the process of being educated, black learners are subjected to school practices, like having English as a language of teaching and learning and sporting activities that have a white bias. These practices deprive them of equal epistemological and socio-cultural access to the curriculum, thus positioning them as inferior and inadequate. The revolutionary self is enacted as they resist being positioned this way. Black African learners craft new identities that portray them as equal to their white counterparts, as depicted by the non-racial self-narrative. They also resort to narratives that position them as good if not better than their white counterparts, the black excellence narrative being one of the primary examples. The black excellence self-narrative finds expression when black learners find former white school practices unbearably discriminatory. Some of them deregister from these schools and return to black schools where they excel. Like the other settings the social scene also facilitates the enactment of the various self-narratives. While dating in primary school is largely across the colour bar, a characteristic of a non-racial self, in the higher grades as black learners face discrimination, they become more conscious who they socialize with or date in line with the revolutionary self.

While there is evidence that black learners internalize whiteness, there is also evidence that they debunk white excellence by showing that it co-exists with black excellence. The return to black schools that excel is one of the examples. The latter is also debunked as black learners claim that ultimately both systems have advantages and disadvantages. One can conclude that the various settings evoke multiple self-narratives that co-exist and yet contradict each other. The co-existence of contradictory narratives enacted as black learners transit from one context to the next demonstrates that, though schools are the primary agents of the binary, the apartheid narratives of white excellence and black inferiority are highly contested. It further demonstrates that although the black learner self-narratives are multiple, contradicted and fluid, this multiplicity and fluidity is challenged by the fact that the binary is institutionalized and given legitimacy through the schooling programme.

The third research question on how the black African learners negotiate the tensions and contradictions inherent in the multiple selves demonstrates how black learners deal with this challenge. Learners are shown to employ, inter alia the following strategies to articulate their multiple selves. They blend in and fit in and assimilate to whiteness. However, once their consciousness is aroused and they become aware that whiteness is being promoted by the school at their expense, they adopt the following strategies: black learner solidarity, return to black institutions, and foreground and reconcile with blackness. The first strategy of blending in and fitting in is adopted as black learners assimilate to whiteness to demonstrate that they are equal to whites and can do what whites do. For example, black learners attend white schools and participate in the same curriculum and co-curricular programmes. However, once they realize that the schooling programme has a white bias, that equality is a fallacy and that schools are deliberately promoting white excellence and black inadequacy, they adopt the black learner solidarity strategy. They act together as a collective to rebel against white superiority and black inadequacy by asserting a different self-narrative. Going back to black schools is part of this narrative where they not only challenge the white excellence narrative but they also demonstrate black excellence. Further, they use dialogic tools to articulate and bring to the fore the marginalized African connected self and to show the black inadequacy narrative as an imposed self-narrative. However, as they foreground the meaning of being a black African it becomes clear that their identities are multiple and have Western influences. Unlike the non-racial framework which promotes a monologue of whiteness, the framework they develop not only articulates this multiplicity, it also enables them to deal with the power dynamics, contradictions and tensions that characterize it. It enables black learners to express multiple selves that are contradicted and in perpetual dialogue with each other.

This framework, which I refer to as Ubuntu-as-dialogue, enables the articulation of multiple self-narratives by ensuring that all voices that reside within the self are provided with a platform to engage with other voices. This framework, which advances a dialogical view of the self, differs from the traditional western Cartesian accounts of the self, which regard the self as a pre-given thinking self that is separate from the other

(Hermans, 2001a). According to the latter, the goal of personhood is individuation; hence identity formation is construed as an internal construct that is not influenced by social and cultural factors (Mkhize, 2004b).

On the contrary, according to the dialogical view of the self, as well as the idea of Ubuntu, personhood is immersed in relationships. It is a never-ending process of becoming that is dependent on interaction with the other (Hermans, 2001a). As a framework, the idea of Ubuntu-as-dialogue enables the articulation of multiple selves, by providing specific tools to deal with the power dynamics inherent between the different selves within the person. For example, utterances imbue marginalized selves with voice, and dialogue provides a platform for an exchange between different voices and allows for a shift in power relations between these voices.

These worldviews are highlighted in the results, and underscore the dialogical and Ubuntu argument that personhood happens within a context and in relation to others. Understanding that personhood is not just an internal construct, but rather happens within a social and cultural context, is an important dimension particularly i**n a society like South Africa, where multiple selves have emerged by default through intermingling between unequal cultures. Such an approach enables us, when a person is speaking, to vigilantly ask questions such as** "Who is speaking? In other words, whose ideas are being ventriloquated in the person's speech? In what ways has the person made sense of these views for himself or herself (that is appropriated them?)" (Mkhize, 2004b, p. 68).

Responses to the questions posed in the paragraph above do not only provide an idea of the self-narrative that is being articulated, they also indicate the impact the uneven power dynamics have on the extent of articulation of that particular self, in relation to other selves within the multiple self. This understanding enabled the researcher to observe these dynamics in the study. For example, participants vacillated between the identity binary of 'white superiority' and 'black inferiority' (as depicted by the white excels and black is inadequate self-narratives) as well as a reversal of the binary represented by black excels and white is inadequate (as depicted by the black excellence

as well as the revolutionary self-narrative). However, participants also expressed contradicted and tension-filled multiple selves, where various selves co-existed in contradiction and in tension with one another within a person. The voices representing these selves engaged dialogically with one another, with participants emphasizing one voice over another, depending on the self that was being foregrounded at any given time. At other times, the participants allowed a number of voices, including diametrically opposed voices, to co-exist as they embraced all at the same time. This is in support of the dialogical and African view of the self, that the self is influenced by the other, is constructed within a social and cultural context, is multivocal and sometimes contradictory (Hermans, 2004; Mkhize, 2004b).

Notions such as Ubuntu and dialogue are not bound by solid or impermeable walls; hence they allow different voices, marginalized as well as diametrically opposed voices, to co-exist within the self to form contradicted multiple selves. In the South African case, where there has been intermingling of unequal cultures, it is important to have such a framework in that not only does it recognize the multiplicity of selves residing within a single person, it also enables the articulation thereof, by paying specific attention to the marginalized selves, for instance perspectives that are premised on Ubuntu.

6.3 Unique Contribution of the Study

The study contributes to our understanding of self-narratives that are at the disposal of black learners who attend predominantly white schools. The participants' formulation of a framework that articulates a contradicted multiplicity of their existence, while redressing Ubuntu, broadens our understanding of how selves are reproduced by the schooling system post apartheid. This study is the first in South Africa to empirically show this account of the self and how it is produced at a micro level outside of the binary or either/ or arguments.

The study also highlighted the significance of transitions from one context to another, as an important factor in bringing about a particular self to the fore. Transitions are

therefore critical factors in identity formation as they force the narrator to come to terms with an aspect of the self that was previously not salient. In other words, transitions enable the narrator to revise their ways of seeing the world, including who they are. In this study transitions enabled the black learners to come to terms with the various dimensions of their selves, negotiate the tensions and contradictions that characterize these and thus articulate their multiplicity.

The study's unique contribution also lies in its use of the notion of Ubuntu and the idea of the dialogical account of human functioning, as propounded by Bakhtin (1981), Mkhize (2004b) and Manganyi (1973) amongst others, as theoretical frameworks to make sense of the lifeworlds of black learners in predominantly white schools. The study is the first to use a combination of the above-mentioned theoretical frameworks to account for the contradictions and tensions involved in the identity development of black learners in predominantly white schools. These theoretical frameworks make it possible to avoid the antinomy of whiteness versus blackness, or individualism versus collectivism, that characterizes some of the literature on self-understanding. Using the tools availed by these theoretical frameworks, the study has shown that black learners are not passive victims of the 'white excellence' narrative that prevails in formerly whites only schools. The study has shown how black learners deploy various strategies to counter the narrative of white excellence, thus assuming the position of power holder. In the South African context, the study is the first to empirically demonstrate and highlight periods of transition (e.g. from black schools/communities to white schools and vice versa) as critical moments for the identity challenges to come to the fore. These findings has implications for programme development and intervention.

6.4 Implications for Policy, Research and Practice

The results of this study have research and education policy implications. The study has implications particularly for identity development of black learners, implied but not fully addressed in the implementation of a non-racial and inclusive education system in South Africa. Research work on identity development requires the researcher to engage with the lived experiences of participants and to understand this phenomenon within

their worldviews and direct experience. Studies conducted thus far have tended not to engage at this level. Instead they use established theories on identity formation to explain what they observe. In corroboration Sneed, Schwartz, and Cross (2006, p. 64) claim that the latter approach results in "identity status research (that) is not as culturally relevant as it should be based on its theoretical origins".

Such an approach tends to use the established Cartesian theories of the self, as well as those that are diametrically opposed to it as alternative views to debunk the former. As a result, this approach gets trapped within the binary or "either/ or" arguments (Moletsane et al., 2004; Shockley, 2003). Those who manage to escape the binary arguments, to show that identity formation is multiple and contested, often fail to acknowledge the traditional African conceptions of the self, as part of this multiplicity (Makubalo, 2006). Such silence further marginalizes this perspective and consequently it is left unaccounted for in theorizing about the identity development of black learners in predominantly white schools. All these approaches fail to grasp the complexity of the multiplicity of the self that black learners manifest with. This as seen in this study includes struggling for redressing the African self whilst embracing contradictions and tensions that characterize their multiple existence. This has a number of policy implications for the schooling system. The implications for (1) racial violence prevention in schools, (2) language and teaching policy, (3) the curriculum (4) training of teachers, are discussed below.

6.4.1 Implications for Racial Violence Prevention in Schools

The results of this study could also have research and policy implications for the sporadic racial and violent incidents that have come to be a feature at predominantly white schools post 1994. For example, the case of Andrew Babeile, a black learner at Vryburg High School who stabbed a white fellow learner with a pair of scissors (http://www.ijr.org.za/art_prs/art45.html) was widely reported in 1999. Since then there have been several similar incidents, including the recent incidents at the University of the Free State, where white students beat up a black student. These cases could be conceived of as an indication of white supremacy being threatened by the presence of a

black body (Cooper, 2013). In support of this argument, Jansen (1999) equates access to white schools by black learners as accessing anti-cultural institutions that have preconceived ideas of what good education is. Conceived this way, Jansen's argument implies that, contrary to the commitment to diversity, the non-racial education system promotes the binary of 'white superiority' and 'black inferiority'. As such, it is a demonstration of the unpreparedness of the schooling system to deal with diversity.

6.4.2 Implications for the Language Policy

At the level of policy, therefore, it is important to engage with language policies, including the language of teaching and learning (LOLT) policy, to ensure that black learners are not marginalized by the linguistic practices in white schools. Currently, tentative developments are being made by the Department of Basic Education to include African languages into the curriculum at the primary school level. That African learners have to be taught their indigenous languages as third languages is not only a travesty of justice, it amounts to a mockery of the whole educational system. Teachers that teach in multi-racial schools should also be required to be conversant with the learner's mother tongue, at least the dominant language spoken by African learners in that region, in order to ensure efficient schooling.

6.4.3 Implications for the Curriculum

The curriculum should be transformed in a manner that takes into cognizance historical imbalances and includes the cultural and experiential realities of African learners. The education department should ensure that black learners have equal access to gateway subjects such as Maths that were made a white preserve in the past. Co-curricular activities should be diversified taking into cognizance black learners' backgrounds and cultural capital. Inclusion of indigenous games in the co-curricular repertoire for example ensures that black learners are not limited to activities that have a white bias like surfing. The history lesson, which has been found to be poignant in promoting black inadequacy, for example the inclination in some schools to portray some leaders

that are of iconic significance in black history, such as King Shaka Zulu, as barbaric savages, should be used to highlight the South African heritage without favour or bias.

6.4.4 Implications for Teacher Training

Teachers have been shown not to have the drive and skills to manage diversity in schools. As such they become inadvertent agents of the 'black deficiency' and 'white superiority' narrative. This occurs, for example, when they discourage black learners from taking Maths and give more attention to and affirm white learners whilst they give derogatory labels to black learners. There is a need to ensure that diversity management and inclusive practices are mandatory for all educators who go through pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes.

6.5 Implications for Theory

Implications of this study for theory are about the way psychology theorizes about the self in general, and how this impacts on educational theory and practice. Traditional psychological theories on the self are based on the western Cartesian view of the self. The assumption that this perspective, which advances a self which is separate from the other is universal, is inappropriate in a cultural setting such as South Africa, whose large black population is predominantly communal in its orientation.

The dualism commensurate with the Cartesian view of the self, which gave rise to the entrenchment of 'white superiority' and 'black inferiority' in South Africa, is deeply rooted. This has infiltrated the non-racial dispensation in the post-apartheid era. This I argue is because psychology has failed to take cognizance of indigenous and localized knowledge systems, and thus address the fundamental difference between these and the western conceptualizations of the self (Mkhize, 2004b). Psychology needs to consider not only the indigenous and localized knowledge systems of the self but also, critically, to consider how indigenous people make sense of the self, given their day-to-day experiences within a diverse cultural milieu.

This omission is evidenced in a number of studies which draw a correlation between black learners' conception of self and their academic performance. For instance, in a study conducted by Bandura (1993) black learners were found to underperform academically because they have a low sense of self-efficacy. Such studies ignore the fact that the education system is engineered so that it positions black learners within a binary of 'white superiority' and 'black inferiority'. By relying heavily on the western forms of knowledge, particularly Cartesian theorizing about the self, psychology is used to justify the othering of blacks through the academic programme (Dei, 1996).

The situation is the same in South Africa where psychology disregarded indigenous knowledge systems and was used to drive and justify black academic underperformance, on the basis of their supposedly inferior intellectual capacity (Louw, 1987). I argue that inclusion of indigenous knowledge systems regarding the self will not only broaden our understanding of the psychological processes at play in identity formation, in communities characterized by intermingling of unequal cultures, it may also deal with the differentials in academic performance between black and white learners. As such it may also inform and assist with the conceptualization and implementation of educational theory, such as inclusive education that is premised on equality for all, irrespective of differences. Inclusive education theory should therefore begin with interrogating how to include marginalized indigenous knowledge systems, thus, as argued by Dei (1996, p. 176), creating a space for "alternative, and sometimes oppositional, paradigms to flourish in the schools".

I argue that an appropriate framework for driving this shift is the Ubuntu perspective. This framework incorporates the understanding that the development of a sense of self or identity does not take place in isolation; it occurs against the background of the social and surrounding environment in which the person finds himself or herself. Hence the saying *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. The saying means that a person becomes a fully-fledged person—an ethical-moral self—by virtue of participation in a community of other selves. Characteristics of Ubuntu, incorporating the idea of multiple selves, and the process view of the self (a fluid self characterized by becoming), resonate with the

dialogic view of human functioning propounded by Bakhtin (1981, 1984). This also finds support in Manganyi (1973), who has stressed the idea of dialogue in understanding psychology from an African perspective. The above-mentioned theoretical orientations enable us to make sense of the dilemmas of black learners who find themselves in societies that are in flux. Approaches that go beyond either-or theorizing (e.g. the individual-society antinomy) are important as they provide a platform for understanding the complexity of the processes involved in the negotiation of the self, in such contexts. Self-narratives do not develop in isolation: they are influenced, not only by the groups to which participants belong, in a racial or ethical sense, but they are also influenced simultaneously by a combination of factors --for example, how individuals have been positioned by history, and how day-to-day interactions with the other influence how they view the self.

This multiple engagement, as well as multiple influences, are manifest with tension and contradictions, as the various selves and concomitant worldviews intersect. Participants manoeuvred this tapestry of selves and voices, not only by adopting those they identified with, but also by using the various selves and voices as a platform or framework, which allowed these very selves and voices to engage with individuals vacillating between voices, and sometimes ending with two contradictory voices sitting side by side with each other. These results support the view advanced by Bakhtin (1981) of polyphony and multivocality. As mentioned earlier, this framework provides a platform for the multiple and sometimes contradictory selves to co-exist, and by implication it allows for different and even diametrically opposed worldviews to co-exist and dialogue with one another.

6.6 Limitations and Criticisms

The sample was made up of participants of varying age groups who attended predominantly white public schools in different time periods. These two factors may have influenced data given that the participants span different schooling histories. The demographics of the schools have changed over time and this may have impacted on the learners' experiences. Research that explicity compares the experiences of black

learners in predominantly white schools during the first and second decades of democracy in South Africa will yield interesting findings. The research will shed insight into the historical trends as black learners beome a majority in historically white government schools.

The research was conducted in predominantly English-speaking white schools. Further research with a sample that attended Afrikaans-speaking predominantly white schools should be conducted, in order to determine whether the multiple yet contradicted and tension-filled self thesis will stand. Such studies would show that the multiple yet contradicted and tension-filled self thesis arises as black learners negotiate self-narratives within a schooling system that promotes the oppressive white superiority and black inferiority binary, rather than just by coincidence in English-speaking predominantly white schools.

Another limitation of the study, which is related to the above, is that it was conducted in KwaZulu-Natal, a province that is predominantly occupied by IsiZulu-speaking South Africans. As such the findings may not be generalizable to other provinces that are made up of black people who speak other African languages and have cultural practices that may be similar to or different from the ones practised by the IsiZulu-speaking people of KwaZulu-Natal.

The study also relied on qualitative, purposeful sampling as its primary purpose was to understand the lived experiences of black African learners in predominantly white schools. This means that the study findings are not generalizable, in a statistical sense, to the whole population of learners attending such schools, even in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Further, although the study had some of the participants that studied during and post apartheid era, it did not emphasize the difference between these two groups in the findings. It might thus be important to have other studies that will take on a longitudinal perspective across the generations of learners that have attended such schools.

The language in which the interviews were conducted could also be another limitation. Though the interviews and focus groups were conducted in English, and participants were at liberty to choose to respond in a language they felt comfortable in, most participants chose English. Though they were mostly fluent in this language, they found that there were concepts that could only be expressed in their vernacular. The translation of these into English for the results, and the discussion thereof, may have compromised the original meaning of these concepts, given that the ideas embodied in language are more often than not pertinent to that particular language, so meaning may get lost as concepts are translated to another language (Nkoala, 2013). Where this is the case, the author made an effort to retain the original isiZulu words while offering a translation in brackets.

In order to avoid this, the researcher has highlighted for the reader where there is direct translation, and referred, through footnotes, the reader, particularly of the target language, to additional resource material for in-depth information on particular concepts. In a multi-cultural society such as South Africa, with a history of separation, such accommodations /adjustments are unavoidable. On the other hand they also indicate how dichotomized black and white cultures are, in terms of mutual understanding of the one by the other, post apartheid (Mkhize, 2004b).

Finally, is the issue of researcher reflexivity or positionality. It is clear throughout the study that the author is not neutral. As an African woman who attended schooling during the apartheid era, and has children in predominantly white schools, the author was not a neutral participant. Although I tried to reflect on how my position was affecting my interpretations, this is not entirely possible hence my own biases may have come through. It is therefore up to others to interrogate these biases.

6.7 Indications for Further Research

The existence of contradicted multiple selves within a single person indicates the need to understand the relationship between the voices that comprise our complex identities. Further studies should look at questions such as: at what point do voices alternate? How

do people keep two or more contradicted and unequal voices in dialogue with one another? Although Bakhtin (1981) and Hermans (2004) discuss these issues, they do so broadly, at a theoretical level. Empirical studies need to be conducted to establish the dynamic relationship between the different voices at a more practical level. I have argued that, despite the contradictions between the various voices that make up the multiple selves, co-existence of selves is possible, because people make use of dialogic tools to enable the different selves to emerge. I further argued that this requires empowering the marginalized voice, for example those voices that represent the marginalized connected self, in order for it to engage with the other voices. In the same vein, we could have a deeper analysis of the level or the threshold at which the marginalized connected self finds articulation. In other words, rather than posing questions about the self-narratives available to black learners post apartheid, we could direct research to investigate in depth how the marginalized self becomes empowered. We could then ask questions such as: once the marginalized self is empowered, at what point does it engage with the other selves, and how does it engage them? This is based on the observation that the contradictions were more pronounced where the marginalized self was seen to be co-existing with a self that is regarded as diametrically opposed to it (for example, where black learners appeared to be both African as well as westernized).

Such an approach to the identity formation of black learners in predominantly white schools would clarify how the marginalized Ubuntu perspective finds articulation through dialogic tools, yet remains open to being influenced by the other, in an un-oppressive way in a never ending process of becoming. This open and dialogic self is what South African researchers, educationists and psychologists need to interrogate in depth, and concern themselves with, in order to avoid the inadvertent perpetuation of white supremacy through the schooling system post apartheid.

Given that the binary of ‘white superiority’ and ‘black inferiority’ was instituted through national policy in the whole country during apartheid, further studies may need to be conducted to determine if what I have labelled the connected African self, which is

found to be part of the multiple yet contradicted self, is a common feature in all provinces that make up South Africa.

Future quantitative studies or studies using a mixed methods approach, could also be conducted to establish the generalizability of the findings across the population. Cross-sectional surveys and longitudinal studies could be conducted, building on the results of the current study. Apart from the quantitative studies, further qualitative studies similar to the current study could also be conducted to explore how white learners have experienced being in mixed race classrooms with black African learners. Studies involving the parents of both white and black learners, as well as teachers and Department of Education officials could also shed some light on how the South African society in general has experienced mixed race schooling since the abolition of apartheid. These studies will feed into policy and educational planning.

6.8 Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to investigate the Black African learners' experiences of being in predominantly white institutions. The primary focus was to understand the self-narratives available to black African learners attending these schools, how these narratives are evoked, and how black African learners reconcile the tensions between the different, sometimes contradictory, narratives. The results of the study show that the schooling system continues to entrench the 'white superiority' and 'black inferiority' identity binary that was the primary defining feature of apartheid. This is despite the non-racial framework that has been installed as an inclusive education system is being implemented to replace the segregationist apartheid education system. The study shows that irrespective of the institutionalized binary, black learners are not passive recipients of this dispensation. They develop a framework, referred to as Ubuntu-as-dialogue in this study, not only to challenge being depicted as inadequate and inferior but also to assert their multiple self-narratives in their own terms. This framework enables them to articulate multiple selves that though grounded in Ubuntu, the African view of the self, also has western influences. Multiple selves are fluid and characterized by tensions and contradictions, a direct contrast to the entrenched binary that is based on the 'either or'

arguments typical of Cartesian thinking. The study demonstrates that the non-racial framework is not commensurate with the goals of an inclusive education system, given its failure to articulate and facilitate multiple and diverse selves.

This study recommends that Ubuntu-as-dialogue be institutionalized as a framework for research, policy and practice that pertains to identity formation of black learners. It is also the view of the author that this framework should also inform the conceptualization and implementation of inclusive education and all other programs that are commensurate with this ideal.

REFERENCES

Abagond, J. (2011). The 'not all whites' argument. Retrieved from http://abagond.wordpress.com/2011/12/17/the-not-all-whites-argument/.

Adams, T. A. (2005). Establishing intellectual space for black students in predominantly white universities through black studies. *Negro Educational Review,56*(4), 285-299.

Adiche, C. N. (2012, March-April). Only a single story of Africa is told by the media- a story of failure, famine and conflict. *Business Comment,* 96-98.

Akom, A. (2008). Black metropolis and mental life: Beyond the "burden of 'acting white'" toward a third wave of critical racial studies. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 39*(3), 247-265.

Alter, A. L., & Darley, J. M. (2009). When the association between appearance and outcome contaminates social judgment: A bidirectional model linking group homogeneity and collective treatment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97*(5), 776-795.

Anderson, J. (1983). *The architecture of cognition*.Cambridge, MA:Harvard University Press.

Appelbaum, P. S., Lidz, C. W., & Klitzman, R. (2009). Voluntariness of consent to research: A conceptual model. *Hastings Center Report, 39*(1), 30-39.

Asante, M. K. (1980). *Afrocentricity*. Buffalo, NY: Amulefi Publishing Company.

Asante, M. K. (1988). *The Afrocentric idea.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1982). *The dialogic imagination* (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1986). The problem of speech genres. In C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Eds.), *M M. Bakhtin: Speech genres and other late essays* (pp. 60-102) (V. W. McGee, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. (Ed.). (1984). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogical imagination: Four essays by MM Bakhtin*. (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bamberg, M. (2011). *Narrative practice and identity navigation*. London: Sage.

Bandlamudi, L. (1994). Dialogics of understanding self/culture. *Ethos, 22*(4), 460-493.

Bandura, A. (1993). Perceived self-efficacy in cognitive development and functioning. *Educational Psychologist, 28*(2), 117-148.

Bearman, P., & Hedström, P. (2009). *Self-fulfilling prophecies. The Oxford handbook of analytical sociology.*Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bell, M., & Gardiner, M. E. (1998). *Bakhtin and the human sciences: No last words.* London:Sage.

Berger, R. J., & Quinney, R. (2005). *Storytelling sociology: Narrative as social inquiry.* USA:Lynne Rienner Publishers Boulder, CO.

Bhatia, S. (2011). Narrative inquiry as cultural psychology: Meaning-making in a contested global world. *Narrative Inquiry, 21*(2), 345-352.

Biko, S. (1978). *I write what I like: A selection of his writings.* South Africa: Picador Africa.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C., & Kagee, A. . (2006). *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective* (4th ed.). Wetton, Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd.

Bowe, G. (2009). Knowing and teaching elementary language arts: A math lesson for English teachers. *Western Journal of Black Studies, 33*(4), 259-276.

Brikci, N., & Green, J. (2007). *A guide to using qualitative research methodology*. London: Medecins Sans Frontieres.

Brookins, C. C. (1984). *A descriptive analysis of ten independent Black educational models.* Michigan State University: Department of Psychology.

Brown, L. M. (1989). Reading for self and moral voice: A method for interpreting narratives of real-life moral conflict and choice. In M.J. Packer & R. B. Addison (Eds.), *Entering the circle: Hermeneutic investigations in psychology* (pp. 141-164). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Brown, L. M. (1994). Standing in the crossfire: A response to Tavris, Gremmen, Lykes, Davis, and Contratto. *Feminism & Psychology, 4*, 382-398.

Brown, L. M., Debold, E., Tappan, M., & Gilligan, C. (1991). Reading narratives of conflict and choice for self and moral voices: A relational method. In W. M. Kurtines & J.L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Handbook of moral behavior and development.* (pp. 25-61). New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Brown, L. M., & Gilligan, C. (1991). Listening for voice in narratives of relationship. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 54*, 43-62.

Brown, L. M., & Gilligan, C. (1992). *Meeting at the crossroads: Women's psychology and girls' development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1990). *Acts of meaning.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1996). *The culture of education*. United States of America: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data.

Bruner, J. S. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burkitt, I. (1998). Bodies of knowledge: Beyond cartesian views of persons, selves and mind. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 28*(1), 63-82.

Butler, S. K., Shillingford, M. A., & Alexander-Snow, M. (2011). African American male students and the achievement gap: Building a successful student/citizen. *Interamerican Journal of Psychology, 45*(2), 177-183.

Camic, P. M., Rhodes, J. E., & Yardley, L. E. (2003). *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design.*Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Carter-Andrews, D. J. (2009). The construction of black high-achiever identities in a predominantly white high school. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 40*(3), 297-317.

Carter, D. J. (2005). Achievement as resistance: The development of a critical race achievement ideology among black achievers. *Harvard Educational Review, 78*(3), 466-569.

Carter, D. J. (2007). Why the black kids sit together at the stairs: The role of identity-affirming counter-spaces in a predominantly White high school. *The Journal of Negro Education, 76*(4), 542-554.

Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (2011). Assessing ‘good’qualitative research in the work psychology field: A narrative analysis. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 84*(4), 633-650.

Chavous, T. (2002). African American college students in predominantly white institutions of higher education: Considerations of race and gender. *African American Research Perspectives, 8*(1), 142-150.

Chick, K. (2000). *Constructing a multicultural national identity: South African classrooms as sites of struggle between competing discourses*. South Africa: University of Natal.

Chiroro, P. M., Tredoux, C. G., Radaelli, S., & Meissner, C. A. (2008). Recognizing faces across continents: The effect of within-race variations on the own-race bias in face recognition. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 15*(6), 1089-1092.

Cho, J., & Trent, A. (2006). Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative Research, 6*(3), 319-340.

Christofidou, A. (2009). Self and self consciousness: Aristotelian ontology and Cartesian duality. *Philosophical Investigations, 32*(2), 134-162.

Clark, N. L., & Worger, W. H. (2004). *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*: *seminar studies in history*. London: Longman.

Cloutier, J., Mason, M. F., & Macrae, C. N. (2005). The perceptual determinants of person construal: reopening the social-cognitive toolbox. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*(6), 885-894.

Cokley, K. O. (2003). What do we know about the motivation of African American students? Challenging the" anti-intellectual" myth. *Harvard Educational Review, 73*(4), 524-558.

Coleman, B. (2007). *Successful White teachers of Black students: Teaching across racial lines in urban middle school science classroom* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Massachusetts, USA.

Cooper, B. (2013). White supremacy meet black rage. How does black life come to have value in a white supremacist system, where the rules only apply to us? Retrieved fromhttp://www.salon.com/2013/07/14/white_supremacy_meet_black_rage/

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd Ed.). London: Thousand Oaks.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice, 39*(3), 124-130.

Daiute, C., & Lightfoot, C. (2004). *Narrative analysis: Studying the development of individuals in society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dawson, M. (2003). *Changing contexts: shifting identities: Identity formation through eyes of learners at a South African high school.* Paper presented at the Wiser Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

De Klerk, V. (2002). Language issues in our schools: Whose voice counts? Part 1: The parents speak: Many languages in education: issues of implementation. *Perspectives in Education: Many Languages in Education: Special Issue*, 1(20), 1-14.

De Klerk, V., & Gough, D. (2002). *18 Black South African English language in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dei, G. J. S. (1996). The Role of Afrocentricity in the inclusive curriculum in Canadian schools. *Canadian Journal Of Education, 21*(2), 170-186.

Dei, G. J. S., Mazzuca, J., McIsaac, E., & Zine, J.(1997). *Reconstructing drop-out: a critical ethnography of the dynamics of Black students' disengagement from school*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3 ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., & Smith, L. T. (2008). *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*. London: Sage.

DePalma, R. (2008). "The voice of every Black person"?: Bringing authentic minority voices into the multicultural dialogue. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 24*(3), 767-778.

Dixon, A. (2004). Space, schools and the younger child. *Forum, 46* (1)19-23.

Dixon, V. J. (1970). The di-unital approach to" black economics". *The American Economic Review*, *60*(2), 424-429.

Dolby, N. (2001). White fright: The politics of white youth identity in South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 22*(1), 5-17.

Doucet, A., & Mauthner, N. (2008, January). *Voice, reflexivity, and relationships in qualitative data analysis*: *Background paper for workshop on'Voice in qualitative data analysis: A neglected area*?" Paper retrieved from http://www.coe.uga.edu/quig/doucet mauthner.html.

Doughty, J. J. (1973). *A historical analysis of black education: Focusing on the contemporary independent black school movement* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Ohio State University, Colombus.

Duncan, N., Stevens, G., & Bowman, B. (2004). South African psychology and racism: Historical determinants and future prospects. In D. Hook, N. Mkhize, P. Kiguwa, & A. Collins (Eds.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 360-388). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Earick, M. E. (2010). Ideology, race, and education. *International Critical Childhood Policy Studies, 3*(1), 74-107.

Emde, R. N. (1994). Individuality, context, and the search for meaning. *Child Development, 65*(3), 719-737.

Erasmus, P., & Ferreira, G. (2002). Black Grade 9 learners in historically white suburban schools and their experience of integration. *South African Journal of Education, 22*(1), 28-35.

Fanon, F. (1986). *Black skin, white masks*. London: Pluto Press.

Ferguson, R. (1998). *Can schools narrow the black-white test score gap*? Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Fleming, J. (1984). *Blacks in college: A comparative study of students' success in black and white institutions*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Flores, J., & Garcia, S. (2009). Latina testimonios: a reflexive, critical analysis of a 'Latina space'at a predominantly white campus. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 12*(2), 155-172.

Fordham, S. (1988). Racelessness as a factor in black students' school success: Pragmatic strategy or pyrrhic victory? *Harvard Educational Review, 58*(1), 54-85.

Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the 'burden of 'acting white'. *The Urban Review, 18*(3), 176-206.

Fries-Britt, S. (2004). The challenges and needs of high-achieving black college students. In N. C. Brown II & K. Freeman (Eds.), *Black colleges: New perspectives on policy and practice* (pp. 161-176). New York: Praeger.

Furnham, A., & Mkhize, N. (2003). Zulu mothers' beliefs about their own and their children's intelligence. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 143*(1), 83-94.

Gergen, K. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. London: Sage.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C., Brown, L. M., & Rogers, A. G. (1990). *Psyche embedded: A place for body, relationships, and culture in personality theory*. New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Goduka, I. (1998). Linguistic and cultural diversity implications for iearning, educating and eurricular transformation. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 12*(1), 34-43.

Goduka, M. I. (1999). *Affirming unity in diversity in education: Healing with Ubuntu*. Cape Town: Juta and Company LTD.

Goodman, D., Walling, S. M., & Ghali, A. (2009). Psychology in pursuit of justice: The lives and works of Emmanuel Levinas and Ignacio Martin-Baro. *Pastoral Psychology, 59*, 585-603.

Graham, A., & Anderson, K. A. (2008). "I have to be three steps ahead": Academically gifted African-American male students in an urban high school on the tension between an ethnic and academic identity. *The Urban Review, 40*(5), 472-499.

Graham, C., Baker, R. W., & Wapner, S. (1985). Prior interracial experience and black student transition into predominantly white colleges. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47*(5), 1146-1154.

Graneheim, U. H., & Lundman, B. (2004). Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: Concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today, 24*(2), 105-112.

Grant-Vallone, E., Reid, K., Umali, C., & Pohlert, E. (2003). An analysis of the effects of self-esteem, social support, and participation in student support services on students'adjustment and commitment to college. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory and Practice, 5*(3), 255-274.

Grills, C. T. (2004). African psychology. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), *Black psychology* (4th ed.) (pp 171-208). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2009). *Analyzing narrative reality*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Harris, A. L., & Marsh, K. (2010). Is a raceless identity an effective strategy for academic success among blacks? *Social Science Quarterly, 91*(5), 1242-1263.

Heaven, P. C., & Bester, C. (2001). Alienation and its psychological correlates. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 126*(5), 593-598.

Hennink, M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2011). *Qualitative research methods*. London: Sage.

Hermans, H. (1992). Telling and retelling one's self-narrative: A contextual approach to life-span development. *Human Development, 35*(6), 361-375.

Hermans, H., Dimaggio, G., Hevern, V. W., & Valsiner, J. (2007). Developmental origins of the dialogical self. *International Journal for Dialogical Science, 2*(1), 31-61.

Hermans, H. J. (1996a). Opposites in a dialogical self: Constructs as characters. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology, 9*(1), 1-26.

Hermans, H. J. (1996b). Voicing the self: From information processing to dialogical interchange. *Psychological Bulletin, 119*(1), 31-50.

Hermans, H. J. (2001a). The dialogical self: Toward a theory of personal and cultural positioning. *Culture and Psychology, 7*(3), 243-281.

Hermans, H. J. (2001b). Mixing and moving cultures require a dialogical self. *Human Development, 44*(1), 24-28.

Hermans, H. J. (2004). The dialogical self: Between exchange and power. In H.J.M. Hermans & G. Dimaggio (Eds.), *The dialogical self in psychotherapy* (pp. 13 – 28). East Sussex: Brunner-Routledge.

Hermans, H. J., & Dimaggio, G. (2007). Self, identity, and globalization in times of uncertainty: A dialogical analysis. *Review of General Psychology, 11*(1), 31-61.

Hermans, H. J., & Kempen, H. J. (1993). *The dialogical self: Meaning as movement.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Hermans, H. J., & Kempen, H. J. (1998). Moving cultures: The perilous problems of cultural dichotomies in a globalizing society. *American Psychologist, 53*(10), 1111-1120.

Hermans, H. J., Kempen, H. J., & Van Loon, R. J. (1992). The dialogical self: Beyond individualism and rationalism. *American Psychologist, 47*(1), 23-43.

Hermans, H. J. M. (2011). *The dialogical self: A process of positioning in space and time.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Herrnstein, R. J., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Hill, K. (2004). Networked learning communities and out of school hours learning: Two portraits. *Forum, 46* (1), 7-8.

Hilliard, A. (1997). *The re-awakening of the African mind*. Gainesville, Florida: Makare Publishing Company.

Hlongwane, S. (March 2012). You're black eat our spit: Racist bullying has raised its head at yet another educational institution-this time at a secondary school in KwaZulu-Natal. *Drum,* 18-19.

Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Levin, D. T., & Banaji, M. R. (2011). Evidence for hypodescent and racial hierarchy in the categorization and perception of biracial individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 100*(3), 492-506.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2008). *Handbook of constructionist research.* New York: Guilford Press.

Hook, D. (2004a). Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko, 'psychopolitics' and critical psychology. In D. Hook, N. Mkhize, P. Kiguwa, & A. Collins (Eds.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 84-113). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Hook, D. (2004b). Fanon and the psychoanalysis of racism. In D. Hook, N. Mkhize, P. Kiguwa, & A. Collins (Eds.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 115-138). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Horne, M. (2004). Breaking down the school walls. *Forum, 46* (1) 6-19.

Hoskins, T. K. (2012). A fine risk: Ethics in Kaupapa Maori politics. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 47*(2), 85-99.

Howard, G. S. (1991). Culture tales: A narrative approach to thinking, cross-cultural psychology, and psychotherapy. *American Psychologist, 46*(3), 187-197.

Hurst, E. (2010, April). *Tsotsitaal as performed discursive identity: The impact of the social context on a 'stylect.'* Paper presented at the Conference of the German Association for African Studies (VAD), Johannes Gutenberg University: Mainz.

Jacklin, H. (2004). *Repetition and difference: A rhythym analysis of pedagogic practice* (Unpublished Doctoral thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Jansen, J. D. (1999). The school curriculum since apartheid: Intersections of politics and policy in the South African transition. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 31*(1), 57-67.

Johnson-Bailey, J. (2002). Race matters: The unspoken variable in the teaching earning transaction. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education,93*, 39-50.

Jost, K. (2004). School desegregation: How can the promise of equal education be fulfilled? *Congressional Quarterly Researcher,14*(15), 345-372.

JuujÄRvi, S. (2006). The ethic of care development: A longitudinal study of moral reasoning among practical nursing, social work and law enforcement students. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 47*(3), 193-202.

Kabaji, E. S. (2005). *The construction of gender through the narrative process of the African folklore:A case study of the Maragoli folktale* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of South Africa, South Africa.

Kagan, D. M. (1990). How schools alienate students at risk: A model for examining proximal classroom variables. *Educational Psychologist, 25*(2), 105-125.

Karemera, D., Reuben, L. J., & Sillah, M. R. (2003). The effects of academic environment and background characteristics on student satisfaction and performance: The case of South Carolina State university's School of Business. *College Student Journal, 37*(2), 298-308.

Karlsson, J. (2004). Schooling space: where South Africans learnt to position themselves within the hierarchy of apartheid society. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 12*(3), 327-346.

King, K. L., Houston, I. S., & Middleton, R. A. (2001). An explanation for school failure: Moving beyond black inferiority and alienation as a policy-making agenda. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 49*(4), 428-445.

Kohlberg, L. (1981). *The philosophy of moral development: Moral stages and the idea of justice.* San Fancisco, CA: Harper & Row.

Kuh, G. D., & Hu, S. (2001). The effects of student-faculty interaction in the 1990s. *The Review of Higher Education, 24*(3), 309-332.

Kumar, R. (2011). *Research methodology: A step- by-step guide for beginners* (3rd Ed.). London: Sage.

Kvale, S. (1995). The social construction of validity. *Qualitative Inquiry, 1*(1), 19-40.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Inter-Views: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. California: Sage.

Lareau, A., & Horvat, E. M. (1999). Moments of social inclusion and exclusion race, class, and cultural capital in family-school relationships. *Sociology of Education, 72*(1), 37-53.

Lehn, J. (2009). *Identities in the making: A multistoried mosaic exploring four black students' experiences of attending a predominantly white high school* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (2001). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Valles: M. Técnicas.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. London: Sage.

Lodeje, F. (2012, July). Mr Scary's really Mr Good. *Sunday World*, 19.

Lomotey, K. (1992). Independent black institutions: African-centered education models. *Journal of Negro Education, 61*,455-462.

Louis, A. (2005). Inferior, superior or just different? A woman's sense of justice in Carmen de Burgos's El abogado. *Hispanic Research Journal, 6*(1), 13-27.

Louw, J. (1987). World War II, industry, and the professionalization of South African psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology, 17*(2), 33-39.

Mailu, D. (1985, August 18). A speech made by former South African President PW Botha to his Cabinet. *Sunday Times.* Retrived from http:www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1980s/pr850816.html

Makubalo, G. V. (2006). *A case study of the English language practices of six learners in a desegregated urban South African school* (Unpublished masters dissertation). University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Manganyi, N. C. (1973). *Being-black-in-the-world.* Johannesburg, South Africa: Sprocas/Ravan.

Maree, K. (2007). *First steps in research* (1st Ed.). Hatfield: Pretoria Van Schaik Publishers.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*(2), 224-253.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2011). *Designing qualitative research* (5th Ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Massey, D. S. (2004). Segregation and stratification: A biosocial perspective. *Du Bois Review, 1*(01), 7-25.

Matlala, M. Y. (2011). *The role of social factors in influencing the moral development of black adolescents* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of South Africa, South Africa.

Mauthner, N., & Doucet, A. (1998). Reflections on a voice-centred relational method: Analysing maternal and domestic voices. In J. Ribbens & R. Edwards (Eds.), *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research* (pp. 119-146). London: Sage.

Mauthner, N. S., & Doucet, A. (2003). Reflexive accounts and accounts of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis. *Sociology, 37*(3), 413-431.

Maxwell, J. A. (1998). Designing a qualitative study. In L. Bickman & D. J., Rog (Eds.), *Handbook of applied social research methods* (pp. 69-100). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach (2nd ed.).* Thousand Oaks,CA: Sage.

Mbele, V. (2011). Are we not perpetuating Verwoerd's grand plan? Re-examining the meaning of June 16, 1976. Retrieved from azapo.org.za/are-we-not-perpertuating-verwoerds-grand-plan/

Mbigi, L. (2005). *Spirit of African leadership.* South Africa: Knowres Publishing.

Mbiti, J. S. (1969). *African religions and philosophy*. London: Heinemann.

McAdams, D. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of identity*. New York, NY: William Morrow.

McAdams, D. P. (1997). The case for unity in the (post) modern self. In R. Ashmore & L. Jussim (Eds.), *Self and identity* (pp. 46-80). New York: Oxford University Press.

McGregor, J. (2004a). Space and schools. *Forum, 46*(1), 2-5.

McGregor, J. (2004b). Space, power and the classroom. *Forum, 46*(1), 13-18.

McGregor, J. (2004c). Spatiality and the place of the material in schools. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 12*(3), 347-372.

McKinney, C. (2007). 'If I speak English, does it make me less black anyway?''Race'and English in South African desegregated schools. *English Academy Review, 24*(2), 6-24.

Mda, T. (2004a). Education and multilingualism. In M. Nkomo, C. McKinney, L. Chisholm (Eds.), *Reflections on school integration* (pp. 163-182). Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Mda,T. (2004b). Multilingualism and education. In L. Chisholm (Ed.), *Changing class: Education and social change in post-apartheid education* (pp.177-194). Cape Town: HSRC.

Meier, C., & Hartell, C. (2009). Handling cultural diversity in education in South Africa. *SA-eDUC Journal, 6*(2), 180-192.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook author* (2nd Ed.). London: Sage.

Miller, S. L., Maner, J. K., & Becker, D. V. (2010). Self-protective biases in group categorization: Threat cues shape the psychological boundary between "us" and "them". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 99*(1), 62-77.

Mishler, E. G. (1990). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(4), 415-443.

Mkandawire, T. (2005). *African intellectuals: Rethinking politics, language, gender and development*. London: Codesria Books.

Mkhize, N. (2004a). *Culture and the self in moral and ethical decision making: a dialogical approach* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Natal, South Africa.

Mkhize, N. (2004b). Socio-cultural approaches to psychology: Dialogism and Africans conceptions of the self. In D. Hook, N. Mkhize, P. Kiguwa & A. Collins (Eds.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 53-83). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Mkhize, N. (2004c). Psychology: An African perspective. In D. Hook, N. Mkhize, P. Kiguwa & A. Collins (Eds.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 24-52). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Mkhize, N. (2005). The context of career counselling: Lessons from social constructionism and hermeneutics. *Perspectives in Education, 23*(3), 93-195.

Moletsane, R., Hemson, C., & Muthukhrishna, A. (2004). Integration within the South African Landscape. In M. Nkomo, C. McKinney, & L. Chisholm (Eds.), *Reflections on school integration* (pp. 61-77). Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Morgan, D. L. (1988). *Focus groups as qualitative research methods.* California: Sage.

Morgan, D. L. (1993). *Successful focus groups: Advancing the state of the art* (Vol. 156). California: Sage.

Mosalakae, K. (2008, July). We should honour Biko by loving ourselves. *City Press*, 24.

Moskowitz, G. B. (2005). *Social cognition: Understanding self and others.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Moyer, T. R., & Motta, R. W. (1982). Alienation and school adjustment among black and white adolescents. *The Journal of Psychology, 112*(1), 21-28.

Mumby, D. K. (1993). Introduction: Narrative and social control. In D. K. Mumby (Ed.), *Narrative and social control: Critical perspectives* (pp. 1-12). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Nasim, A., Roberts, A., Harrell, J. P., & Young, H. (2005). Non-cognitive predictors of academic achievement for African Americans across cultural contexts. *The Journal of Negro Education, 74*(4), 344-358.

Neisser, U., & Fivush, R. (1994). *The remembering self: Construction and accuracy in the self-narrative.* Cambridge, United States of America: Cambridge University Press.

Nespor, J. (2004). Educational scale-making. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 12*(3), 309-326.

Ngwenya, K. (March 2015). You are so black: Once again racism has raised its ugly head in our education system. Drum visits a Mpumalanga school affected by racial abuse, and speaks to the parents of the victimised learners. *Drum*, 1-17.

Nkoala, S. M. (2013). Songs that shaped the struggle: A rhetorical analysis of South African struggle songs. *African Yearbook of Rhetoric*. Retrieved from www.africanrhetoric.org/pdf/6%20Mcimeli%20Nkoala.pdf

Nkomo, M. O., McKinney, C., & Chisholm, L. (2004). *Reflections on school integration: Colloquium proceedings.* South Africa: HSRC Press.

O'Flynn, S. (2009). Challenging the cartesian self: Autobiography as an inter-textual /interelational discourse in the works of Antha van Herk & Kristjana Gunnars. . *Rethinking History, 13*(1), 65-78.

O'Neil, J. (1998). Why are all the black kids sitting together? A conversation with Beverly Daniel Tatum. *Educational Leadership, 55*(4), 12-17.

Ogbonnaya, A. O. (1994). Person as community: An African understanding of the person as an intrapsychic community. *Journal of Black Psychology, 20* (75), 75-87.

Ogbu, J. U. (1991). Minority coping responses and school experience. *The Journal of Psychohistory, 18,*433-456.

Ogbu, J. U. (2004). Collective identity and the burden of "acting White" in Black history, community, and education. *The Urban Review, 36*(1), 1-35.

Paechter, C. (2004a). Space, identity and education. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 12*(3), 307-308.

Paechter, C. (2004b). Spatialising power relations in education. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 12*(3), 467-474.

Pandor, N. (2004). *Integration within the South African landscape: Are we making progress in our schools.* Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Patterson, J. T., & Freehling, W. W. (2001). *Brown v. Board of Education: A civil rights milestone and its troubled legacy.* USA: Oxford University Press.

Phelan, J. E., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). Reactions to ethnic deviance: The role of backlash in racial stereotype maintenance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 99*(2), 265-281.

Pizzolato, J.E., Podobnik, S., Chaudhari, P., Schaeffer, Z., Murrell, E.D., (2008). Ethnic identity, epistemological development, and academic achievement in underrepresented students. *Journal of College Student Development, 49* (4), 1-13.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1986). Changing conversations about human science. *Saybrook Review, 6,* 1-32.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences.* Albany, United States of America: State University of New York Press.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1991). Narrative and self-concept. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 1*(2-3), 135-153.

Quinn, J. (2002). *Diversity management for lecturers on the Edgewood campus* (Unpublished BEd Hons). University of Natal, South Africa.

Raggatt, P. T. (2007). Forms of positioning in the dialogical self: A system of classification and the strange case of Dame Edna Everage. *Theory & Psychology, 17*(3), 355-382.

Ramose, M. B. (1999). *African philosophy through ubuntu*. Harare: Mondi Books.

Reay, D., Davies, J., David, M., & Ball, S. J. (2001). Choices of degree or degrees of choice? Class,'race'and the higher education choice process. *Sociology, 35*(04), 855-874.

Republic of South Africa. (1996a). *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Act No. 108 of 1996.* Cape Town: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa.(1996b). *The South African Schools Act*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. *Language in Education Policy in terms of Section 3 (4) (m) of the National Education Policy Act, Act 27 of 1996*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Republic of South Africa. (2002a). *Language Policy for Higher Education in terms of Higher Education Act, 1997 Government Gazzette, 1485 (24101).* Cape Town: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. (2002b). *National Curriculum Statement (NCS) for grades 10-12*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Republic of South Africa. (2013). *National Development Plan Vision 2030.* Planning Commission: Office of the Presidency. Retrieved fromwww.vision2030.gov.jm/National-Development-Plan .

Republic of South Africa. (1949). *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act 55 of 1949*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. (1950). *Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Republic of South Africa. (1953). *Bantu Education Act, Act 47 of 1996*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Reyes, A. (2005). Appropriation of African American slang by Asian American youth. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 9*(4), 509-532.

Ridley, J. A. (1971). *The independent Black (educational) institution: An exploratory study with implications for the institutionalization of American schools* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Michigan, Flint.

Rober, P. (2005). The therapist's self in dialogical family therapy: Some ideas about not knowing and the therapist's inner conversation. *Family Process, 44*(4), 477-495.

Rohleder, P., Swartz, L., Kalichman, S. C., & Simbayi, L. C. (2009). *HIV/AIDS in South Africa 25 Years On.* New York: Springer.

Rojas, E. D., & Reagan, T. (2003). Linguistic human rights: A new perspective on bilingual education. *Educational Foundations, 17*(1), 5-19.

Ronai, C. R. (1995). The next night sous rapture: Wrestling with Derreda's mimesis. *Qualitative Inquiry, 5*, 114-129.

Rudwick, S. (2008). "Coconuts" and "oreos": English−speaking Zulu people in a South African township. *World Englishes, 27*(1), 101-116.

SAITO MIOKO. (2011).*Trends in gender equality in learning achievement in Southern and Eastern Africa: Exploration of characteristics of educational environment and curriculum areas.* Paper presented at the IIEP Policy Forum on Gender Equality in Education, Paris. Retrieved from www.iiep.unesco.org/en/saito-2736

Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social research* (3 ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sarbin, T. R. (1986). *The narrative as a root metaphor for psychology*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Satterwhite, F. J. E. (1971). *Planning an independent black educational institution*. New York, NY: Afram Associates.

Sedlacek, W. E. (1999). Black students on white campuses: 20 years of research. *Journal of College Student Development, 40* (5), 538-550.

Shingler, J. D. (1973). *Education and political order in South Africa, 1902-1961*. University microfilms. Retrieved fromhttp://books.google.co.za/books?id=1j7IngEACAAJ

Shockley, K. (2003). *When culture and education meet: An ethnographic investigation of an Africentric private school in Washington, DC* (Unpublished Dissertation). University of Maryland, United States of America.

Shotter, J. (1989). Vygotsky's psychology: Joint activity in a developmental zone. *New Ideas in Psychology, 7*(2), 185-204.

Shotter, J. (2009). Moments of common reference in dialogic communication: A basis for unconfused collaboration in unique contexts. *International Journal of Collaborative Practices, 1*(1), 31-39.

Shutte, A. (1993). *Philosophy for Africa*. South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Shwedder, R. A. (Ed.). (1990). *Cultural psychology-What is it?* New York:Cambridge University Press.

Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. London: Sage.

Silverman, D. E. (2011). *Doing qualitative research: Issues of theory, method and practice* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

Simon, M. (2011). *Assumptions, limitations and delimitations. Dissertation and scholarly research: Recipes for success.* Retrived from www. dissertationrecipes. com.

Skinner, D., Valsiner, J., & Holland, D. (2001). Discerning the dialogical self: A theoretical and methodological examination of a Nepali adolescent's narrative.*Qualitative Social Research, 2*(3), 1-17.

Skiti, S. (2013, 27 January). Wastage and pilferage of food – which is estimated to cost up to R5 million a month, *The Sunday Times, p.1*.

Skoe, E. (1993). *The ethic of care interview manual.* Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo.

Smith, B., & Sparkes, A. C. (2006). Narrative inquiry in psychology: Exploring the tensions within. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(3), 169-192.

Sneed, J. R., Schwartz, S. J., & Cross, J., William E. (2006). A multicultural critique of identity status theory and research: A call for integration. *Identity, 6*(1), 61-84.

Solorzano, D. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education, 69*(1/2), 60-73.

Sorell, T. (2001). Cartesian method and the self. *Philosophical Investigations, 24*(1), 55-74.

Soudien, C. (2004). Constituting the class': An analysis of the process of 'integration'in South African schools. In L. Chisholm (Ed.), *Changing class: Education and social change in post-apartheid* (pp. 89-114). Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Publishers.

Soudien, C. (2010). The reconstitution of privilege: Integration in former white schools in South Africa. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*(2), 352-366.

Soudien, C., Carrim, N., & Sayed, Y. (2004). School inclusion and exclusion in South Africa: Some theoretical and methodological considerations. In M. Nkomo, C. McKinney, & L. Chisholm (Eds.), *Reflections on school integration* (pp. 19-42). Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Squire, C., Andrews, M., & Tamboukou, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Introduction: What is narrative research?* London: Sage.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*(5), 797-811.

Steyn, M. (2001). *Whiteness just isn't what it used to be: White identity in a changing South Africa.* Albany: Suny Press.

Sujee, M. (2004). Deracialisation of Gauteng schools: A quantitative analysis. In M. Nkomo, C. McKinney, & L. Chisholm (Eds.), *Reflections on school integration* (pp. 43-60), Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press.

Tappan, M. B. (1997). Interpretative psychology: Stories, circles and understanding lived experience. *Journal of Social Issues,53*,645-656.

Tatum, B. D. (1997). Why are all the black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? Retrieved from http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/jdowd/tatum-blackkids.pdf

Thepa, M. (2012, 18 March). Drowning in coconuts ‘n rainbows: The BBC doesn’t have to justify itself to our ‘post-black,’ ‘principled’ and hedonistic ideologists. , *Sunday World*, p. 14. Retrieved from www.sundayworld.co.za/talk/.../drowning-in-coconuts-n-rainbows?

Turner, L. P. (2007). First person plural: Self−unity and self-multiplicity in theology's dialogue with psychology. *Zygon, 42*(1), 7-24.

Vally, S., Dalamba, Y., & Commission, S. A. H. R. (1999). *Racism," Racial Integration" and Desegregation in South African Public Secondary Schools: A Report on a Study by the South African Human Rights Commission.* Johannesburg: SAHRC.

Vice, S. (1997). *Introducing Bakhtin.* New York: Manchester University Press.

Vitz, P. C. (1990). The use of stories in moral development: New psychological reasons for an old education method. *American Psychologist, 45*(6), 709-720.

Von Robertson, R., Mitra, A., & Van Delinder, J. (2005). The social adjustment of African American females at a predominantly white Midwestern university. *Journal of African American Studies, 8*(4), 31-45.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society. The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Walker, L., & Mungazi, D. (1995). Sankofa: African thought and education.*The Journal of Negro Education, 64*(4), 475-477.

Wallitt, R. (2008). Cambodian invisibility: Students lost between the "achievement gap" and the "model minority". *Multicultural Perspectives, 10*(1), 3-9.

Webb-Johnson, G. (2003). Behaving while black: A hazardous reality for African American learners. *Beyond Behavior, 12*(2), 3-7.

White, V. (1996). *Paying attention to people: An essay on individualism and Christian belief.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001). Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research, 11*(4), 522-537.

Williams, K. L. (2003). *Mirrored images: The impact of stereotypes in black learners in Ontario High Schools.* Cambridge, MA: University of Toronto.

Willie, S. S. (2003). *Acting Black: College, identity, and the performance of race.* New York: Routledge.

Woods, D. (1987). *Biko.* London: Penguin.

Wright, S. (2004). *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalization.* New York,NY: Palgrave.

APPENDIX 1 – INFORMED CONSENT FORM: INTERVIEW

Research Project:
The Schooling System and the Reproduction of Selves in the Post-apartheid: a Dialogic Approach

Dear Participant

I am conducting research as part of my studies in the Psychology Department of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College). The purpose of this study is to understand how black learners who attended predominantly white schools, either during the pre-democracy or post-apartheid era, form their identities. The information received will help inform the transformation agenda of the education system in this country.

If you agree to participate in this research, you are kindly requested to:

1. Fill in the consent form. (Note that you are not obliged to reveal your name. If you choose not to, kindly use a pseudonym.)

2. Participate in an interview where the researcher will ask you to give an account of your experiences in a predominantly white school, speaking either in English or in IsiZulu (depending on your language preference).

Your responses during the interview will be recorded electronically, as well as in handwritten form. Kindly note that no personally identifying information or recording will be released in any form, and the recordings will be stored in a locked space when data capture and analysis have been completed. In case you are not comfortable with the interview situation, you may write about your experiences or record on CD or video.

The duration of the interview will be between an hour and an hour and a half.

Confidentiality
Various safeguards have been instituted to guarantee confidentiality to all participants. The only people that will have access to the data are you, the researcher and the supervisor. The data collected will be handled with extreme care and will be disposed of once the results have been published. Pseudonyms or codes, instead of names, will be used on publication of the results of the study.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation is voluntary and therefore there will be no monetary compensation. However, participants will be provided with a token of appreciation for their participation.

Referral Mechanism
There are no anticipated harms envisaged in this study. However, should you feel that there is a need for further debriefing as a result of your participation in the study, please contact the researcher and/or the supervisor, using the contact details provided below. Arrangements have been made for you to contact a counsellor at the School's Centre for Applied Psychology.

Benefits of the Study
The Benefits of this Research include:

- Informing the identity discourse and contributing towards the reconstruction and development agenda of this country.

- Possibly contributing towards appropriate development theories that do not have a western bias.

Please note the following:

- Participants may withdraw at any point without suffering negative consequences.
- Please feel free to ask the researcher questions at any point if anything is unclear.
- The study has been ethically cleared/ approved by the University's Ethics Committee.

If you agree to participate in this study and understand the objectives thereof, kindly sign below:

Consent statement

I _____ confirm that I understand that the research is about exploring identity formation of black learners who attended predominantly white schools predemocracy as well as those who attended postapartheid. I agree to participate voluntarily in the interview as part of data collection for this study. I am aware that I can withdraw from participating in the study at any time with no consequence whatsoever. I am aware that, should I have any further questions about the study, I can contact the thesis supervisor, Prof Nhlanhla Mkhize, at 031 – 260 2006 or email him directly at Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za. Alternatively, I can contact Mrs Phumelele Ximba at the Research Office, at 031-260 3857 (Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za).

The study has been presented to me in detail and I have had the opportunity to clarify all matters pertaining to the study.

Signature:_____Place_____Date:_____

I hereby consent/ do not consent (underline or circle one) to have this interview recorded.

Signature:_____Place_____Date:_____

APPENDIX 2 – INFORMED CONSENT FORM: FOCUS GROUP

Research Project:
The schooling system and the reproduction of selves in the post-apartheid era: a dialogic approach

Dear Participant

I am conducting research as part of my studies in the Psychology Department of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College). The purpose of this study is to understand how black learners who attended predominantly white schools either pre democracy or post apartheid form their identities. The information received will help inform the transformation agenda of the education system in this country.

If you agree to participate in this research, you are kindly requested to:

1. Fill in the consent form. Note that you are not obliged to reveal your name. If you choose not to, kindly use a pseudonym.

2. Participate in a focus group where the researcher will ask you to give an account of your experiences in a predominantly white school in English or IsiZulu (depending on your language preference).

Your responses during the focus group discussion will be recorded electronically as well as in handwritten form. Kindly note that no personally identifying information or recording will be released in any form, and the recordings will be stored in a locked space, when data capture and analysis have been completed. In case you are not comfortable with the focus group situation, you may write about your experiences or record on CD or video. The duration of the focus group session will be between an hour and an hour- and-a-half.

Confidentiality
Various safeguards have been instituted to guarantee confidentiality to all participants. The only people that will have access to the data are yourself, the researcher and the supervisor. The data collected will be handled with extreme care and will be disposed of once the results have been published. Pseudonyms or codes, instead of names, will be used at publication of the results of the study.

Voluntary participation
Your participation is voluntary and therefore there will be no monetary compensation, however each participant will be provided with a token of appreciation for their participation.

Referral Mechanism
There are no anticipated harms envisaged in this study. However, should you feel that there is a need for further debriefing as a result of your participation in the study, please contact the researcher and/or the supervisor using the contact details provided below. Arrangements have been made for you to contact a counselor at the School's Centre for Applied Psychology.

Benefits of the study

The benefits of this research include:
- Informing the identity discourse in South Africa and contributing towards the reconstruction and development agenda of this country.

- Possibly contributing towards appropriate development theories that do not have a western bias.

Please note the following:

- Participants may withdraw at any point without suffering negative consequences.
- Please feel free to ask the researcher questions at any point if anything is unclear.
- The study has been ethically cleared/ approved by the University's Ethics Committee.

If you agree to participate in this study and understand the objectives thereof, kindly sign below:

Consent statement

I _____ confirm that I understand that the research is about exploring identity formation of black learners who attended predominantly white schools pre-democracy as well as those who attended post-apartheid. I agree to participate voluntarily in the focus group as part of data collection for this study. I am aware that I can withdraw from participating in the study at any time with no consequence whatsoever. I am aware that, should I have any further questions about the study, I can contact the thesis supervisor, Prof Nhlanhla Mkhize, at 031 – 260 2006 or email him directly at Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za. Alternatively, I can contact Mrs Phumelele Ximba at the Research Office, at 031-260 3857 (Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za).

The study has been presented to me in detail and I have had the opportunity to clarify all matters pertaining to the study.

Signature:_____Place_____Date:_____

I hereby consent/ do not consent (underline or circle one) to have this interview recorded.

Signature:_____Place_____Date:_____

APPENDIX 3 – CONFIDENTIALITY FORM

I_____(full name) undertake not to discuss any matter emanating from the focus group session outside the group and that I will not identify anyone in this focus group to outsiders as being a participant in this research study.

_____ _____

Signature of applicant Date

APPENDIX 4 – DEMOGRAPHIC FORM

Thank you for participating in this research project which is looking at identity formation in black learners who attended predominantly white schools pre-democracy as well as post-apartheid.

Please provide the following information before the interview/focus group.
Kindly circle the appropriate answer

1. Age: a) 15-25b) 25-35 c) 35-45 d) 45 and older

2. Gender: a) Male b) Female

3. What type of school/s did you attend during or post apartheid
   a) HoD b) DET c) DEC d) HoR
   e) private schooling e) Model C

4. If you attended the last-mentioned r, how long were you there?

5. Highest educational qualification:
   a) Grade 9-12 b) Certificate c) Diploma d)Undergraduate degree e) Post-graduate degree

6. Place of residence: a) urban b) township c) rural

7. Home language a) IsiZulu b) English c) IsiSwati d) Other

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date:_____

Your witness:_____ **Signature:**_____**Date:** _____

Name of researcher:_____ **Signature:**_____**Date:** _____

Signature:_____ **Signature:**_____**Date:** _____

Contact details of researcher: **Contact details of supervisor:**

Thobile Sifunda
62 B Livingstone Road
Morningside
Durban, 4001

Professor NJ Mkhize
Dean & Head: School of Applied Human Sciences
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College
Email: Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX 5 – INTERVIEW AND FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. As I have mentioned earlier, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage should you desire to do so. To begin with, could you please tell me a story about your experiences of attending a Model C or a predominantly white school, where black students were in the minority. Please tell me where and how it started, when you started attending a predominantly white school, and whether you had been to a predominantly black school before. I am particularly interested in your experiences as a black learner in a white school and how you managed your life at school, family and community levels.

Depending on the responses, the following probes could be used:

1. What in your view was the motivating factor behind your parents' choice to send you to a predominantly white or Model C School?
2. Please tell me about some of the positive experiences that you remember as a learner in a predominantly white school? Tell me about your friendships, relationships with your co-learners and teachers, etc.

- Who were your friends? [Explore if both black and white friends and what they did]

3. Could you please elaborate on some of the challenges you encountered as a black learner in a predominantly white school?

- Explore: language challenges, transport/socio-economic challenges such as equipment, etc.
- What did these challenges make you feel or think about yourself?
- Do you feel that you were equally valued or treated fairly as a black learner? Why/Why not? Please give examples
- Explore treatment by teachers and other (fellow white) pupils
- Did you feel that you could live out your life as a black learner/ person in the school?
- How did the School accommodate your culture? Please give examples.

4. At home, which language did you speak/do you speak?

- How would you describe your relationship with your extended family, especially your relatives or cousins that did not attend white or Model C schools? (Elaborate on positive experiences as well.)
- Please describe some of the challenges you encountered when you visited your extended family or relatives, if any? (e.g. language, communication)
- Sometimes the culture of white schools and the culture of black families is not the same; how did you manage the transition between family and school? How did you manage the school demands /expectations versus the expectations of the family or community?
- In the face of the challenges you have mentioned above, could you please elaborate on the factors, be they at school, family or community, that enabled you to persevere, despite the challenges?

5. What did other people in your community say about you attending a formerly white school?
6. What did people in your community say about those that attended formerly white schools in general? What did you feel about this?

7. Life at a predominantly white or Model C School could be vastly different from the life of a young boy or girl in the community? How did you manage the school versus community demands on you as a person? (on your understanding of who you are, your self?) Please give examples.
8. Some community members have labelled black learners in white schools "coconuts"'. What do you think/feel about this?
9. What did attending a formerly white school make you feel or think AT THE TIME (WHILE YOU WERE STILL A LEARNER THERE)? Any reason why these are capitals? Yes for emphasis we wanted to explore the time dynamic
10. How do you feel or think about having attended a white school NOW (EXPLORE THE TIME DIMENSION).
11. What did attending a predominantly white or Model C School MEAN TO YOU AS A PERSON?

- AT THE TIME
- WHAT DOES IT MEAN NOW

12. How would you describe yourself? **WHO ARE YOU? HOW WOULD YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF**

- Do you think of yourself as a black person (Why/Why not?)?

13. Do you have questions or comments for me?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX 5A – PILOT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Hi Sawubona ……. (student's name). Ninjani? Siyaphila thina nina ninjani? My name is Thobile Sifunda, a PhD student registered at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Thank you for offering to participate in this study and for making time to come and talk to me.

The purpose of the interview is for us to talk about your experiences at a predominantly white / Model C school.

Before we start, I wish to guarantee that what gets said in this interview will be treated with confidentiality. The only people that will have access to the data generated in this interview are, strictly, my supervisor, Professor Mkhize, yourself and myself. The data will be stored appropriately for five years and will then be dispensed with.

Kindly note that you are allowed to withdraw from the interview at any time during the course of the interview.

Who are you?
……
……
……..
……

Could you please tell me a story that stands out for you about being a black learner in a predominantly white school?

……
……
…….

What was it like being a black pupil at a predominantly white school?
……
……
……....

What were the challenges that you experienced?
……
……
……

What idea did this experience convey to you about the person you are/yourself?
……
……
……

Which of these selves do you identify with the most and why?
……
……
…….
As you moved from one setting to another, how did these selves pan out?

When you were/are at school how did/do people describe you? (e.g. discourse on black competence at school e.g. language)

……
……
……

When you were/are at home, with extended family members, how would people describe you? Any reason this is indented?
……
……
……

What were the challenges as you moved between one setting and the other and how did you manage them?
……
……
…….

Can you recall anything else?
……
……
……

Thank you for your time and input on this research.

APPENDIX 6 - FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

Kindly fill in the questionnaire below, in case there is additional information that you could not share during the focus group session.

Name:

(Not compulsory: you can either leave blank or use a pseudonym)

Age:

FET College:

In order of priority, the following are additional issues that I would like to place on record:

Issue 1:

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Issue 2:

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Issue 3:

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

APPENDIX 7 - FIELD NOTES/EMERGING THEMES

Recurring themes in the interviews and focus groups:

1. Perceived white superiority and black inferiority.

2. Us and them: clear distinction between black and white in terms of race, but also in terms of all the perceived attributes that make black and white inferior and superior respectively.

3. Collective consciousness: black solidarity in challenging the “white excels and black is inadequate” binary.

4. Dualism: existence in the white world and black world at the same time.

5. Multiple identity: the multiplicity that results from intermingling of cultures.

6. Contradictions: white superiority and black superiority advanced and debunked at the same time.

7. Spatial: contrast between home and school/ black spaces and white spaces.

8. Feelings of inadequacy.

9. Rebellion/ revolution: Acting “black”: being “ghetto”.

10. Black solidarity and white solidarity.

ANALYSIS
Reading 1

Purpose:

- Reading for the plot and our responses to the narrative
- To understand story as it was experienced by the narrator
- Reading of the manifest content, for multiple plots, recurrent images and metaphors, contradictions and personal reflections

Recurrent images and metaphors

"ghetto": indicates the alternative way of existence to the one demanded by the school. The ghetto behaviour is expressed to symbolize resistance and defiance of the behavioural norms that are in line with the white value system.

Images

p.1 "fitted, blended "you always have to change yourself in order to fit in "
this image of conforming to the rules and norms of the school is contrasted with the image of "rebelling: non-conformity
"stick to your own type": images of solidarity to maintain the black and white divide

Tensions and contradictions

1. Dualism: Being/ existing means a balancing act: i.e being black within a white environment

   Though the white world or westernized world is viewed as superior and provides quality education and the black side of things e.g. black schools are viewed as quite limited, blackness is embraced and participants are involved in their culture
2. Straddling the two ways of being means being modernized and doing the white things "culture" whilst at the same time being rooted in your own culture, participating in cultural rituals and being close to the ancestors. Participants claim to be modern and westernized but also conduct cultural /traditional rituals.

Reflection

Participants' narratives typify the dual existence that black learners experience. They depict the struggles that most black learners have to go through as they straddle two worlds: the white world which is considered superior and has to be acquired if one is to advance in life and the black world that is considered inferior and very limited. The latter though depicted as inferior, is recognized by the participant as important for grounding them to their roots.

Reading 2: reading for the voice/s of the "I"

A diverse self: evolves from when black learners are less opinionated and rely largely on their parents for guidance. At this point they do not question the ambitions of their parents to get them a good education and therefore when the opportunity arises they blend in and fit in as is expected of them by the home and school environment. They consider themselves equal to their white counterparts and thrive for the things that white learners have for example excellence in academics and sport. As soon as they are confronted

with discrimination and are not treated as equals to their white counterparts, the conformist non-racial self changes to a revolutionary self as they grow voices of resistance.

The voice of resistance grows out of the white **superiority and black inferiority divide** that the school promotes and black learners progressively find their **collective voice** that is commensurate with their being lumped together with fellow Africans as the 'other'.

The transition has its own challenges as **the white and black duality** becomes pronounced. Black learners are pressured (do not have the **cultural/social capital** to match the demands of the curriculum. They experience **being black** in a profound way and in mitigation they try two times more harder to match whites and as they fail feelings of self doubt and **feelings of inadequacy set in and are internalized.**

Though black learners may start **acting white** and conforming they may **act black** later in their schooling career and becomes rebellious. There are contradictions though in that though black learners embrace their **blackness** they **straddle both the white and black side**.

Emergent self

The dialogic self emerges within a system that promotes dual existence: the view that white is superior and black inferior that permeates the schooling system.
The dialogic self emerges out of the contradictions and tension entrenched by the binary of white superiority and black inferiority as well as the multiplicity that characterizes their existence beyond the binary.

Reading 3: the self in relation

The participants identify the following interpersonal relationships

1. With parents

Their parents want the best (quality) education for them and their siblings. They introduce their children to the dual existence of blacks.

2. With teachers

There is no evidence of co-operation between teachers and the home environment to share notes for instance on discipline or affirmation of the black culture. The teachers therefore subtly participate in the promotion of whiteness

3. With fellow white and black learners

The relationship with fellow white students is full of contradictions: they make friends indiscriminately but as white friends show lack of relatedness and would put them down and discriminate against them, these experiences cumulatively reinforced the feeling of inadequacy as black learners continually fell short of the set white standards.

Reading 4: the socio-cultural context

Purpose:

- To place people within cultural contexts and social structures

- To look for evidence of ventriloquation

The South African political landscape

Initially participants are influenced by the post-apartheid principle of non-racialism and non-discrimination but later when they realize that non-racialism is a façade and that reality is that black learners are being discriminated against, they consciously made a decision to have African friends more than other race. The socio cultural voices ventriloquated within the schooling system limit black learners, antagonize black and white and make them drift away from one another despite their non-racial commitment.

Family Background

Most participants come from middle class black families and reside in the black townships as well as white suburbs. Their parents cannot provide them with the cultural and social capital that is required by the school. The difference between the home and school environment constitutes a huge disadvantage in terms of their academic performance at school. Lack of parental support resulted in poor performance which in turn led to poor self-concept.

Specific conceptions of self

They conceptualize themselves as African first and foremost as well as westernized.
There is this multiplicity in black learners which they acquire as they constantly move from one environment to the next. They concede their selves are constituted through exposure to both the black and white worlds.

APPENDIX 8 – MAXWELL (1998) RESEARCH DESIGN

COMPONENTS OF DESIGN	**COHERENCE**
1. Goal: motivates for the rationale of the study as well as state the issues that the researcher wishes to engage in through the study.	To explore the reproduction of selves post-apartheid, particularly the self-narratives at the disposal of black learners post 1994. The ultimate goal is to inform policies and practices that seek to promote non-racialism and nation building, post-apartheid, through the schooling system.
2. Conceptual framework: deals with beliefs and prior research findings that will guide and inform the study, as well as literature, preliminary studies and personal experiences that the researcher will draw on for understanding the people and issues being studied.	Non-racialism could be promoting a Cartesian self/ centrist self in black learners, as white dominance is perpetuated in the schooling system, thus compromising other perspectives to the self particularly the African perspective. This study argues that most of the literature on identity formation in black learners promotes the binary perspective which is centred on white superiority and black inferiority. This study argues that Ubuntu in dialogue is the ideal framework for promoting non-racialism, as it acknowledges a flexible identity that is negotiated through dialogue and discourages one identity presiding over and suppressing others. This study draws on Ubuntu and dialogism to put across these arguments.
3. Research questions: give an explanation of what the researcher seeks to investigate.	The study had the following research questions: 1. What are the various self/identity narratives available to black learners in post-apartheid South Africa? 2. How are these identities reproduced, that is, under what circumstances are these self-narratives or identities evoked? 3. How do individuals negotiate the tensions and contradictions between these identity narratives?
	8. METHODOLOGY
4. Methods: are the techniques and approaches that will be used to collect and analyse data	A narrative research method was used. Since the aim was to gather data on self-narratives, the researcher asked for narrative accounts and encouraged participants wherever possible (Camic et al, 2003). **8.1 Sampling:** Purposeful sampling was used as it allows the researcher to "select individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). Participants were students from Further Education and Training Colleges who attended predominantly white schools. Maximum variation was employed as a sampling strategy as it ensures some degree of representativeness; "it increases the likelihood that the

	findings will reflect …. different perspectives – an ideal in qualitative research" (Creswell, 2007, p. 26). The size of the sample was 15 students determined by what Lincoln and Guba (1985) call redundancy, a stage when information is saturated and is repeated from one participant to the next. **8.2 Data collection procedure:** Consistent with narrative qualitative research, eliciting stories through interviews is considered as one of the ways to collect data for stories (Czarniawska, 2004). Narrative interviews were conducted using an interview schedule that is largely an open agenda. The following guidelines were used: **8.3 Data analysis** The stories collected were analyzed using the narrative analysis method called the Voice-centred relational method (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998).
Validity: involves a consideration of the theoretical frameworks, by which to make sense of the data (theoretical validation), including a consideration of alternative or rival interpretations (theoretical triangulation).	8.4 Validity In order to ensure that the research findings are trustworthy, the researcher applied concepts linked to the qualitative tradition: credibility, dependability and transferability. (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1987; Polit & Hungler; Berg & Welander-Hansson, 2000). Validation strategies that were used included confirming or triangulating data from several sources, having the study reviewed and corrected by the participants, having other researchers review the procedures and bracketing out the researcher's views and opinions (Creswell, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

APPENDIX 9 – PARTICIPANT PROFILES

N: is a 23-year-old female who attended predominantly white schools from primary to high school. She relocated from the township to the urban areas in order to be closer to formerly white schools.

A: is a 32-year-old female who attended a black township primary school before she moved to a predominantly white high school, only to move back to a black township school to finish her secondary education.

W: is a 32-year-old male who attended predominantly white private primary and high schools.

L: is a 22-year-old female who was adopted by a white family as a new-born baby. She attended predominantly white schools from pre-school to high school. Though she was adopted and raised by a white family, her biological family also played a role in her upbringing.

MO: is a 25-year-old male who attended black primary schools and a predominantly white high school, but remained in the township and did not move to the urban areas.

Ma: is a 23-year-old female refugee, who attended a predominantly white primary school when the South African government allocated them a house in town. When the family relocated to a coloured area she, unlike her siblings who carried on at the formerly white schools, enrolled at a formerly coloured school.

AM: is a twenty plus-year-old female who attended a predominantly black primary school and moved to a predominantly white high school.

S: is a female whose family moved from the black residential area to a white suburb. She attended a private predominantly white pre-school and then spent all her schooling years in predominantly white schools.

D: is a 22-year-old female who attended a predominantly white high school and moved to a black school for her senior years of high school.

Du: is a female aged between 15-25 years old. She attended predominantly white schools from pre-primary to high school. Her home language is isiZulu and lives in the urban areas with her mother and siblings.

M: is a twenty plus old female who attended a predominantly white schools from grade R to grade 3. She then moved to a coloured school where she did grade 4 to grade 7. She left to do grade 8 at a predominantly white school where she finished her matric. She is currently enrolled for a diploma at a predominantly black FET college. She lives in a predominantly black township and isiZulu is her home language.

Mb: is a male aged between 15-25 years. He attended Indian primary schools and moved to a predominantly white school for his secondary education.

Kh: is a 19 year old male who lives in the township and attended Indian primary schools. He left to attend a predominantly white school for his secondary education

Nk: is a 24 year old female who attended predominantly white private schools from pre-primary to grade 10. She is currently furthering her studies at a predominantly black FET institution. She lives in an urban area and speaks isiZulu as a home language

Sl: is a female between ages 15-25 who went to a black school for her primary education and spent 4 years there before she moved to attend a white school in grade 5.

Sb: is a 19 year old male who lives in an Indian township. He attended a predominantly black primary school that had both black and white teachers and then moved to a private white school for his secondary education.

Z: is a female between the ages 15-25 who lives in rural areas. She attended a predominantly black primary school and then moved to an Indian school to do grades 7 to 9. She finished her schooling at a predominantly white school.

APPENDIX 10 – SAMPLE OF INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW WITH A

Thobile: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. As I have mentioned earlier, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage should you desire to do so. To begin with, could you please tell me a story about your experiences of attending a Model C or a predominantly white school, where black students were a minority. Please tell me where and how it started, when you started attending a predominantly white school, and whether you had been to a predominantly black school before. I am particularly interested in your experiences as a black learner in a white school and how you managed your life at school, family and community levels.

A: Primary school was entirely black schools and then I went to two schools when I started high school. I went to 'A' (high school) - that was the main school I attended - but I did go to 'R' (high school) for a few months during my school career. 'R' (school) was 60% white and 40% black. A (school) at the time was predominantly white, I'd say 30-35% black and 60-70% white, and with all the teachers, except the Zulu teacher, all being white.

My overall experience, ehm,was a pleasant experience, pleasant high school career. I made many friends, mainly black friends, but I made some white acquaintances as well, but at the beginning it was a lot of adjustment, a lot of pressure to fit in and learn the new ways, in terms of how you dress, how you speak, and how you carry yourself. For me, if you talk about identity formation, a lot of the black kids that went to predominantly white schools are under a lot of pressure to conform.

When you talk about white ways and values: so there was a lot of… that that had to happen in that transition, ehm, but somehow, because the rest of my life.. I was not immersed in a white environment, we lived in a township which was not in that environment. You almost have a dual existence: at school you are immersed and conforming, at home there are different expectations: you can't talk like that, through your nose.

You are very much grounded…it's a precarious situation. At home you are expected to be normal. There are two different kinds of normal, and you have to fit into these two environments and you have to be adaptable to both of these environments (raises voice and emphasizes the point).

Thobile: I find it quite interesting that you refer to black friends and white acquaintances?

A: The interesting thing would be, maybe you are seated with this white girl, and you become friends, or you assume that you have a close relationship, but during breaks whites will stick to whites and blacks to blacks. There will be some intermingling, especially if you are doing extra-curricular, but when you came out of the school environment …this will be the experience of many of my colleagues, there will be no interaction with the whites, even if you went to church with them, but there will be no acknowledgement of that relationship. This jerks you to into the realization that this is not a friend. That relationship would then be superficial because it thrives within this context and not outside of that context. I now have what I believe are genuine white friends later in my life.

I remember a particular time.. I think we were at the Pietermaritzburg flea market on a Saturday. This girl, whom I thought was a friend, completely ignored me, completely looked away and did not want to be associated with me (with a high- pitched voice and facial expression depicting disbelief).

Thobile: How did that make you feel?

A: It was shocking, but also it was also a reality check, it kind of …it crystallized that dual existence, that you know we are friends at school and I know you in that context , but not in this context. A clear division … thereafter you can't go to school and pretend as if everything is ok. Once you have that awareness, it redefined how I negotiate my relationships with whites…

Thobile: You said later in life you now have genuine white friends?

A: I would say so, because what's happened is that at university I made friends; again there the context is a little different - you study but the transition into the spaces, at least it's shared - you go to school together, you go to to clubs together, you share more of your social spaces and your social circles. I think that has facilitated genuine relationship: you like this person across these contexts, but even there there's still a little bit of dualism: with some friends you note that you are the only black. The integration is still one-sided, it' still you that go to their space … into their lives. For example not many white friends have been to my place, with some there's no possibility that I could host them.

More genuine relationships weren't there… there are lines drawn, you know that there are line drawn …and you kind of get along with it, but it's a much more, it's, it's… ehm … it's a less divided existence than high school.

Thobile: What motivated you to attend such a school? Who was behind such a decision? Who decided 'A'(participant) goes to 'R' (school) and later, mh…what's the name of the other school?

A: 'A' (school)? By the time I was ready for high school, it was kind of a tradition because I come after a sibling that had gone to 'A' (school), and my sister before him had gone to 'A' (school). I do not recall being part of that decision; it was an almost automatic process.

Thobile: What motivated that decision?

A: There was a whole idea of Model C schools have better facilities, better education, you'll have better opportunities later in life, so that I think will have been the motivation. My father at the time was particularly attached to 'A' (school)… maybe the brand, no matter what the case is. I seem to recall an insistence on 'A' (school) to an extent that when I wanted to go to 'R' (school) I had to motivate as to why I needed to go to that school.

Thobile: The relationship with your teachers, please share experiences of positive relationships in such a schools generally?

A: Generally I would say I don't remember a particular relationship that is outstanding between me and a teacher, but you know I wasn't a very active child. I learnt that spending time in a different context helps develop a relationship, but I did have teachers that I liked and respected. My biology teacher in standard eight was a very open-minded teacher, who was willing to talk about what it means to be a teenager so that stands out for me (with a smile). The other one: she was not my teacher but she was my choir mistress - not for anything except she was my choir mistress.

Thobile: Did they value you? Did you feel valued?

A: Uhm (pause 3 minutes): it's difficult to say you know…I do not remember any explicitly …any explicit discrimination …do not remember explicitly any sense that the system is not fair. I had a lousy teacher…my Maths teacher - she was young and naïve. She was frustrated because I was not getting it, and she encouraged me to quit Maths. I don't think that she thought because I'm black, and thought I was not capable ... she was frustrated and could not and was not patient …did not have the patience…

I wouldn't say that it is because she was white and I was black, not to say that racism or discrimination was not there, but at the time I do not recall that I was in an institution that discriminated against black learners. Uhmm, high school is a very difficult time: you are negotiating relationships, ehm… you are also negotiating this dual existence and culture

clashes. You know you are also defining your identity and going through a rebellious time …but there was a perception from other schools that felt that 'A' (school) was a lower grade of, uhm, of a school because they were more permissible, they were more willing to negotiate the shift, that having different cultures, different children…having different …they were willing to do some shift in their culture, and make more way for for, for the different kinds of… For example, in a white …at school you have a, aaa, what's called a full uniform. If you are outside the school premises you are expected …if you are, a, just …

If in the morning it was cold, and you were wearing your full uniform, the expectation is that you will wear the full uniform throughout the day, even when later in the day it got hot. We took a lot of flak …taking the blazer off, being ill-disciplined…but the reality is that many of the black children had to walk… I don't know how long the distance is, even now I have not been able to measure that distance (with a raised pitch). In Pietermaritzburg when it's summers the average temperature is 32 degrees. That we'll be in uniform …

We use public transport , there had to be that consideration, uhm, and they were one of the schools, if not the first that were more flexible …this is how you handle it, and this is how you handle yourself …

Thobile: How did that (concession) come about?

A: To be honest I do not remember, but it wasn't through a strike …maybe there was a negotiation.

Thobile: So you deliberately negotiated?

A: To be honest I do not remember, but I know …it wasn't a struggle: maybe there was a negotiation. I remember if you had been spotted without it, then the following day there'll be detention. With there being more blacks in leadership in, in SRC and in the prefect structure, my assumption is it was negotiated, but for the life of me I do not remember how it came about; but I have noted recently …later on they were allowing girls to have their track pants, but in the recent years I see some kids with their sport gear…what normally happened … I see some kids with their sport gear out.

Conservative schools would label this as disintegration … I for the life of me …

Thobile: Could you live out your life having come from the township? Earlier you spoke about dualism, that is 'A' (participant) in the township and 'A' (participant) in school with its own culture.

A: With, with some negotiation because of that dualism, because the moment you put that uniform on, and you come into that space, consciously or unconsciously - maybe unconsciously - after some time you put on this 'A' (participant), you are completely putting on this …

You still have friends, and you still you are yourself, but yourself within a particular context and a context that …

Thobile: How did that make you feel about yourself, that is, your sense of who you are?

A: I don't think I was reflective about it, except I was conscious that there are two worlds. There's you at home and there's you at school. Yes. It wasn't, it wasn't a traumatic experience, I think because I wasn't alone, I had family at school who had navigated this environment, ehm, so you kind of … I wouldn't say I was a popular child but I was socially integrated …I coped well ja… I, I, I, it's not a good feeling, and I remember taking note of these things and this existence that is not a unified existence, but I don't remember not wanting to go to school. When you are young, you are able to get into a context …

Thobile: Which language do you speak, did you speak at home?

A: At home we spoke Zulu, ehm, 100% of the time, and at school we spoke English, but we were not compelled: like for example at 'R' (school), for as long as you are within the

premises of the school, it doesn't matter who you are speaking to, you had to speak English. At 'A' (school), it was different.

Thobile: Relationship with family, particularly relatives, cousins etc, that did not attend such schools?

A: Uhm that relationship I would think did not suffer, because at home there was an expectation that you will remain genuine, authentic and grounded, so there was noooo, there was noooo … What does it mean? That means that you will leave English at school. They wanted you to do well so maybe during homework, they, you'll be spoken to in English. We watched English programmes on TV etc, but definitely, we were definitely not going to assimilate a white culture, and I think it helps because by the time I went to a white school my language, Zulu, that is my language, my mother tongue, was fully developed. It was…reinforced and supported. Unlike other children that were spoken to in English only, I had a strong command of my mother tongue, so I think interacting with my family …was not interfered with. I may have gone through a phase of insisting on speaking in English; however that was not reinforced … it would have been actively discouraged; uhm, also I like my extended family and I wanted to keep that relationship as…

Thobile: What made you persevere irrespective of the challenges? What motivated that? What made you stay for the long haul?

A: I did not stay for ehm the long haul. I like 'A' (school), I liked, you know …the social life that it offered me. I liked the school, I was happy there, but I felt that I was not being given the opportunity to be the best I can be. In standard eight, I made a conscious decision that in matric I wanted to sit for my … I don't know what it's called now … but you could sit for …which could take you to Tech, and I decided to sit for university entry …Now in 'A' (school) at the time… you were divided into different abilities, so you had your A student , B, C and then MLN I think it was. I was in the M class, that's how the system worked. If you … I don't know how we got allocated into these classes, but I remember that there were more black students in the MLN classes. My brother oscillated between the B and C class, and he was sure that when he got to matric, he was going to sit for his exemption. I was struggling between the M and C classes. Never got that promotion, so I got frustrated because you have to prove yourself to get upgraded. I got frustrated. You have to prove yourself in order to be promoted.

Thobile: So instead of starting on an equal footing you …

A: I think from the background of coming from a black school by default. I know for sure that my results were not poor, but because I was from a former black school they did not promote me. My brother was from a black school but he came from 'S' (school) which was a feeder school so he was given the benefit of the doubt. I decided after standard eight that I was going to a good school, but it was going to be a black school. After a lot of struggle and a lot of motivation to get promoted, I decided. You could be promoted between terms if maybe during the third term you did well. I got promoted to the C class, but that was not a reassurance that I could sit for my exemption, so I found these two schools, one in Newcastle and one in Durban. They were the KZN legacy schools …they did well, they had 100% pass rates, they had better facilities than their township counterparts …well-disciplined, etc. So I applied - I had made a conscious decision. They'll allow me to sit for my exemption? So in the end I sat for my exemption and got 2 distinctions. To sit for an exemption you had to do the majority of your subjects on Higher Grade. The principle in these schools is that everyone starts on Higher Grade. Their principle was: you all start from the bottom and work yourself up, and as you are not able to match the standard…then you are demoted to Standard Grade, where you can cope better. So a 100% of us sat for exemptions and 97% of us passed. So I did not persevere (hahahahahha!!!) and many of my colleagues from Model C who persevered

did not sit for their exemptions, and ja, for whatever reason. My perception is that white schools/ Model C schools do not have a culture of …going to university. There were a few that went. I remember boys talking about going to the army and girls talking about getting married or "temping" at their fathers' shops, so there wasn't a culture that prepared you to go to university. You needed to decide: I come from a family that is like education, education. We are not going to allow ourselves to wonder: I wouldn't say pressure, but there was an expectation to do well, and to do more studying after school, so that was my option so I had to make decisions.

Thobile: What did people in your community say about those that attended former white schools in general, and how did you feel about this?

A: Uhm, at the time there were many of us that attended these schools. I come from a middle class black family where many of the parents, where many of the parents were making similar decisions. (If not former white schools, Indian schools.)There was almost an exodus, almost, of going to … There was reinforcement all round. Can I even remember, ehmm, friends of mine who did not go to Model C schools? I can't.

Thobile: Any negative comments?

A: There would be comments you know, ehmm … in the taxi … ehm, but not to the extent that maybe you felt alienated…where you felt alienated and felt like the other kid … not to that extent.

Thobile: What sort of comments?

A: Now you think you are better..you have an attitude because you go these schools. I don't remember having a confrontation, but maybe it'd be snide comments, people talking indirectly … but I wouldn't say coming back to the township would be a hostile environment because you are going to these schools. Noooo.

Thobile: Did you find that you had to manage the school expectations and demands vis-à-vis community demands? And how did this impact on your view of who you are?

A: Just repeat the question again

Thobile: Life at a predominantly white or Model C School could be vastly different from the life of a young boy or girl in the community? How did you manage the school versus community demands on you as a person? (on your understanding of who you are, your self?) Please give examples.

A: I can't recall distinct episodes where there was a clash of the worlds as such: uhm I think it helped that our family was a, was a Christian family, and I went to a Christian school. For example, I remember cases of kids who would not shave their hair …I remember teachers would make a big deal about isiphandla (traditional bracelet). Parents would be called in to negotiate. School believes you have to … "Why are you wearing this bracelet?" Personally I never experienced those clashes, that symbolize the clash as such, but I remember it being a reality, and also maybe what I recall were instances at church, where many of the members of the youth team did not go to these schools. There was a division between us and them. We'd be practicing when somebody would say, at choir, the lyrics did not make sense and others not caring that there was no meaning …and then it'd be like: "You think you are better", but It ends up being funny - it was never serious. Yes, there are these demands but they are so subtle. They are not confrontational as such, so you end up just kind of navigating through them.

Thobile: Both?

A: Yes, there's you at home, there is you at school. Whatever the situation demands that's just what you deliver.

Thobile: What did attending a former white school make you feel or think, at the time (while you were still a learner there)?

A: You definitely felt you were getting a superior education…there was definitely a perception that white is better …you carried yourself with pride, you were ja…you just

felt that a new world is opening up and it's a better world and it's a good world, and you wanted to integrate into this world. Ja, you felt that it's, it's … and you wanted to integrate into this world (said with chest out indicating a sense of pride). Even the people who were snide about it, you felt that it's, it's a reinforcement, you feel you are in a better position …got reinforced. Even with the negative comments …you'd think they are jealous, sooo it was reinforced from all angles. You felt good I think.

Thobile: Looking back in retrospect, how do you feel or think about having attended a white school now?

A: Now I feel that it's not important that you attended a black school or a white school or a former model C or whatever, I think it's not important for who you want to become. A friend of mine, a very close friend of mine who was awarded a posthumous PhD: he'd never been to a white school. He came to university, he did very well and I think it takes a very special kind of background that reinforces certain values ...value of education, of dedication, and I think if you get that it doesn't matter where you came [from], as long as you came from a conducive environment. Unfortunately, many of the better schools are the white schools: uhm, you know many of the schools that allow you to be, and do, your best are those schools …I'm glad to have been exposed to good black schools and exposed to people who went to black schools and gone on to do well…as this debunks that whole idea. I know of many people who … I went to 'A' (school) with some of them … have done well, some who have not done that well…things just average out. Some simply went into oblivion. For example this boy who was a prefect …actually got in a very stupid car theft kind of thing and ended up spending seven years in jail.

Thobile: I can imagine him say: "Hi I'm so and so ex 'A' (school) alumni".

A: And I'm an ex- con (hahahaha!!!). I do not know of anyone from 'S' (school) who was in jail but, you know, people we meet will meet with fortune or misfortune, no matter where you come from…can't say kids from Model C schools have done better.

Thobile: The issues you brought up earlier, particularly dualism: how did that impact on your experiences at 'S' (school). Given that the home and school environment was now more or less the same?

A: You had black students, black learners … English was still the medium of instruction, but you had a very disciplined school. The school was about business…very (emphasis) business-oriented school…you get the impression sometimes that black schools are lax…you are still registering in the first week of school. Not 'S' (school): the first day of school is about teaching and learning. It debunked a lot of the assumptions about black standards…you had a school that worked …it was fairly well-catered…not as much as 'A' (school)…but I mean we had a decent lab, we had a decent library, we even had a computer LAN. Though it wasn't working at the time but it was there, so you had a fully-fledged school. Had teachers that were passionate about learning and wanted us to do well

Thobile: From 'A' (school) to a black school? What did that make you feel?

A: I mean the whole reason for me to go there, I was aware they were going to offer me a better opportunity than the white school was able to. But also because it was my decision. My attitude towards the school? I did not feel like I was downgrading as such. There was still a huge culture shock. There was a huge shift for me. The years I spent in a former white school were very formative. First of all geographically it's another world, to be eMadadeni so I'm far away from home in a boarding school. While Imbali (township of her origin) was working class and middle class, the community yase (of) Madadeni was not: Madadeni was working class and below, so my peers came from poorer families, more rural communities around Madadeni: it was a different space. It wasn't like me visiting my extended family and being there for a week or two during the holidays. I was submerged in this environment. It's Zulu but it's different Zulu. The thing of being the

other was more pronounced. I struggled njee (a bit) I struggled for a little while there. Although I was doing Zulu e (at) 'A'(school) and I was doing 1st language, yes, but Zulu was not. It was also a different, it was different to what it was; e (at) 'A'(school) I had the option of not doing Afrikaans: here Afrikaans was compulsory … you had to have … that also was a major shift - the expectation that I was from a white school, I'd have Afrikaans. They can converse in Afrikaans, they can converse in Afrikaans. I had an accent - I had a Zulu ….and aaan English accent. The dualism in another world. I was in a black world. I ended up coping well and making good friends, I came out of there with a …

There were definitely clashes with my peers … were from the rural areas and there was no questioning of teachers. I actually became a trouble child. There was some culture you took with you that you had acquired which was reinforced: even in the community, even at home you wouldn't back-chat but you could be heard, and you had a voice, it was respected or at least … meanwhile in this environment it is rude to answer back.

I didn't know if I was being asked a rhetoric question or was expected to answer; sometimes I'd answer if the teacher asked why I did that. I answered back but I negotiated those relationships and it worked out.

Thobile: Looking back from e (at) 'S' (school) your experiences - what did they do to you?

A: Besides the culture shock, besides the transition that was difficult, 'S' (school) gave me a sense of discipline you know…kids who went to 'S'(school) knew you had an academic career…they understood you are here for business. You had a conscious decision every year to …yes every year …for many of us and, now that I think about it, it was a different kind of an environment. We'd get up at 5h00 and train and then go to class, uhmm, whereas … and you know, and we structured our lives. Because it's a boarding school you kind of had to have a structure: study time TV time, everything kind of worked together towards a certain goal. My friends from there have done very well, working at international organizations like the World Bank. Incidentally, the youngest doctor, who is in the news, is from that school: family, kids who come from there have too many options when you go to …

Thobile: Somehow it teaches you to be what you want to be?

A: Ja. I think it's a culture of excellence. We managed a 97% pass rate and that was a scandal: because we had dropped the standard in seven years that was a scandal …were the group that got 97%!!! When I went to pick up my certificate teachers were shaking their heads, not impressed with this group regardless of the fact that those who had failed wrote their 'sups' and they passed.

Now that I'm old and have a nephew who's not an academic exceller I'm a bit … I don't know about that attitude anymore. He's a good kid and he's not an A student…his best is good enough. On the whole I have an awesome respect. I feel school has to be made for all kids of different abilities.

Thobile: Describe yourself. How would you identify yourself? Are you a black person?

A: I'm definitely a black person. I'm black: that's my reality. In a society like ours where your life is still very much dictated, or rather we live in our skins, that's the reality of our society: that if you are white, coloured, Indian …that if you are white, if you are black. I'm exposed to different kinds of living. I'm exposed to what I would call predominantly middle class suburban, and I live in it day to day, but I'm still aware that it's not my world. I come to this world to work, to survive,…ja you are always negotiating your space.

Thobile: You are always negotiating your space, who you are, in the colour of your skin?

A: Every day you are going to a restaurant and you are never, you are never sure if the service you will receive … not sure if it's the same the next person will get. You are.... It's a black existence. You can't live outside your skin. It doesn't matter if you speak

well, well mannered, well mannered, it's still very much you are negotiating through life. You do not know if security is looking at you differently, or just doing their rounds…it's a black existence. I have relatives that are HIV positive and live in poverty. I know the life of a black in South Africa through and through. I'm exposed to the white world, my life is that of a black in a white world for the most part when I'm at work.

Thobile: At this point I must just thank you. It must have been tough because you are my sibling, but you carried yourself very well. It's time for questions or comments.

A: I think you must explore the questions about feelings "how did you feel at the time" because when you go through life as a teenager you are not reflective, you are not…ngizothini (what can I say)?

Thobile: You just go through life?

A: You go through life. I can give a more honest account of how I feel now about that experience, than an account of how I felt then.

The judgement of that experience is the judgement I make now, rather than then. As a teenager you … people would say I felt… I felt bad, but I wouldn't be convinced that, that is what they went through. I think you will be more likely to capture people's perceptions about then now. Unless you come across people, for example, who was a Shembe and went to school, and had an altercation, unless you had those pronounced experiences from people, then you can get a more…and then you can have a feeling associated with it.

Thobile: The feely questions?

A: No it was nice and stimulating; it's nice to go back to memory lane …in your adult life you can go back and not necessarily relive the experience, unless there's really significant events, you may want to revisit those.

INTERVIEW WITH L

Thobile: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. As I have mentioned earlier, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage should you desire to do so. To begin with, could you please tell me a story about your experiences of attending a Model C or a predominantly white school, where black students were a minority. Please tell me where and how it started, when you started attending a predominantly white school, and whether you had been to a predominantly black school before. I am particularly interested in your experiences as a black learner in a white school and how you managed your life at school, family and community levels.

L: Uhm, would you like me to start at the beginning, like with the adoption and all of that? It kind of influences different dynamics of my upbringing as well.

Thobile: You can start wherever - it's your story.

L: Ahm, ok, so my story starts off with my parents: uhm, I was fortunate enough to be adopted at three days old. Uhm, my parents was, you could say, my mother was, uhm, a domestic worker for the adoptive family that I was adopted by. And, ehm, she was quite young when she had me as well and she also wasn't married at the time, the time; she was with my father but they had a strained relationship, so he was coming and going as he felt, and it was, ja, it was difficult (high pitch) for her at the time so, ja, it was difficult for her at the time she had me. I was the youngest at the time, I was the only child: she had twins before me but she miscarried them, unfortunately, so for me I was just a blessing in disguise, in a sense. At the same time she realised she could not look after me, so, uhm, the family that she was working for had three kids before I was born, and they were well off as well. Uhm, Mr X (name of adoptive parent), uhm, had his own business which is the family business. The Xs (adoptive family) is the family I was living with at the time, and the family that my mum was working for. They had three kids, as I said. They had a stable relationship, married for many, many years; also got married quite young but they managed to keep it together and stay together for forty-five years this year. Ja, so they were quite young, forty-five year marriage. Uhm, in a sense my mum would describe the relationship, as they brought her up, 'cos she was quite young herself - so as much as they looked after me from small, they looked after her as well, and they taught her right from wrong. At the time, she was also not necessarily from a broken home (high pitch), but she was a, ehm, child of many- she came from a big family. There was about twelve of them, so she was one of the youngest ones, so she wasn't really looked after much. She was just I guess, just she said she actually describes it, as she was an extra burden in the family, as she was the youngest and unexpected child, one of many unexpected children (hahahahahaha!!! laughter).

Thobile: So the Xs came to the picture?

L: Ja, and, uhm, they took me in: I was …pretty much, when my mum fell pregnant, they already took care of my mom, my mum, from the get-go. Ehm, my mum went to Johannesburg clinic, she had the best medical, she had, ahm, gynaecologist, she had, ahm, paediatrician for me, and she had me, everything best, best care you could imagine at the

time. Ahm ja, my mum would also say, Mrs X, ahm, she would also say, when I was small she would take my mum to the clinic. On her, they would make sure they did a full medical on her, they would know exactly how big I was going to be, or when I was supposed to come - like I was supposed to come middle November and I came towards the end of November … I was born on the 24th November so I was delayed, yes.
My mum was in labour for about 2 days, so she was, so I came out pretty healthy, as my mum used to say, full bush of hair, very cute baby…cute little baby I was. From there they took care of me since: sure took me to the hospital when I was sick, they looked after me. I was pretty much part of the family. I never felt like I was not part of the family. Even with the their, ahm, children they took me on as their little sister, which was 'cos they had - the Xs (family name) - had two daughters and one son, and the son was the middle child, so I was the laat lammetjie as my mum would say. So, ahm, they, errr, were very happy to take me, and the whole family they embraced me as their own, never made me feel like I was different from them. They never made me feel like I was an outsider in any sense, uhm ja….the whole family embraced me from both sides, their in–laws, I was just, ja, just part of the family. My mum would call me her daughter - she never said "I just adopted her", she was like, "this is my daughter".

Thobile: You felt like you were one of them.

L: Ja…that was my role I was the fourth child and that was it. Ja. So we were, ja, a very close family, very big family, but very close family, uhm, 'cos like I said, my parents were married quite young, so everybody was still around. My dad, Mr X, also came from … he was a baby in the family, there was five of them. And my mother, Mrs X, also came from a big family. She is a twin. There was about six of them so, ja …big family there, and they were both the youngest of their families when they got married. They have a three year gap between the two of them. So, ja, my mum got married at 22, my adoptive mother of course, and my father was 25 - Mr X, my adoptive father, ahm ja, so they got married pretty young. Uhm… for me I was actually happy that they stayed together. If they had not met each other, got involved in business, stayed together for as long as they did, I would not have had the privileges that I have today, ahm…definitely … definitely, I was very fortunate …ja…uhm what else can I really say, like…?

Thobile: Your experiences at the predominantly white school. How did that come about? What motivated that?

L: Ok. So …the time when I was still small we lived in Jo'burg, in Sandton, and my dad had a company, also in Joburg, which was warehousing. Ehm, because of that we all lived in at a town at the time called Rietfontein, which is in about middle of Sandton or so.
And, ehm, the neighbouhood school was in Bryanston, which was not too far for me and, uhm, I went there from grade 1 to grade 3, but before that I went to a little pre-primary school called 'TI', and that was, ehm, predominantly white pre-primary school. Uhm it was owned by a lady named 'S', 'S' at the time; I remember her name. And, uhm, she also at the time adopted her daughter, but she was already in primary school, so she was about ten years old. Ehm, and I was at that pre-primary for until I went to primary school. Uhm I, at the time, I would say that's more or less the time when you are not really paying, you are not paying attention to colour (high pitch), and you are not paying attention to, ahm, who, who you are friends with. You just know that you have friends.

That's all that you're worried about: you're just happy that you have friends: happy that 'J'(name of playmate) is playing with me, and 'SA' is friends with me, and you didn't care about what colour they were: you just had fun with them 'cos at that age - you are what, you're 5, 6 years old - you are not worried about people's opinions, and, ahm … I think at one stage, when we were starting to get older, and we had to start thinking of primary schools to go to, and my mum is like saying, taking me to all these different primary schools, and they had all those open days, and they, they would …I think that was more the time when they actually made you realize what colour you were, which I, was not what I was used to at the time.

Thobile: Who made you realise that?

L: Generally, like I wouldn't say the kids per se, at the time, but I think, when they were splitting us into groups, they would separate us as well, but mostly through primary school, through like pre-schools that we were at, and I was one of a few to go to 'TI' (school) I think like there was just only two of us, so they had to kind of push us into another group, where there was more of us, so there were more of us, so they could take us around the school.

Thobile : How would they group you?

L: At the time it was me and my friend, and she was a coloured girl, and she also went to Treasure Island with me, and the rest of them had been to all these other primary schoo… well pre-primary schools, and we were put …there was only three of us as children of colour … the rest of them were white kids, and like Indian kids, but it was mostly white children. So we would be pushed with like the Indians or the Coloureds, or maybe one or two white kids if they were friendly with each other, or if they knew each other like that. Other than that we weren't necessarily, we weren't really grouped according to that… or any other …

Thobile: Were you separated from you coloured friend?

L: No we were together because we knew each other, but because we were both of, ja, we were both of colour, we were put together.

Thobile: So you were grouped like that?

L: 'Cos …ja, Bryanston at the time - I don't know if it still is now - was intermediate school, so it was English and Afrikaans, so the English kids together, Afrikaans kids together, and there weren't many Afrikaans English kids, I mean white kids that could speak Afrikaans fluently, compared to some of the others, so we were put together, uhm ja…cos they'd pretty much separate us, because of the dynamic of languages really …ja.

Thobile: So language was the main factor

L: Ja, 'cos it was, it made a big difference, at different levels, even going through arts and not going through primary school, English and Afrikaans was a big dynamic.

Thobile: Who made the choice of school you went to? What factors influenced that?

L: I think at the time we went to Brynston 'cos my mom did say to me that she wanted to take me to 'C'(school), but at the time we, I was already too old to go to 'C', and they had age criteria for primary school, so my mum was like: "ok well then we'll take her, you to Bryanston", 'cos they have no issue Model C at the time, wouldn't say convenient, but also Joburg was pretty big and they didn't want to travel too much 'cos I was small, and they were working as well. My mum was a housewife, but she also was

with my dad most of the time, 'cos he was travelling in and out the country, and my dad at that time - my real parents - got back together, together, and they were also, and they were around, but they weren't, uhm, but the 'Xs'(family name) pretty much took care of me the most, in terms of education, in terms of education, in terms of basic livelihood and stuff, so…

Thobile: So there was no way they were going to take you to a black school?

L: Everybody agreed they wanted the best for me, so they were going to take me to a model C; that was it.

Thobile: Your experiences, positive experiences you remember as a learner: Friendships / relationships with co-learners, with your teachers generally, with who were your friends?

L: Would you like me to explain between the ones in Jo'burg or the ones here, because I was there for a short time and I was predominantly here?

Thobile: Whatever stands out for you.

L: So when I moved to Durban, which was (pause) in June of 2002, uhm, I was doing grade 4, and at the time I had no … I didn't know anybody in Durban, uhm, I was a fresh face. Nobody knew me but, ah, and I went to 'E' primary which is in Umshlanga (pronounced Umshlanga instead of the usual Umhlanga), and it was, it was completely different for me, 'cos like at the time I, before I was in Bryanston, it was English and Afrikaans, and I had at the time, I had more black (emphasis) friends at, ehm, Bryanston than I did white friends, 'cos most of the white people there spoke Afrikaans, so they weren't too keen on speaking English 'cos they were just, they were just used to speaking Afrikaans all the time which is, I guess it's fair, because it wasn't their first language, and they struggled, and for me it would also have been a struggle if I spoke Afrikaans all the time (hahahaha!!). Even though my mother was Afrikaans, Mrs X she was Afrikaans, so I did know it, but it wasn't my first language, so it did not come, it didn't roll off the tongue as easy as English did. So ja, when I came to Durban, it was easy, there was no mix of that English and Afrikaans, it was just English Afrikaans which was a second language, and that was that. That, ahm, that is also the time when I started to learn Zulu again, which wasn't too easy, ehm. There was a lot of funny times where I, I remember writing Afrikaans, I mean English tests, and then, uhm, I also remember I had an Afrikaans teacher who was fluent in Zulu, so she would teach us Zulu as well, which was quite funny, uhm, and she was fluent, which was amazing to me. She used to tease me, she was like "ja…I'm Afrikaans, I grew up on a farm, that's why I know Afrikaans, what you call Zulu so well, so what's your excuse?" And I'm like hahahaha.

Thobile: So she actually taught you isiZulu?

L: She taught me Zulu she was fluent in English, Afrikaans and Zulu, so that was, that was mind- boggling to me …even though she used to tease me about that, ja. I learnt Zulu mostly from my housekeeper at the time. So she taught me how to have Zulu lessons with her, hahahahaa, which actually helps..She got a distinction in matric for Zulu.So grade 4 and grade 5 I actually got the highest. I actually got a certificate for being the best in Zulu, hahahaha, even though it was not my first language, because of my housekeeper, so she was, she taught me Zulu pretty well.

Thobile: So you had a good teacher and when you came home your housekeeper would help you out?

L: Zulu became so much better in terms of theory side, two awards and people were mind-boggled. There were kids there who were like "You had, you've only had Zulu for like 2 years yet you are beating us, and Zulu is our home language" which was quite funny. Ja …that was I think, for me, was one of the highlights.

Thobile: Your friends this side?

L: My friends this side I had… it was actually nice, primary school. I think for me was the best. We were all mixed, we didn't care what the colour, we were all friends with each other, uhm, even like when you are still developing your understanding, that you, you like boys, you like girls, there were so many mixed race couples, like couples with the discos and things like that, that was cute, it was something that was fun, it wasn't - you didn't worry about 'D' is dating 'A' - but 'A' is 'A', is ..either black or white, you didn't care about that, you just knew 'D' is dating 'A', and that was it. That was primary, that was the cute thing about it - we didn't worry about the colour of the skin at the time, we were all just doing our own thing, exploring and growing, and growing up.

Thobile: You say that was primary? Did it change?

L: It did change, getting into high school. That became a factor where you didn't …you did worry about who you were dating, in terms of like was he black or was he white or… I remember this is like what? This is in 'D'(school), and I was taking …there was a bus that we would all take in Umshlanga side, so it was connected to Umshlanga, La Lucia, Mount Edgecombe and Durban North, and this was, it would be 'D'(school), 'N' (school), ehm, and 'NW' (school) and 'O'(school), and this is all boys, girls, everybody was mixed, so some people would meet through going to meet on the bus, or going to rugby events. The girls would go to the boys' 'NW' rugby events, or the hockey events, or whatever they were keen at the time, whatever sport was playing that term or that season.

And for me, my mom wouldn't really let me to go to those kind of things, 'cos she didn't feel comfortable: the schools were quite separated, even though the distance wasn't a bit much, and she did not like me running around Durban North with just a bunch of girls, 'cos I mean it's quiet that side, especially the - it's very quiet … not safe.

So she'd let me play hockey there. At the time, 'cos I was still a hockey player from primary school to high school, so I played hockey there at Northwood, and that was the only time that I would actually meet guys, sometimes but not necessarily. But there they would make you, they would remind you that… ok, you are dating a black girl, where is she from, what is her background? And for me, I remember getting isolated by the guys saying "Why is it that you only speak English and you do not speak Zulu?" and I was like: "well Zulu is not my first language, ahm, I don't, and it doesn't come easy to me".

And I remember the one time at the buses, this one guy, I'd never seen him before and he'd taken the bus with his friend, and I was sitting, and I think I was listening to music. So this guy came and he started talking to me and his friend said: "No No!! don't, don't talk to her she doesn't speak Zulu".

And I'm like: "but you don't know me, like you've known me, but you don't know that I don't speak Zulu, so how can you just say that to your friend. I mean can't he make a decision for himself? (high pitched voice showing frustration).

Thobile: Were these black guys?

L: Yes they were two black guys. And then the one friend, I had never seen him before, he'd known most of - this is like grade ten - he'd known most of the 'D' (school) girls, 'cos his sister was there, and had his cousin was there, he'd been to 'D' (school) plenty of times, he seemed to have paid attention to me and had interest in me, and because of the fact that I couldn't speak Zulu, and because his friends said that, he just walked away afterwards, and wouldn't talk to me afterwards (hahaha).

Thobile: How did that make you feel?

L: I was like: "that is not fair, like you don't know me, why can't you just make your own assumption? From …why do you have to listen to your friend, your friend has seen me maybe twice, and he has only seen me with, maybe with my white friends, or maybe one black girl, but that does not mean you have to stop talking to me, based on what he is saying, 'cos for all you know, can't be true, wouldn't be true." But he wouldn't know that, because he did not take the time to know me.

Thobile: When he walked away - how did that make you feel?

L: Like he walks away, I just well, I kind of felt insulted. I was like: "well if you do not want to know me, you want to know me based on the colour of my skin, and the fact that I speak Zulu, then I guess you are not worth my time then.

Thobile: Very interesting.

L: Like it's strange, but it was one of those things that made things a bit different.

Thobile: Co-learners, how did they relate? Playground, how did that pan out?

L: Let's say primary school, we were mixed. Getting to high school, all-girls' schools, so we would still be friends with people we were friends with at primary schools, but at that age we were in separate classes, we were learning different things, we were put in classes based on our academic ability, and my class was quite mixed, as well quite diversed, but there was also quite a lot of black students in my class at the time, as well there was quite a large mix of black kids, uhm.

Thobile: How did that come about do you think? Given that you were grouped according to academic ability?

L: Academic ability ja!!Primary school I remember they wanted to send me to 'L' (school), because I have dyslexia, but, ahm, other than that, like in terms of (pause) the heavily academic subjects I had I struggled with, but I was generally really good at (confident voice), uhm, in that a lot of the time they they'd bounce me around between the A class and the B class at the time, which was quite defined. They would definitely drill that into your head that you were in the A class or you were B class, that was it. And at that time there was more white kids, and Indian kids and coloured kids in the A class than there were in the B class. There were maybe 2 or 3 black kids in the A class. B class that was just more black students.

Thobile: A class was more white?

L: More white more Indian… majority of the time 'twas more white than Indian.

Thobile: Lower ability would be more black?

L: More black, but, and then there'd be whites in between that. I'd say that there would be more or less about 30% more black than they would be in the A class.

Thobile: Challenges: any language or transport or challenges generally related to your socio-economic status? Equipment for school, example, kit for sport?

L: Ja, it was never a problem. Ahm (long pause), sure in terms of challenges I wouldn't say I had that many, like compared to a lot of my other friends at the time. I didn't, I …had a lot of, I was actually very privileged to say like …sure. I played sport. I stayed fit, I was in drama at the time.I was fortunate enough, 'cos at that time my parents gave, the X (family) gave, my dad a car, which was my mum's old car, which - so when dad got his licence they gave him the car. There was never, I never had to worry about public transport, 'cos my dad got his licence at the time.
So that maybe, in terms of … I wouldn't have problems in terms of travelling to school, unless his car broke down, which (laughing) happened more often as, shame, the car was old, and he was still learning to drive, and that was more of an issue than anything else.

Thobile: You mentioned that some of your friends had different struggles…

L: Ja …they would take public transport, and at that time I didn't, I had never really been in any public transport, I was like: "what's that?" (hahahaha!!).

Thobile: What challenges did your friends face with public transport?

L: A lot of the time I was not part of it, a lot of the time they'd think I was very spoilt like: "why is it that she gets picked up and dropped off, everywhere, and we have to take public transport?" But for me, I was the kind of friend where I would be like: "dad my friend lives here can we take her there, if she has some sort of issue?" And my dad would oblige to it, he wouldn't have a problem, but they would still make me sometimes, they'd sort of make me feel like: "she is too blessed" and they would sometimes make me feel ashamed of it, but at the same time I would just be like: "but no! that's not fair - just because I have an issue with transport, or you had an issue with transport, still, I wouldn't make you feel like I was rubbing the whole thing in your face". Like, I just, I wasn't like that kind of person. I was not brought up to be that kind of a person. I was just, I was privileged and was known of it, and people would make me feel bad about it sometimes, but at the same time I would be like: "No! you know what? Let me put that aside, let me help this person out."

Thobile: Your friends' experience was different from yours: like they had to [go] taking public transport…How did that affect their schooling?

L: Ahm sometimes some of them wouldn't come for like a week, 'cos some of them lived quite far, but they would still come to the primary school. Also some of them, like 2 of my friends, also their parents, also were, their mothers were, domestic workers, but they didn't have a happy ending like mine, where my parents got back together. Their parents were just …their mothers were single mothers, they were domestic workers, and it was just so, just so happened, that, at the time their domestic, their mothers, their mothers' employers, would be concerned about their daughter, and they would help them out, or they would help her out in that sense.

Thobile: So they had those struggles?

L: So she definitely had her struggle, ehm, which I think was hard. She never really spoke about it much, but, because we were friends for so long, she eventually opened up to me and told me her struggles.

Thobile: How did that make you feel?

L: I felt bad 'cos I was like… that could have been me: my mother was in that stage, but I was still too small for me to have to be affected, but for her, she, her father had no interest

in being in her life. My father eventually came back ‘cos he realised he was wrong, and he needed to step up and take responsibility, but sort of, in that sense, it was a bit late for him as well, ‘cos I was already being taken care of, way better than he could have provided for me, but for her, a lot of the time (pause) we, I did feel really bad, like I felt really guilty at the time.

Thobile: You felt guilty that your friends were going through all these things?

L: Ja I was… mine was pretty much peachy, like I’d, I hardly had any family issues.

Thobile: You were well taken care of?

L: Ja …I was… the Xs (family name) took care of me pretty well, even through my mother’s struggles of being abused, and mine as well, ‘cos ja, my dad was kind of an abusive man as well, at the time, so that is why he was kind of in and out of our lives at the time.

Thobile: He had his own issues?

L: Ja, so he, he came from a broken family, and so he’d take out his frustration and his abuse on my mother and myself, which was sad, it was actually very sad. I can understand it being hard, but also sometimes like it wasn’t fair, like you know it’s not something you would wish on anybody else.

Thobile: Do you feel that you were equally valued or treated fairly, as a black learner in the schools you attended?

L: (Long pause) Yes and no. I would say it would depend on the lecturer at the time. Different lecturers had different … some of them were more old school, so they had a little bit of a …their old ideas and their old views. As much as they tried to change, sometimes the things they would say would be offensive, but you would, but because they were such a good lecturer then you wouldn’t actually, you wouldn’t necessarily worry about it, ahm.

Thobile: What kind of things would they say, any examples?

L: Sometimes I think, most of the time, it would be out of anger; they would say things that were quite offensive, ahm, which you, when you are still young, you don’t necessarily pay attention to. You kind of shove them off ‘cos you are not quite used to being so out there.

Thobile: Examples?

L: Ahm, like, uhm, one lecturer, ‘twas a male lecturer, who said - we were talking about history and we were talking I think about Shaka Zulu, and his history, his family and his ideas and beliefs and stuff like that, - and, and then he would be like: “I never understand why black people are so violent”. And I’m be like: “What do you mean by that? It’s not necessarily something that you just say. Why do you say that like?”
He said: “No! like don’t take me wrong. Like I don’t mean to be offensive”. I’m be like: “But you are sort of are being offensive, ‘cos you are generalising here, you are not, you are not saying ‘at the time we never understood why Shaka Zulu was so aggressive or violent’, or you are saying ‘I never understood why black people were so violent’, like white people were just that violent, back in the day, why are you pointing out, just to white people, black people, like I don’t?

Thobile: So why generalize…?

L: Ja…it's not …we both have a history of … there was more wars with white people involved than black people, so why are you generalising?

Thobile: You took them on …

L: I was like: "no! for me [yo] [no]! I have always, I've always had passion of our history, and I know my history, so for someone to just say things like that I would take him on. I was like: "no you don't say things like that, I mean, shooo". I was like going back to, I'd even mention, I mean I was like: "Shaka Zulu was way before World War 1 and World War 2", but I was like: "there was more wars, Shaka Zulu was dead and buried and you would talk about wars, that World War 1 and World War 2, that was involving white people. Why won't you say something about that, I mean shooo?"

Thobile: How was that received?

L: He was taken aback at the time he was just like: "no! you can't say things like that", and I'm like: "but Sir, but you can't say that. What you said was wrong as well. I mean as much as you think I'm wrong and I know that I'm right (laughing) you can't say things like that".

Especially like for me, I don't necessarily (pause), I defend what I think is right, and what is wrong I don't look at it in terms of colour, I don't look at it in terms of …yes I've been brought up by white people and my parents, I lived with white people and black people when I both lived with both sides of my family, but still I was brought up to think of things, of what is right in terms of what I see as right, and I look at the facts and not someone else's opinion, and how they see the world, because I believe that having my own view of the world and my own opinion is more valuable than someone else's stereotype of what people are.

Which I think my parents would have done a good job in teaching me, because sometimes, shoo, the stereotypes that [you] hear, you would think "oh ok that that makes sense", but then when you really think about it you will be like: "no! it's actually not right - why is it, why would you think something is like this when it is like that?"

Thobile: So what sort of stereotypes did you go through?

L: Being called a coconut funny enough.

Thobile: So you were called a coconut?

L: I was called a coconut, me and my friends were called coconuts, because we all spoke fluent English, my other friend spoke Zulu also, but she was fluent in English and, ahm, Zulu. I was more fluent in English and Afrikaans, that comes and goes at times, so ja that was also another funny thing, ahm…

Thobile: What makes a person think of you as a coconut do you think?

L: My fluent English, my mannerisms, sometimes they don't even, they don't even know I was adopted, that that's something that fades in the distance, sometimes because that normally would be the first question I get asked now, because of how we've all developed and we all …we pretty much …even like for example like you, you speak better English I would say than me sometimes.

Thobile: Come on now L.

L: I'm being dead serious: that used to be the stereotype, the first thing is you speak fluent English, and that was already you were a coconut.

Thobile: And now?

L: So now it's like my mannerisms, the things that I watch, like I don't, I haven't, I know, like things like Generations and things like that, that are predominantly black soapies which most people enjoy, I don't necessarily watch them, not because I don't enjoy it, but because at the time like it comes and it goes, I watch, I watch it when it's there, but if it's not there I'm not going to be …it's not my main focus on TV hahahah.

Thobile: What do you watch on TV?

L: I'm more of a series kind of girl, so I watch like, ahm, Two and [a] half men, I watch Pretty little liars, I watch, ahm, cooking shows, Top Gear, fashion shows, more like, more like European stuff, local things I was never really that exposed to in terms of like, besides when I did speech and drama, but other than that like, ja, you get some stages where some, even some, even some of my white friends would be like "ahhh the things that you watch I'm still watching; like my maid watches Generations how come you don't watch Generations or don't you watch any SABC whatever", and I'm just like: "because I never really …it's not something I enjoy".

Thobile: How did that come about?

L: Ahm gee, I think people are starting to be more aware of …things people do, ahm, and how they carry on about their lives, and ….for I still see, like even here at college, sometimes you can see people still see me as being different, compared to how they have been brought up, and who I'm friends with, and how I approach people, and my associations with different groups and different colours. You would say as well, ahm, my one friend that I used to be friends with, he left the campus, he'd always say like: "some of the people think you are stuck up", and I'm like: "but they don't know me to say that. How how do you judge a person based …", and he will be like: "no! just like how you are, I know you as so chilled and laid back as like a nice person and friendly, but when they look at you and they see you with the people you are with, they automatically assume that you are stuck up you and you are full of yourself".

Thobile: Who are you normally with?

L: Ehm, well 'MA' (friend) and the other girl, 'NI' (friend), I only met last year in June, but then I was friends with another group of coconuts per se hahahahaha.

Thobile: So you somehow associate with those they regard as coconuts?

L: As coconut, yes, and that time they made, they made all of us, like we, how can I explain this? We all knew each other, because of the area we lived in, and that was already like because they were in Durban North, I was in Umshlanga and my other friend was in La Lucia, so we were all friends, because we were in the, the same area, and we went to the same primary schools and high schools, schools. So that's how we became friends. For them they did not see it, as that they saw there the coconuts, so they are like "oh they are friends because they are living the coconut life and one is adopted by white people, and so she is worse than others", hahahahaha and I'm just like …

Thobile: How does that make you feel?

L: Ah! I don't know, for me I think I laugh at it now, because it's just ignorance; before it used to be offensive. It's like why would you call me coconut if you do not know me, if you took time to get to know me, then you would see that I'm not, I'm just who I am, who I am, I don't know how to be anything different; I was brought up in a certain environment, I adapted my likes and dislikes in my own view I …no one tried to mould

me to be one particular brand of person, I was my own and I chose what I liked, and my parents were never: “no you must like this, you must like that, or you must watch this, you must watch that”; they just let me be who I wanted to be.
Which I think, ja, which is important; they never …there was nothing, they have no ideas, even politics, now that I’m old enough to vote, and things like they never politics on me, who they were voting for, and what they believed in, never. Compared to my other side of family, where they don’t even worry about politics, they just like: “what is that, why are you even…we don’t even vote, so why does that matter? You do what you need to, but as for us we are not worried about that …”. Which I think if I had lived with my real parents, I probably would have had the same mind set as well which is, ja… well

Thobile: Treatment by teachers particularly white learners. How was that experience?

L: Mh! Ahm …Shoo, at ‘D’ (school) there was only (pause)….two black lecturers in the whole school, I think three Indian ones, and the rest were all white, so some were old school, some were still young and you know they weren’t really affected by having the big change, between having, having a predominantly white or predominantly black school: that kind of thing, that wasn’t the culture shock in terms of, of having to deal with different races, did not affect them as badly as some of the older lecturers.
Like I remember I had one lecturer for maths, she was quite, she was, shoo, she had been at the school I think what, some 20 years, or something or so, and she taught me for maths literacy at ‘D’ I think in grade ten, and my class was predominantly black. [s]hoo like, maybe there was like one or two white students in my class, but that was just the package that we had, so it was just based on the package we had at the time, as most of us did like computers and other different subjects, which would clash with like maths and things like that.
She, she, ehm, her views on things and her opinions were important, I felt, because she said she had always been hopeful for the change, and she said she’d always worried about how it would affect us, and like she would always ask us about our different experiences, like on campus and things, because there was a little bit of tension between like the races, because a lot of the time going into the year like you would realise as girls that …each race had their own little group, and this was in every grade, so no-one would ever, not many people, would mix socially, ahm, which was I think for me it was a little bit of a culture shock, because like I said I was so used to everybody mixing and now everybody is in blacks with blacks, whites with whites, throughout high school… Unlike in primary school, everybody was mixed at one stage; high school everybody was separate.
I think from my group of friends, my little group of friends, there was about seven of us, we were all at my grade, we were the only mixed: there would be ‘CA’ who was white, ‘JE’ who was white, ‘AS’ who was white, ‘MO’ who was also white, ahm, and there would be ‘SA’ and myself, we were both adopted. ‘SA’ was adopted by a gay couple and I was adopted by a white couple, so we were sort of the outsiders in terms of black people, ‘cos they would sort of remind us that we were not necessarily black enough, and some white girls would remind us that we were not white enough either, so we were in between hahahaha, ahm, and we had two Indian friends and there was another black girl who wasn’t adopted per se, but she kind of hid it, she, I was actually quite surprised, I learnt this recently, she, her mother was a domestic worker, and she stays in; she used to

stay in my now boyfriend's old house, and she, she what you call, used to hide the fact that she was adopted; she would just say like: "my mum is working overseas", or whatever, and she would never really say what she was doing, or where she was going, or what her family was about.

And then, but that group of ours was …majority of us would have been friends since primary school, three or four of us had been friends since primary school, and the rest of us, we just met in different classes, so that dynamic was already different, so when we had to separate and we had our close friends, and we'd all have to find who we wanted to hang out with, at the time it was different and especially when you had to get separated, you know in high school packages, all our classes aren't the same, so we wouldn't see each other all the time, inasmuch as we would like to.

Thobile: Was this high school?

L: Ja, high school grade 8, grade 9, grade 10. Grade 10, some of us just started disappearing into our little groups, like 'F', the one I spoke about whose mother was a domestic worker, and she never used to say so; she eventually started hanging out with a black group she was just…

Thobile: So 'F' was black?

L: 'F' was black at the time, and for me I was the one in between hahahaha.

Thobile: Did you carry on with the group when the others left?

L: Ja! We carried on with our group, ja, it just started becoming more, started becoming more, started becoming more, like we had now an Indian girl who we were friends with, and then the one girl went and became friends with another group of Indian girls.

Thobile: Did they say why they were leaving the group?

L: They were all sort of coming and going.

Thobile: Did they say why they were leaving the group?

L: No! They would just go…they were just like gone. We never, it never, we never really discussed, they would just go.

Thobile: So you were left with the four white girls?

L: Ja, I was best friend with them, and 'SA' as well, so we'd just, ja, there was 'SA' and myself, so it was like 2 blacks 2 whites, we had 'A'and 'M', those two had been best friends since primary, so they were in their own little bubble; it was me, 'SA' and 'C', so 'C' and 'SA' were friends for different reasons, and me and 'C' were friends for different reasons, but the three of us were friends.

Thobile: Two white two blacks: who is friends with whom with the four?

L: It was, ja. What would happen is me and 'C' lived in Umshlanga together so we were best friends.

Thobile: So 'C' was white.

L: Ja 'C' is a white girl from a Greek family, so me and her were best friends tight shooo for like …years, even now, ahm, 'J' was, she was there, but not there, but we were also friends so we were all quite close, and then there was, ahm, and 'J'was white of course, and then 'SA', she was black, but she you would say, shame, most people would say she was, she was just as white as any white girl hahahaha.

Thobile: How come so?

L: Like I said she was adopted by a gay couple, and, ahm, she never really knew her mother and she, ehm, all she has ever known was …the adopted family, that's, that's all she has ever known, unlike me, where I have known both sides, so I had to, I kind of adapted to whatever situation I was in; if I was with my black side of the family, like my biological side, and if I was with my white side of my family, the 'X' (name of family) it was fine, it was never really a culture shock compared to if I were to take 'SA' to my biological side; for her it would have been a culture shock because she would not really know or understand what was happening .

Thobile: What did you have to adapt to: how different were these families?

L: Mh, so my biological side they, they are quite traditional, so they would tell me about my ancestors, and they would tell me about my family, especially my father's side, because my grandpa was a polygamist like I mentioned, so he had a lot of wives, and I needed to understand that because of that, that would affect who I would associate myself with, in terms of relationships one day, and I needed to know what my family background was, so I didn't get involved with, in a sense, someone in my family, because the family was so big, ahm shooo, the M at the time, shoo, were, my grandfather had a wife in almost every province, and he had kids in every province, so he was everywhere hahahah, so I needed to know what to expect, and my family I needed to know who was who and what was happening, so I wouldn't get involved with family, 'cos that would eventually affect the family chain, and affect the bloodline and things like that, which was important for them to let me know. Like with, like little family ceremonies, like when my aunts and uncles used to get married and stuff like that, I was invited to those sorts of things, and my what you call adoptive family was actually very understanding of that, that I needed to learn that and understand that because yes, I may not be, as much as I was theirs, I was also my biological parents' as well, and they felt I needed to know both sides, to understand who I was, and where I was coming from, so that I do not feel like an outsider in the world, 'cos I think they both realised that I would get judged for different things, and different reasons, and people would not understand where I come from and I think, for them, it was important for them that I knew who I was, and where I was going in the world, that it was important to know my roots and my background.

Thobile: You come from a very traditional family, but you have been raised by a Western family; could you practise what is traditionally African in your Western setting?

L: My mum didn't mind, she was actually quite accepting of it, she understood that there was a difference, and that there were certain things that I needed to do, but she was also quite stubborn in some senses where, like if she didn't like something, she would not have allowed it to happen, so like I think my mum was telling me once, like you know when they slaughter goats and they would give you like the skin, my mum she allowed me to go to it, she allowed me to see and experience it because I needed to, I needed to understand what it was about and what I was doing and why my family was doing it, but then also when I came back, she said I came back at the time quite ill, she said she did not quite know why I was ill, but I was ill for some reason and for her it got to the point where I was so ill I had to go to hospital, it was quite bad, and for her she said she was quite scared to the point when she didn't want me to go to the next event, because even though she knew she had to, and because she was so fearful of my health, ahm, she was a

bit worried about what, what would happen next time, because it was the first time I'd went, I was about what, nine, ten years old, and I went and when I came back I was, shoo, so ill to the point where I had to go to the hospital like I mentioned and…

Thobile: Did they put isiphandla (traditional bracelet) on you?

L: I think they did, ja.

Thobile: So the ceremony was for you?

L: Mh, and I had a goat skin on my arm which my mum was not too impressed about, so there was a little bit of a tension as well there, because I was ill, I'd got to this ceremony, my mum did not understand why I was ill all of a sudden, because I was only there for a week, so for me to get so violently ill when I had been there for only a week, and when I went to hospital at the time they gave me drips and all of that, and they told me that I had got double pneumonia which was quite bad so…

Thobile: How old were you?

L: I was about ten, so ja coming back and because it wasn't even..' cos ja, my biological family side the M and MS they both live in Springbok in Newcastle, so that time it was middle of winter it was ice cold, I was, I ended up getting double pneumonia after being there for about a week.

Thobile: You worked that was it, because of exposure to the cold?

L: A lot of the ceremonies were mostly at night, and I was always half …I did not have enough clothes on, and I was in and out of water and…

Thobile: How did they reconcile that tension?

L: It took her about two years to get over it, 'cos my mum is not one of those women that would forget things like that, for her when she loves her children she loves her children fiercely, and so she was very …my dad had to intervene, and like: "you know what, she is fine now, it's been two years, just like let her go, she is older now, she won't, I understand she was younger at the time, now she's older, let her experience, you've sort of scared her, to think it's not ok for her to go, she needs to know that it's ok, now she's fine".

So my mum allowed it eventually but she wasn't she was quite hesitant about it which is, shame, it's understandable, shame.

Thobile: How were you received by other learners, particularly white kids, not your friends, just generally other co-learners?

L: I would say, in terms of (pause) different classes per se, like when we'd interact with different groups of what you call, ja, with different groups of girls at different times, you were accepted but you weren't necessarily a friend, they did not see you as a friend, like at any stage, even if you were a part of a team with them, like you weren't - like I said I played hockey at the time, I was quite sporty, and I wanted to learn different things and experience what I could experience, 'cos I had the opportunity to. As much as they would make you, you were friendly with people, but outside of being friends with the certain group of friends that you were with, they wouldn't necessarily embrace you as someone that they would hang out with. I don't know if it was based on who I was and what I was about at the time, or 'cos I was adopted, 'cos pretty much everybody sort of knew that it was just me and S that were the adopted kids in our grade, so everybody knew that, but I don't know, maybe it was because they just did not gel well with my personality or what

I was about, and what, ‘cos my mom was strict at the time, and their parents were very…flexible and they just let them do, and their parent …like I would get invited to these sort of things, these parties, these events, but if my mom did not like it I would not go so it was like that which I think also kind of sort of make you feel isolated about that, and uhm …

Thobile: Was the school welcoming of your culture, for example how was the goat skin for example received at school?

L: Some lecturers were fine with it, some were not too keen on it, some would say like: “I don’t know why you are wearing that, the thing smells”, and I’m just like: “well I can’t help that, sorry, like you know, it’s just it’s part of my family tradition, so even though I do, I live with white people, my mum is ok, so if you have a problem with it, like take it up with my mum, because it’s not something I can change or I can… it’s just part of my family, I don’t see how it’s affecting school, you know”.

Thobile: So they let you?

L: Ja they let me. My mum … they eventually, the one lecturer had an issue with it and she called my mum, and my mum was like: “Ooh I’m fine with it, unless it’s affecting the school code of conduct? Then it’s fine, why are you worrying about it ?” Ja…

Thobile: Was the school generally accommodative of black culture?

L: Some of them did have issues with it, uhm, like I said there were some lecturers that had issues, and, but I think the more frequently that they would see that student, the more issues they would have with it.

Thobile: If she came more frequently with what signified tradition?

L: Because they’ll be like: “no! it’s not…doesn’t go with the school uniform”, or like different hairstyles and different things: like I remember my school ‘D’ was very strict when it came to, ehm, African girls and their hairstyles: they wouldn’t allow us to just wear whatever we wanted, our hair couldn’t be too long or too short, or we couldn’t just have different bits and bobs all over us, we had to… if we were doing it, it got to a point where we had to give a written letter explaining why we were doing it.

Thobile: Was there a prescribed hairstyle or how you were to manage your hair?

L: Ja, like if we had hair extensions.. well, I never understood this rule, but they would ask us to write letters as to why we are putting hair extension in our hair for what reason: is it an event or is it ‘cos they wanted, they didn’t want us to have all these big flamboyant hairstyles as we did, like the what you call curly ones, they wanted them to be neat, tied back, as if we had extensions it must be the straight ones, no curly over curly ones, not over too long, and also they worried that the hair would be everywhere in the pool and that kind of thing, some girls would refuse to swim because it’s based on their hair, which I think most of the time they figured out that girls were using their hair as an excuse to not swim.

Thobile: Same rules for whites?

L: Same rules for white girls as well, there were some girls I think that they were just an exception to the rule, why I don’t [know] most of it because they, some of the the teachers’ daughters, were at the school, and those would be the ones that were rebellious with what they did, so they some of them would get away with it, but some of us wouldn’t get away with it.

Thobile: What is your language at home?

L: English and Afrikaans, ja, bilingual in that sense.

Thobile: When you are with your biological family?

L: I try very hard to speak Zulu hahahaha, I'm not perfect at it: my dad marks me a lot about it. Now it seems like to be a little bit more like: "why is it that you don't speak Zulu enough?" but then I don't know like for me I've, I get annoyed with him sometimes.

Thobile: You were getting A's in isiZulu. Is it because you are not practising it enough?

L: Ja, and I never took Zulu as my fir …a language in high school, I did Afrikaans' cos the standard of Zulu and Afrikaans was different: Zulu for me, it was more like poetry and stories, and for me I tried but I just, it didn't work out for me.

Thobile: So you got assistance at primary school not high school?

L: She had left, she went to go study, my housekeeper.

Thobile: Relationship with your extended family, especially cousins that did not attend model C schools. Any positive experiences and challenges?

L: So on my biological side I had this cousin, who I was quite close with, uhm, we were only, there is only a year difference between the two of us. She …went to …a school in Newcastle and I would only see her when I would go to Newcastle or she would come Jo burg, so she had come to visit because my aunt at the time was became …the housekeeper, when my mum was pregnant for the second time.

So she would come visit, and my aunt used to try persuade the Xs to try and adopt my cousin. And at that time my parents were getting older, my dad was considering retiring, so he was not too keen on taking on another child, especially because they didn't, she didn't, ahm, didn't quite know her, and she, I don't know, I don't I think my mum was not too comfortable with the idea of having to take on another child, so I felt like my cousin always seemed like she was always happy for me but my aunt was very …she made me feel like I wasn't, like: "why is it that my daughter can't be where you are?" And she made me feel a bit awkward about it, like: "You are not good enough to be here; why are you here, my daughter deserves better, why is it that she isn't, why she wasn't chosen, and you were?" and I was just like: "ok", but my cousin herself she was like: "no! I'm so happy for you … so chilled about it"; we got along, and we were so close, we were friendly, but, ja, my aunt, she was quite mean, and very horrible about, she didn't, it's like she just didn't, like the idea of me having better, a lot just a lot like it should have been her daughter, like, why isn't, wasn't it, her, my daughter is better than me, she is better looking …ja like not you.

Thobile: Positive experiences?

L: My grandparents were very happy about it on my mother's side, they were, they always thought my parents were like a blessing, the Xs (adoptive family) were a blessing in disguise, because they know of the positive experiences that my mother had with them as well.

But in terms of my father's side, they were not too happy; I think might have [been] because my grandfather was a chauffeur for my dad's business partner at the time, and because my grandpa started stealing from that side of the family, from his what you call his employee, employer, at the time. There was quite, uhm, bad blood between the family, that he wasn't too excited about, so the 'Ms'(biological family) were not keen

who I was staying with, because of that, and the whole, the story was completely twisted, hahahaha. The truth never came up in terms of what my grandpa actually did, that they just knew that they just felt like it got to a point where race became an issue, when it wasn't even that, it was purely theft like…

That was because it lasted for a long time, until the employee, or my grandparents' old employee, passed away. It became such a big drama, to the point where away, because he …he what you call helped my grandfather start his taxi business and after …so he during the time when he was still a chauffeur my grandpa and the older sons, his older sons, they wanted to start the business, so when he was still a chauffeur, he asked his employer to help start the business, and he gave the money to start the whole taxi, buy the taxis, the first couple of taxis, so in terms of that my grandpa was actually indebted to his employer, but because he started stealing and got greedy because of the taxi business, that's when the whole dynamic…the relationship went sour.

Thobile: How did you reconcile school culture and family culture? How did you manage school expectations vis a vis home expectations?

L: Well I'd say that wasn't easy …different, like you said, like you don't look adults in the eye, when you're busy, you get shouted at for not looking at your lecturers in the face, hahaha, which was quite funny, and I'm just like: "No, like I wasn't, I'm not allowed to", but they were like: "no but you are in class, I need to know that you hear me, and you understand what I'm saying", and I'm like: "I' m listening to you, so like for me I Iook beside you, I don't look at you" (fast pace) so jaaa.

Thobile: So you went around explaining?

L: I had to try and explain what, and they were like: But then you live with white people", and I'm just like: "but I do know my … it's an open adoption". I had to come up with different ways to make them understand like: "ok it's an open adoption, I know both sides in my family, please, so different things that I do, please understand that I'll do them differently, like it's just one of those things..".

Thobile: There are two Ls: two of you?

L: Yes hahaha.

Thobile: In the face of challenges that you have mentioned please elaborate on factors that enabled you to persevere.

L: I think it was my close relationship with my mum. I'd say she was one of a few people that understood both sides and …she was exposed to both sides: from my mother's side she knew she understood …she was one of a few people that actually, without me having to explain half a million stories as to why things are different, she understood without me having to give full explanations, 'cos I had to literally, like as I went through life and met people, I'd have to sit and would have to literally explain: it would be funny sometimes when they would be like: "ehm no! I don't mean to be offensive, but, err, why is it that you live with white people?" I would have to explain I'll be like: "Oh" and I'll be like: "I've had to explain it so many times, it's ok, I'm so used to it now, it's not …" and they will be like: "you can speak Zulu",and I'll be like: "I speak, I'm not perfect, but I do try, I make an effort because I embrace both sides of my family, even though it may not be my first language, I still feel it is important to learn it, know it, because I'm a black person, I am an African person, I need to embrace both sides of who I am and who I could be", so I

think some people understood, some people and were accepting of it, and some would be like: "well I thought you were just adopted, and you did not know who your parents were, and you did not want to know who your parents were, and I will be like: "No! Why would I not want to know where I come from?"

Thobile: The black community, what was their reaction when they learnt that you were attending a predominantly white school?

L: I think from the 'M' side of the family, they like to stir the pot, in terms of why I was adopted, and what was the story, was to sugar-coat my dad, and what he was doing and how, his choices in life, but in terms of my mother's side of the family, they were very defensive of what and who I was, and the choices my mother made, for the, for my benefit and for, well, for hers as well. Like my mum, I remember my grandma was one of those who would always, she used to get into arguments with a lot of people in the community, like she'll be like: "no I don't understand why you feel like, ehm, what's like, err…" What would happen was like my gran and my aunt yes my gran and my aunt on my mother's side they would definitely defend a lot of rumours and stories as to why I was never around, why I spoke the way I spoke, the why, I, my mannerisms, were the way that they were, and the difference, like, and like who I was, like my grandmother never made me feel like I was an outsider of the family, my dad's side always made me feel awkward, like there was always this weird feeling, that weird tension between who, especially, because my aunt was from, the aunt that I was telling you about earlier, was [j]a from my father's side (pause) so she was, ja, she was the in-law from, I think she was my uncle's second wife, so she just didn't like me, and didn't understand me, and didn't want to like me, and that side of the family, and especially when my cousin used to come over, she never really understood why my cousin was so nice to me, she expected my cousin to not like, me but my cousin was just completely different.

Thobile: And the rest of the community?

L: In general they didn't …some people were fine with it, some people didn't care, some people were just like: "why is it like this? Why is she, what makes her so special, that she must be with white people?"

Thobile: They regarded living with white people special?

L: Ja…some people were happy like for me, like they'll be like: "oh you are so lucky, you are so blessed, you should be grateful for the opportunity that you have", and others will just be like: "I don't see why you don't come back; you don't belong there, you don't feel, I'm sure you don't feel normal there, they must treat you differently". I'm just like: "no they never treat me differently" and like: "so like well in my experience, when I'm working, they treat me differently; why is it that they don't treat you differently?"

Thobile: How did that make you feel?

L: Ja …they are like attacking who I am, and what I'm about, the colour the family that I'm living in, they'd ask such weird personal questions, things that had nothing really to do with them, they'll be like: "oh! where do you live", and I'm like: "in Sandton", they will be like: "ooh you are one of those rich people" or "are you a maid there?" I'm like: "hahahah no!" like: "why hahah".

Why would you … it felt so odd, like why is it I never, especially when you are still small, and you are getting asked such weird questions, you just like: "I'm so used to

people just being like: ‘ok you are adopted’ that’s fine it’s completely…” but I think there was also another thing that also used, people get, people get annoyed with me, when I was still smaller, like still my Zulu wasn’t perfect, so they’ll have issues with that, so they’ll be like: “your Zulu is terrible, why is it like that?” and I’m like: “Zulu is not my first language”, and they are like: “why, you are black, you are supposed to have perfect Zulu”, but I’m like: “I live with white people”, and they will be like: “Hawu!! you live with white people, why?” and I’m like: “hahaha I don’t know…”.

Thobile: Life at predominantly white school is vastly different from that in the community how did you manage school vs community, how did this impact on your understanding of who you are?

L: Sure, ahm, it did take me a while to. I think I’m still learning that, understanding the different dynamics of my family, like the more I get told what’s happening on both sides, and growing up, the different things, my - ‘cos I think a lot of the time my parents had tried to keep things harsh, harsh in terms of like issues that was like in the family, and as I get older they are not shy to tell me. My mum used to say she used to treat me like an adult, even when I was still small she still felt like I needed to know these things, ahm, from a young age, and understand who my family was, who had issues with whom, and why there were those issues, and, ahm, actually my mum, like I said, my biological side, some my dad’s side, and my mum’s side, both had different views of me as a person, and they also had their own internal issues as well, between my mother and my father, ahm.

Thobile: How has this impacted on your understanding of who *u* ‘L’(participant) is?

L: Ok so…I think, shoo, with me (pause) being told both sides of the story of who, of why I was adopted, and who, the choices that my parents made, I think it made me understand why some people feel what they feel about who I am, and their opinions of ..it made me understand why people have like these very narrow-minded opinions of who I am, and who I’m about and I think I have learnt to, I think it’s one thing that I think also is interesting, people would judge you enough and ask questions enough, you start asking yourself all these questions, and you start asking your family all these questions, why is it so, so you can gauge and understand what it is people expect from you in the world.

Thobile: You would bounce it off them (your family) and seek some guidance?

L: Mh and ask …I would wanna know why is it that people are treating me differently, because of I would expect them to treat me a certain way, but they are treating me a different way compared to what I, what I assume, my personality would interpret, and how they would want me to be: (pause) ja, like how they would want me to approach different situations, like I think one thing my mum always used to say to me is that yes, you are different, you were brought up in a westernised family, you still know who your family is, which helps you as a person, because as a black woman growing up in South Africa, and you are learning different things about different people, different backgrounds, and your background is different from other people’s, but what you learn from living with both sides and understanding both sides of the family will help you develop and understand the world’s perception of you, which she said was always important, like she always used to say to me never stand back from anybody, never stand back for anybody, whether they are black white pink purple, whether they are rich, the richest of the rich, the poorest of the poor, you know who you are, you know where you

[came] from, you know what's right and what's wrong, so that is one thing you should always remember, and that will help you make proper decisions in life, as a woman and as a person, which, I think, that's one thing that's, like I said, you can sort of see like I can, it's one thing I relate to the most,because you constantly, as you're walking through life, I'm going now, I'm almost finished N5, going to N6, I have been working for 2 - 3 years, now looking for a job, I had to understand now, ok, there is a certain appearance and a certain approach: I must go about interacting with people, I mean now that I'm working in the hospitality industry, I'm interacting with different people, different views of how people interact, and see when they look at me, and how I talk, and how I interact with them.

Thobile: So it's given you perspective?

L: It's given me a lot of perspective of what people see in me, like I get like some people that would say very crude things. Like shoo, two weeks ago, I had a customer, uhm, (pause) black guy with his girlfriend, his friends; I greeted him very nicely in English - I prefer 'cos the restaurant is English, I prefer to greet the customer in English even if he is black - if he feels more comfortable speaking Zulu at the time I can actually come up hahahaha with Zulu words, and be able to interact with him properly, without feeling nervous, and say what I need to say. His approach towards me when I said to him, ahm, when I was greeting him in English, interacting with him, I was being friendly, his approach was very cold, like it's like he automatically shut down as soon as I spoke English. I think my accent just put him off already, which was strange to me 'cos I've had customers that are like, whatever, they are happy, very, they absorb my energy very quickly, his was very a very standoff kind of person. Take him around the restaurant, asked if he had made a reservation, he was very, very curt, very short with me, and I was like, ok well fine, show him around the restaurant The girlfriend is making comments, but she is not talking to me, she is talking to me, but she refuses to acknowledge my presence, which was already put me off her as well, so she is talking to her boyfriend in English, but she, and then she is making side comments in Zulu about me, and I'm standing right there, so she is like refusing to acknowledge my whole presence in general, but she knows that she is talking about me, and I'm like standing there and keeping quiet. Then they weren't happy with the area that they were sit[ing].. The restaurant was pretty much open, but there were certain areas that were booked; they wanted to sit in those reserved areas; my management is there, and he would [say] "as a waitress you can't just sit customers wherever", so I showed them the nicest area to sit. The girlfriend starts attacking me, but she is not talking to me she is just attacking, so I was just like ok, and then the boyfriend starts attacking me, now so he is like: "no why is it that I cannot sit here, the restaurant is open, why is it that I have to make a reservation here?" I'm just like: "but Sir this is the kind of place where you have to sort of make a reservation to get prime sections; you can't just sit wherever you want, unless it's, unless we would say: 'you know if it was reserved or not reserved'". She starts going off. I start.I keep quiet and the boyfriend starts attacking me. the gentleman starts attacking me, and asking me all sorts of questions. He was like I sort of got a bit offended, so he says to me: "ahm, do you speak Zulu?" I said "no", and he said: "what do you speak?" I said: "English and Afrikaans". "Ohh", the girlfriend starts going off: "she is a black person, how come she is

not speaking Zulu?" and I'm just like, and she is saying this in Zulu, so I can hear what she is saying, I can completely understand. She starts going off, going berserk," why is it that she can't speak Zulu? She is a black person, who does she think, just because she doesn't …" She does not even know me from Adam and she is going off.

Thobile: It's like you have to keep explaining yourself?

L: Mh. To a person that I will not even be serving, so it didn't even matter.

L: Ja. There are some instances I have to deal with and then the gentleman says to me: "Ahm, you seem to be a bit angry?" I'm like: "no I'm not", and he said: "well, ahm, could you find a waiter that can speak Zulu?" and I was just like: "Ooh. Ok", put the, I put the menus down and I said: "these are the menus and this is the cocktail list" and I say: "Sir I will be happy to." I walked away, I went to find the other waiter who was on shift who can speak Zulu, came back, as I'm about to let him know that the waiter is coming, he gets up and he says: "we'd rather not come to a place where, if the black waiter is a black waiter, we'd prefer them to be speaking Zulu than English here", and they left.

Thobile: These experiences, what comes to mind? Your emotions how do they make you feel?

L: I was so angry, I was like: "how narrow-minded do you have to be, to ask such …", for me the question was just stupid, you look at me and you automatically assume I speak Zulu, why is that? That's already, that's arrogance, and narrow-mindedness to the core already, and then you ask for another waiter because you refuse to be spoken to by a person that speaks English, but you reading the menu and the English is in English, I mean the menu is in English, so you are contradicting what is it that you want? Are you just looking to pick a fight?

Thobile: Maybe you should have a menu in isiZulu?

L: But it's not …the menu outside you could already see they were outside, looking at the menu, they came in, I think for me they were, I don't know what they, eh, still 'til I think, 'til this day, I'm just like: "what was the point of that, you are attacking my personality, you are attacking who I am, you are attacking my very foundation of who I am. Must I sit and explain, were you expecting me to explain to you, who, what I'm about, when you are not even gonna, who you don't even know, me I might not even serve you that evening?"

Thobile: It is more like the community labelling you a coconut, without understanding where you come from.

L: Mh, what I'm about exactly, just, I mean just from the girlfriend's comments, she already just automatically started attacking me, from, she didn't, she refused even to address me, I was still just like Ok.

Thobile: Mhh. Attending a former white school, what did that make you feel, or think at the time, while you were still a learner at such a school?

L: Uhm, one thing for sure, I had throughout high school, I don't think I have experienced that kind of conflict, compared to in the outside world; there was never that kind of tension; people I think if they had opinions like that, they would keep them quite reserved, they wouldn't be sooo out there to attack your personality, and attack who you are, 'cos I think a lot of the time, if they weren't sure, they would ask, they, they took their time to actually ask, they just didn't go and attack you, based on what they think,

they know they would at least do the research, take the time and make the effort, I mean, even if it wasn't like, I, it didn't even matter, because we had been together for so long in high schools, we knew each other by name, we wouldn't have to necessarily worry about, unless it was a new person, a new lecturer, they would still ask.

Thobile: Looking back in retrospect now how do you feel about having attended a white school?

L: I think if I had still been in the community, where my cousin is staying in Newcastle, I don't think I would have been, I think my whole personality, my whole understanding of life, my whole view of what the world is about, would be completely different .

Thobile: How different do you think?

L: I think because, uhm, I mean Newcastle is only developing now, it's taken them a long time to actually develop, compared to, I've always, it's been more wouldn't say rural, but it has still the very rural dynamic of lifestyle compared to the city, and being in the suburbs, ehm, I think the whole upbringing is completely different; ahm, I'm thinking of now my little brother and my little sister, their challenges are completely different from mine.

Thobile: Did they live their life there?

L: Completely their entire life in Newcastle

Thobile: How different?

L: I think cos my parents are poor, they're not, they don't have much, they live a very basic lifestyle, and my lifestyle is completely, it's different from theirs and mine, and I think that understanding that I would not have any, most of the things I have now, level of education wouldn't be the same, my what you call understanding of people wouldn't be the same, ahm, my approach to life. I probably would still be a quiet and timid person, because I have always been a quiet and timid person, but I think it would have taken a lot more for me to be out there, confident in who I am compared to now.

Thobile: What did attending a predominantly white school mean to you at the time?

L: What I felt was then (pause): predominantly what you call Model C schools are always, I think it's a general thing, where you are very academically driven, or very passionate about things, we're very interactive with each other, we are all in each other's faces, we know each other's lives, we are always with each other, and we are not seeing each on the weekends, we see each other every day at school and even then we still have a very close tight bond between friends and family, even the people that we are not necessarily friends with we'd still know about each other's lives and family stories, and teachers' gossip hahahha, and all sorts of things, we would know everything about each other, to the point where like, if someone was not saying something about someone, or someone was saying something about someone, you would know exactly who that person is,you wouldn't even have to say 'J'who you would know exactly.

Thobile: Did that carry any meaning for you

L: I think it, it for me, it made me understand people in general, and how people are especially being around girls, how different things affect different people, and how girls' understandings of each other, and their little cat fights, and little issues, and their little bickering hahaha, how we tend to be very catty, we have a very catty tendency about each other, that we can either make us very close, or can make us hate each other for life.

Thobile: How do you describe yourself?

L: I think for me as a person, now I understand myself, to be a lot more confident than what I used to be; I'm more open to the world, and the world's changes and people and their views of me.

Thobile: How would you describe yourself? Who are you? Do you think of yourself as a black person?

L: No, I don't see my colour, I'm not worried about it, I want people to see my personality and who I am; my colour shouldn't, should just be a formality on a piece of paper, when I have to vote, that should, for me in my ideal world, I want who I am and what I'm about to matter more than my colour, because I think as South Africans we have, we focus too much, on our colour, it is actually kinda frustrating, because with the colour comes a whole lot of stereotypes, which are challenges different people have to face, and some people don't know how to adapt to that, and I think for me being brought up how I have, I have learnt to adapt to that, and some people take, takes time for some people, like it has taken me time, to understand what it means to be a South African, what it means to be a black South African woman, and how my role as my race and my colour will affect the world, and how it's meant to affect the world, and what the world expects from me, you know… so I think it's important …

Thobile: So you identify yourself as a black South African?

L: A black South African … a black South African woman. Yes, I may have a different background from the average South African woman, but it's unique and I think as South Africans we are unique: we have experienced different things, we all have different challenges compared to Africans from America or an African from Uruguay, Uganda or Zimbabwe, we are all, have different challenges, and I think that idea of being our own person and being our own unique South African black person, or black woman, is what is important; we need to understand that dynamic and what, what it means to be who we are. I think our personalities should shine not just our colour.

Thobile: Thank you so much for the way you articulated who L is.

L: You have been interviewing me; now I feel like interviewing you.

Thobile: Can we do it over tea?

L: So tomorrow.

Thobile: No problem after the interview with 'MB' and 'DA'.

INTERVIEW WITH MA

Thobile: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. As I have mentioned earlier, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage should you desire to do so. To begin with, could you please tell me a story about your experiences of attending a Model C or a predominantly white school, where black students were a minority. Please tell me where and how it started, when you started attending a predominantly white school, and whether you had been to a predominantly black school before. I am particularly interested in your experiences as a black learner in a white school and how you managed your life at school, family and community levels. It's your story please tell it the best way you can.

MA: Ahm. Ok, I went to Addington Primary school from grade 1 'til grade 5, and, ahm, we had the school governing body was more white, if I can say we did have a couple of white students actually in our class. I was fortunate to actually have made friends with a few of them. Ehm, my experience in a predominantly white school was ok. I never had any negative, ehm, anything negative towards me personally, ehm, I would say. I actually had a good experience. The only negativity about it would be that the our lect… our teachers, they were coloureds, Indians, whites and not actually Africans. I don't remember in my five years ever being taught by a black teacher, 'cos I remember even our Zulu teacher was actually white, and then we were like: :ok, how were we being taught Zulu by a white lecturer?" and the only negativity that I actually took out, ehm, in those 5 years, well my memory is good, as actually grade 3, grade 3, 4, and 5 - 'cos that's when I became active in the whole school system, started participating, would be that I noticed that the lecturers, the teachers looked down on us even worse, because it's placed, the school is placed at South Beach, you know it's known as, ehm, oh well I'm a refugee myself, I'm from Rwanda, so then we were placed in a specific section for us as such, so personally to me I was…

Thobile: For the Rwandans, foreign students, or black students?

MA: No for the refugee students; we were given a place to stay in a specific part of South Beach, so then for me it's, it was combined, that it was combined that, that it was, it was a predominantly white school, and the fact that I was a refugee, and then they had that pity on me, you know when they would ask where I stay, and they found out where I lived, there was that pity, as much as they would, they would not make it obvious, but as a child I'm not blind, these things are very, very obvious, very, very obvious, 'cos they would, like we would have like charity functions, ok my family, we were fortunate not to have struggled at all, my parents had a decent job, we lived close by the school, you know everything was fine, but whenever we had like these charity functions they automatically assumed that we needed the assistance; instead of asking or instead of doing a survey to see which students needed the assistance they would just automatically come up to you and be like: "here is this, this, this, this" and it was, I don't think it was ever in a polite way. I think as teachers they came across as being polite, but you can hear it in their voice that it's, there is no way that this thing is being polite; this teacher there is no way ma'am

is being polite about offering me certain things. Ehm, so I think my biggest highlight should be charity; it was more of a charity case, and I was a fast learner, ehm, in school, but they taught us like we were slow learners. Ok yes we did have a couple of slow learners, but then we had group allocations: group A, group B, group C, D, you know in terms of your, in terms of your speeding class, I was placed in the A group; but we were still being taught like we were like slow learners, 'cos they assumed, ok we're black, we can't, and even though actually we knew, English, that's the funniest part: we could speak English, it's not like we could not speak the language, or it's not like we had a funny accent to it. Well, speaking, I'm talking about myself here, I had a good English accent, I understood English, I could write I could read but I was still seen as a slow learner and yet I was still in the A group, so it was mostly charity cases if I can put a heading to it, it would be charity and pity, right through; actually right through' til grade 5 when I actually left.

I remember the one experience was in grade, in grade 3. We had an Indian teacher, and I'd I have no idea if he had something against us black students, but he made a racist comment towards us black students, about us being, somewhere on the lines of us being slow or something like that, but it was along the lines of us being slow, and us being blacks, and he was very blunt about it. So I remember us as a class, we felt offended, we got our parents involved: the parents went to speak to the principal, the principal got us students to come together and to sign a consent form, saying that it is true, 'cos he had taught 2 classes. I remember he taught 2 groups, and then both groups, we both had the exact same, ehm, the exact same sentence, that he was racist. He did actually give a couple of racist comments, so we took it to the board, and then we actually got him expelled, but I remember clearly that he, he made it so he did not, he was so blunt about it, he was like you know he saw us as black students, he undermined us you know - it was like he was just there, just to get his salary you know, so ja ei..that that is what stuck out…

And then we had white teachers. I remember, shame had very, very good white teachers, but they also came across as: "you are black you know, we are here to teach you"; it was more like "you need our help you know" instead of "ok like let's work together I'll help you and then hopefully you will become something of yourself and you come back to thank me", but it was more of "you are a black student, I'm teaching you, you need me you know". And I think 'cos they figured that we were primary school students, I don't think they actually thought it would affect us as such, or think that we would remember it. 'Cos I remember - like we still meet up, I still meet up with my primary school friends, and we still talk about it, so then that's why I came to realise that sometimes teachers don't realise that it goes with us you know, it, it does, it does, and afterwards I went, I changed to a different primary school. Well we moved because we had moved residential areas, travelling became hard, you know, so we moved to a coloured school.

And that was fine, it was fine. My high school was also a coloured school. That one was also fine, so then, if I have to actually compare how I was treated in the coloured schools: ok my coloured schools were, they were partially, they were semi-private, semi-government, jaa it was semi- government, semi-private: governing body was predominantly teachers, no we never had white teachers, soo …

Thobile: The governing body was?

MA: Like the staff, the principals, the HOD, jaa, the main heads, they were white, so we didn't think we were Model C, because the students were not white. I remember in my high school in my five years of high school we only had one white student.

So as much as we had a Model C syllabus, but we never felt like we were Model C school, we were being told we were a model C school, but we didn't see it: our buildings did not reflect it, you know, but how are we a "Model C" school if we do not even have the proper equipment. So I noticed the huge difference when I compared my primary school experiences to my high school experiences.

High school you would only notice that we were predominantly white as such, when you looked, 'cos I was very, very involved. So I would speak to the board members, to the lecturers, so then that's how I got to know that we actually have a white system, but if you spoke to the students we had a black system. So I did not understand how we had a white system, but we were being taught in a black way you understand? Jaa. 'Cos I was like if we are a so called white school so to speak, why are we not being given the privileges? 'Cos I remember my sisters, my sisters went to all white schools. Am I allowed to mention the schools?

Thobile: It's ok we'll filter it out later.

MA: Ehm, my both sisters actually, my, my 3 siblings, went to all predominantly white schools: 'C' (school), Girls' College, 'D'Girls' High. So when I compare them, where they were fully **predominantly** white, whereas I'm semi-predominant white, and semi government, and I look at their facilities, and I look at their equipment, and I look at, at how they study, I did not understand how we had a white governing body. But we had, if I can say, black facilities. We had very, if you compared our standards, our standards were very, very bad, compared to my sisters', compared, and I, I even our teachers were, did not have up to scratch teachers, we did not have materials, learning materials, so I don't understand really why we were called semi-private semi-government school, 'cos we never had the opportunities of a private school, so…

Thobile: So the school, the high school was supposed to be private?

MA: Ja, yes, it was supposed to be, it was semi, like you know how you all would have a semi, you know like, like 'D'(high school) semi, but they follow a private curriculum, whereas we followed the public curriculum.

Thobile: Ok, so it was private or public or both?

MA: It was both: it was, I think they call it semi, it's a semi-private school 'cos it's half government half private; it's registered as a government school, but it is supposed to have private standards basically.

Thobile: You are saying that these experiences affected you. What effects have these experiences had on you, particularly your identity?

MA: Ehm, it, it, it, ehm, I think, I think I have been fortunate, because I am a confident person. I do have a confidence, so it's not easy for someone to just walk all over me, and I would just take it over as such. But, ehm, as a black student, and as a refugee student, let me actually just combine those two: I sometimes feel like there are certain things that I cannot amount to, because of my high school and primary school upbringing. There was always that borderline of, ok you are a black student, 'cos I remember, even in grade 10,

we were told: you know, ehm, we go through a career phase, and the, the type of careers they told us we could be, it was social workers, it was teachers, it was, it was basically government-related, they never said we could become architectures, they never said we could become doctors: it was always nurses, doctors - I mean nurses, teachers, ehm, you know all these, all of these basics.

So growing up I, I, in my head, I was like: ok I would be a nurse, 'cos I grew up with that mentality. The teachers filtered it in our heads, that ok you are this kind of school, this kind of syllabus only enables you to go **so far,** they did not say it as such, but it was very, very obvious, 'cos why would you encourage us to go for social work, for nursing, to become teachers, you know why are you not encouraging us to do better in Maths and Science, so that we can become teachers, so we can become lawyers, you know 'cos I remember, I wanted in high school, initially I thought I was actually gonna become a lawyer. I was: "ok I'm gonna do law". I mean my teacher was like no you do not have the English marks for it, which is, I don't believe it was my fault. I think it's 'cos it was the system's fault; we did not have the proper equipment, the proper English textbooks, we didn't have the proper English teachers, you know, so I think that was why even I finished my matric marks with very, very good marks, like 60s, 70s, and 80s, but in the university level it was not good enough for me to get into law. I remember I actually applied with, through CAO, and I got denied, and I was actually given a place for social work, and I, I remember asking my dad, I was like: "why is that, they think that we can only become nurses and social workers. I do not wanna do one of those. You know I wanna branch out." so the negative effect that it would have had on me personally was I grew up with that mentality, that ok I could only reach a certain level.

Only now that I got to college, ehm, I took a year gap between high school and college, and, ehm, me being [at] 'E'College, in that year, that was when I actually realised *hhayi bo* (oh my goodness) I can actually do just about anything I want. That's how I discovered that I actually wanted to become a chef, but I believe that if I had had that encouragement from primary school through to high school, I'd have done much, much better in my marks. I would have had, I would have had enough marks to actually enter me into university,'cause my sister is in university, she got the marks, 'cos I remember her school drilled her, they had that level of, ok we've got a standard, we need to keep up with it. With us they….

Thobile: Like they set a ceiling for you?

MA: They did, they did not drill us as much as say my sister's school got drilled, so ok fine maybe I was a bit lazy, but I believe it was we had that mentality, like we don't have to work as hard because it's very easy to get into nursing, to get into social work, to become a teacher, those jobs are desperately needed.

Thobile: So there was already a ceiling?

MA: No, we didn't, because there was, like because there was already, there was like I remember, I remember the teachers, they were like: "the good thing about going to government related careers is that you get a job instantly, it's not going to be hard if you finish your degree, you going to get a job, whereas if you wanna go to actuarial science, it's that much harder; medicine it's that much harder"; so I always felt like: "ok, I do not

have to work so hard, because if there is a shortage of teachers and I'm available, I got the academics for it, why they are not going to take me?"
You know so, so in my family I'd, I'm, I'm particularly the lazy one, but I believe it's 'cos I was brought up in a lazy system, if I can actually say it. I was brought up in a lazy system, and only when I got through my gap year, I met students, I became friends,' cause I was working, so during my experience of working I became friends with students. They were in University, they were at a higher level, and I always thought I could only amount to a diploma and then only then to find out *hawu*, I can actually get a degree, get my masters, you know, without only having to stop at a diploma, at a certificate, be happy with a diploma, get into a government, or be happy with a degree, get into government job, which I'm **literally,** am not going to like at all, because I have friends, I have friends who are, who are teachers, who are nurses, but if you ask them: "are you enjoying it?", they are like "no". "So why are you doing it?" "Easy money, easy jobs, you know" 'MA'(participant) you are going to be fighting for an interview to become a chef, whereas me, I put in my applications I, I, I have the criteria for it, I'm getting a job". Because I have a friend, personally she is my best friend, she is from Cape Town, oh she moved to Cape Town; now and then she went into nursing but I know that she wants to do design, she wants to do design, but she thinks she can't do it. I was so, I was like: "why are you not in it anyway, you can go through a bridging course, go through it, through college, get through it". And, and she was like: "no it pays better, I will get a job faster, you know". I was like: "ok, we were given that standard,that you are going to get a job".
I remember even, even my dad told me: "no 'MA'(participant), you should go into nursing, because of your marks. You are going to get a job much easier, but if you go into cheffing, it's going to be another story". I was like: *hawu*, are you serious right now?"
Jaa, so it was a lazy system altogether, altogether it was a lazy system, altogether, altogether. I think that's why even our pass rate is never a 100%. I remember, when I finished matric, and our matric pass rate was probably 70%, 60%, 70%, it wasn't even our matric pass was like 60-70% it wasn't even 80% - imagine the whole school so obviously if the students' pass rate does not go above 80 or is actually pushing in the 70s, as the highest is, you cannot blame the students for having a lazy mentality; there is something wrong with the system, the teachers, our workbooks: something is definitely wrong, 'cos how is it that a school is not going to get a 100%, whereas another school is getting 100% every single year. It's not the students' fault: a 100, a couple of 100 students cannot all be wrong, we cannot all be wrong. 'Cos I remember our headgirl, she was always coming up first. Eventually, but I remember, finished her matric, and we were all like assumed she was gonna get 6 distinctions or something, but she came up with 2 distinctions, and we were like: "how come you are getting 2 distinctions if you have been getting awards this whole time?" So it's, it was a lazy system, definitely a very lazy system, definitely.

Thobile: Contrast with you having attended a variety of schools, predominantly white, predominantly black with white standards. How did attending a predominantly [white]high school come about?

MA: Ehm, when we moved to South Africa we were given a place in Durban ‘cos we had just come back from Rwanda, so so there was a place that they gave you, and we went. Addington was the nearest school in terms of travelling because we could walk there.

Thobile: So it was the nearest school?

MA: That’s how we ended up there, ‘cos it was convenient and my parents were like: “oh why pay transportation money to go somewhere else, when you could walk there?” and it so happened to be a white school, with a white governing body. That’s how I ended up going there. It was by luck, it was by luck honestly.

MA: Why do you say luck?

MA: No, it was by luck, because had we not been given a residential area in Durban, well South Beach, so to speak.

Thobile: Positive experiences, like who were your friends, explore if you had black, white?

MA: Ooh, ehm, oh well, the positive things, or wow, haaa, I had a group of …we were mixed, there were 3 whites, if I can be specific, there were 3 whites, 3 Indians, 1 coloured and I was the only black hahah in my circle.

Thobile: 3 whites 1 Indian?

MA: No 3 Indians, 1 coloured, and myself. I was the only black. I was the only black. It was very, very friendly, altogether it was very friendly, ehm, ehm, in terms of available sport, you could do anything, you could go into any sport. I loved drama. I never did sport. I never was a sports person. I got into drama, you could do anything, there was a lot of activities compared to high school, where there was nothing. There you have to invent your own club. There was a lot of clubs in the predominantly white school, ehm, and they always pushed you, they always pushed you to do, to, to do well, they always encouraged us to do something, and whenever we did something we were always acknowledged for it. I remember for drama at the end of the year we came up with a Christmas play, and then we got to do everything, from wardrobe to make up, to music, to choreographing: we just had the teachers as our leaders but they gave us full control.

Thobile: For the play?

MA: For the play ‘cos, well I did plays, I did plays, I did plays, I did plays - acting was my favourite thing, jaa. So I remember going there, and we had to pick our outfits ; we were like: “ok if you are Joseph, ok if you are Joseph, then you know, ok this is your attire, but you are gonna to pick out clothes, but make sure you stick to the guideline”. Jaa, we were given a guideline so we were given permission, we were told to be free, there we no boundaries of, of what you could do, we were, they always, encouraged to do more than what you thought you could do.

Thobile: Why did you leave this environment, I mean a predominantly primary school if it was that good?

MA: This other one was ‘cos from South Beach we moved to Sydenham, ehm, we were living in the flats that time, ja, and then my parents obviously got better up at the ladder, they got very well, so we were able to buy a house, so when we bought a house it just so happened that the primary school that I got transferred to for the next 2 years was up the road. My house was down the road and my school was up the road, so there was again, there, there was again no expenses for, for my parents whatsoever, and then for me it was only 2 years that I needed to do, ‘cos my sisters…

Thobile: You mean for high school?

MA: I was only 2 years, I was only left with 2 years that I needed to do, so jaa, ‘cos I, I left Addington in grade 5, and I went to do grade 6 and 7 at the Sydenham school, cos we had to move. So that’s reason why I stayed at the school, whereas my sisters, my mum noticed that the syllabus was completely different, so my mum put them back to finish their primary school at Addington so that they can get a better reference for high school.

Thobile: Please elaborate on any challenges, like language. What is your home language back in Rwanda?

MA: Kenya Rwanda.

Thobile: Any language challenges, even transport problems?

MA: No, it was we walked - everything was within a walking distance. The only language barrier would be isiZulu, because I had English-speaking friends I never got to go into a predominantly Zulu-speaking friends. I only got Zulu friends when I moved to my second primary school, jaa ‘cos that was pure predominantly black school, so then…

Thobile: How did that affect your relationships?

MA: No it did, because I would be speaking English, ‘cos like I could understand a little bit of Zulu, because I did Zulu in primary school, and through high school, so like I can understand Zulu, but I can’t speak it. So then you would find that my friends are speaking Zulu, which is not a problem, but I’m responding in English, and then they would be like: “hawu! you are black, why are you acting white?” and most of them knew that I went to a white school, so then they would like: “oh no, because you come from a white school, because you speak better English than us, now you think you’re better than us”. That was the only language barriers, because I was like: “guys, firstly I’m not South African, get that through your all’s heads, that is why I speak English. Ok I speak English because I know it’s the mother language of everyone. Just because I don’t wanna speak Zulu does not mean that I’m disrespecting you, because I’m showing off, it’s because it’s the only language I know. At least give me credit for learning the basics: *sawubona kunjani ngiyaphila* (hello, how are you? I’m well); you know, at least give me credit for that, but because I’m speaking predominantly English you wanna rate me no I’m showing off, because I came from a white school so that was the English … and yet it was really not the case at all”.

Thobile: Did you have all the equipment?

MA: In primary school definitely that was never a problem. High school it became a problem. I remember Physical Education, it was short of balls. I remember, ehm, we had like tennis, we were sponsored, we were sponsored for volley ball. I remember I joined volley ball, but we had to drop the sport, because we were not getting equipment from the government, ehm, like they had promised us; that was another problem that I found, was, was when we get the equipments from the government: at the white school it was so fast, but at the black school *hawu* everything is taking its times, or just did not even come through, whereas at the white school the teachers made it their business to get the equipment: they did not rely on anyone else. At the predominantly black school like *hawu* we are relying on everything, on the government. You know, we do not have - I‘m positive we had - the funding, but I don’t know probably what happened to the funding, ‘cos I remember hockey was dropped, volley ball was dropped ‘cos there were no

equipment. Soccer, I joined soccer, and then we had the equipment, but that was ‘cos our coach had contacts, so that’s why soccer still carried on.

Thobile: But hockey?

MA: Hockey, volley ball and rugby: those stopped ‘cos the equipment was expensive so we were always short of those: those stopped unless we had private sponsors we could, we could not afford.

Thobile: How did these challenges make you feel or think about yourself?

Mahor: It made me feel bad, ‘cos I believe, ehm, I think I’m not sporty, ‘cos I never had the chance to be sporty. I always went into something that had to do with public speaking because, ‘cos I knew that, if it had to come to funding, it was not going to be hard at all to get any props, but if I had to do sport there was no sport to do, ‘cos there was no equipment.

Thobile: So you went to things that you could do?

MA: Public speaking - come on, what do you need in public speaking? You can do your own funding, nothing is expensive.

Thobile: How did that make you feel and think about yourself?

MA: Oh noo, it was not good at all, ‘cos from having so much energy, from doing everything to being limited, no, we were limited definitely, ‘cos I remember I was, I wanted to join soccer, but some soccer matches had to be cancelled; we had, we reversed with other schools that had to be cancelled because of transport, equipment, kits, ahm, I know.

Thobile: Were you equally valued and treated fairly in a predominantly white school?

MA: I think we were, we were, just want to …

Thobile: The black students?

MA: No we were, we were, except for that fact where they thought we were slow, we could not read, that was, that was the only point that actually irritated me.

Thobile: So this treatment was just for black learners?

MA: It was for blacks literally because they just assumed we could not read or write. Come on now, I was one of the readers in my class, you know, but they still assumed, they still wanted to give me extra reading classes. I was like: “come on, why do I need extra lessons for? Give the extra reading classes to group D”.

Thobile: So you were grouped?

MA: Jaa, we were grouped, we were grouped in terms of your concentration level in class. For the slow learners we were up to group D; we had 4 classes: Group A, B, C and D. Group A was the fast fastest learners, and then group D, it was called, a special class for…

Thobile: So you were grouped from Group A to D. Who were in group A? In which group were black students?

MA: We were largely no, no we were black students, because the school was, had majority black students.

Thobile: I mean at the predominantly white primary school?

MA: Jaa, no no, it was predominantly white government, but the students yes, there were one, two, few, white students. They were I remember in my group: we were three whites, so we had white students, but there were no white students in group B, C and D groups: all the white students were in the white group.

Thobile: Which one was the white group?

MA: I mean the A group, jaa, that's 'cos, I don't know, I don't remember seeing any whites in any of those groups.

Thobile: How were they treated - I mean the white students?

MA: I think, I think the only difference would be that when, when, when we would read: the teacher would come up to us and she'd show us where we are reading. I was like: "hawu ok you don't need to show me where I'm reading - I know where I'm reading". I don't remember, I don't ever see, I don't remember, remember seeing a teacher going to a white student, actually now that you bring it up, now that I actually have to think about it. I don't remember the teacher ever correcting a white child's pronunciation or a white child's spelling, ehm, no, no there was no such, and, and it's not to say that they, they, they, they spoke better English than us, but they just, I think, I think they just assumed, you know, they just assumed, they had better English, so jaa, it would be the reading part, they'd come to you and they'd would show you the sentence, or else if we would make a mistake they would correct us: but if the white students made a mistake they actually did not even bother correcting them, unless the student was, ehm: "eish Miss, I don't, I don't know the word", but if I made a mistake they wouldn't even give me the chance, 'cos I read a lot of reading in class. I remember if I said a word wrong [I]would n't be given a chance to correct myself, I would be automatically corrected. I don't remember the white students ever receiving that type of treatment: you know that was the only segregation.

Thobile: Did they accommodate your culture? For instance, locals have rituals where they wear the skin after a traditional ceremony.

MA: No, we never, no, Rwandans are not, we never had any … jaa no no.

Thobile: So you don't have cultural rituals / practice?

MA: No, that stands out like that, aa. But if I can speak on behalf of my Zulu friends, ahm, I remember my Zulu friends, ahm, they, they do not look at a tea… at a teacher - when a teacher's talking, yes, whereas me, it's fine, eish, I grew up in a westernised country, everything is westernised. Rwandis people do not have any restrictions like that, but I remember specifically my friend, she would answer the teacher but she would never look at the teacher, and then the teacher could not understand why the student could not look at her, and then the teacher would be like: "look at me when I'm talking to you", and then, I don't know ,I think it was some student or a teacher, came up and told that teacher in particular that, ehm, this child was brought up to, not to look at the, at the, an adult in the face, when they are talking to them; that you put down your head and you talk, it's not a sign of disrespect, ja. So I felt it for my friends, I did, because the teacher thought that she was disrespecting her, the teacher thought that she was disrespecting her.

Thobile: How did that make your Zulu friend feel?

MA: It made her feel bad, because then the teacher was like: "no you are being rude: you know, ehm, I'm asking you to respond, and you are not responding back". Oh yes, that was another thing! You know there was, there was, she had that level, that "ok you are my teacher, you ask me questions, I'm only gonna answer you when you want me to answer you", and then we have a group, a class discussion, where you could interrupt, but then, 'cos she was not used to that upbringing, of, of just jumping into a conversation without being told to, she was always seen as: "ok, she does not participate", ehm, ehm, "you do not, ehm, when I talk to you, you do not respond to me in time". Meantime my

friend was like: “ok I’m giving you time to talk, I’m going to respond because you ask me to; I’m not going to assume that, ok now I must respond”. While for me it was automatic, it was automatic. I could look at my teachers, there were no cultural restrictions for me, but I remember for my friends there was that restriction.

Thobile: Which language did you speak, or do you speak at home?

MA: At home we speak English, and our home language Kenya Rwanda.

Thobile: That’s your home language?

MA: Yes.

Thobile: So you do not speak that at home?

MA: No, we do, we … it’s a mixture: between the kids it’s always English, and when we are with our parents, or any adults, then it’s our mother tongue.

Thobile: Going to a model C school: the reaction you got from your community, extended family, especially relatives or cousins,that did not attend such schools.

MA: No no, everybody went to a private school, because what would happen is they all finished at Addington, that’s my first primary school, and from there, ‘cos it was a pr … it was a white school, you had reference to a high school, white school, jaa, so our parents never had that opportunity, ‘cos they were always working. But in terms of students, I’m actually the only one who went to a semi, semi-school: all the others ended up at ‘C’ (school), at Girls’ College, at Girls’ High, so no, aaa, we were actually encouraged to get good marks, so we could get into those high schools, that were predominantly…

Thobile: Did you ever witness those dynamics with your friends, where their siblings went to a predominantly white school, and their cousins didn’t?

MA: Oh, ye ... yes, ehm, ehm, ok let me give you an example: My cousin, my cousin goes to an all- black school, all-black government, you know, and her sister goes to an all-white school, so then the, the, the all-white school, they have got sports, like for, like for days, you have all the sport that you can possibly imagine, so her mum would call her lazy, because she was not as, as involved in the school. Her sister did, ehm, debates, did dancing, did soccer, ehm, drama, whereas her sister went to a government an all-black school, did not have, had, those privileges, so her mum always assumed: “how come you getting home half-past 3, and your sister gets home 5 - 6 o’clock; weekends she’s got homework for days”, so I remember, I remember my aunt always, she … there was always that comparison: “your sister is better than you; you know your sister is clever[er] than, your sister is more active than you”.

Thobile: What did that do to her?

MA: No, it, it, ag shame, it brought her down big time, it brought her down big time, because being compared to your younger sister, ‘cos she was she was the older one, I don’t, I don’t … her mum did not know about the white schools. When, when it was her turn to get into, into high school, so she automatically just went into a government school, and then someone recommended that her younger daughter - ‘cos they were 3 years apart - go to a white school, ja, so, so it made her feel bad, because, shame, I can only imagine: where your own mother blatantly tells out the difference. You know, she says out the difference, she is like: “no you are, are lazy; you don’t ever do anything on weekends, you are never busy, your marks are low”. She’d actually compare - “why are you not like this? Why are you not like that? Why don’t you have homework? Why are not busy

every other week-end … end? Why am I not coming to any school functions, to …?" No, no, ag shame, it damaged her, it did, it did. She didn't, she didn't even get to university, she got into college, and her mum was like: "Jaa, because you were a lazy student, you are not clever, that's why you got into a college!" ja shame!

Thobile: Profound experiences. That is what your cousin experienced at home, and when she visited extended family or relatives?

MA: No, there was never, there was never that segr… only maybe the accent, because the younger sister picked up an accent, while she was there, hehehe. she picked up the twang.

Thobile: So she had a twang now?

MA: She had a twang, and then people were like: " *hawu*, (wow!) what happened to you? *hawu"*, so like: "no I never went…hehehe".

Thobile: The one has a twang, and the other does not have a twang; so how did people react to that?

MA: You clever, you are not clever.

Thobile: Who is clever?

MA: The one who went to the Model C school, the one with a twang, is the one who is clever, 'cos it's English, it's fancy English; she could speak fancy words, she could pronounce fancy words, *hayi bo kahle bo*, (No ways, wait a minute) like seriously.

Thobile: That must have been traumatic.

MA: And she also wanted to twang also, and they are like: "no it does not suit, it does not suit you. You stop it, stop it. You are not in a white school, keep quiet!" And like, that was the joke that we always cracked: "keep quiet, keep quiet - you are in a black school you can't twang…"

Thobile: How did they manage the school demands versus home demands? For example, an environment where a black learner is taught not to look an adult in the eye, but another environment expects that of her.

MA: We had, we had a teacher, 'cos we - somebody along the line probably - must have mentioned it to this one teacher, because she came up to us and then she is like: "no you must have two lives: when you go at home, you know, follow your parents through, but then, over here at school, we are preparing you for the big world: you cannot be looking, not looking, at your boss, and not answering your boss when your boss is busy talking to you, so we are not saying 'go back home and disrespect your parents', but you must know that line, where at school this is your requirement, at home this is your requirement: just know how to separate it".

Thobile: So there was going to be two of you?

MA: "Yes, when you get at home and you're talking to granny, and you're talking to daddy, you know, go like how they taught you, but when you are here at school it's ok to engage, it's ok to ask questions when not asked; it's ok to question things that you do not understand, whereas at home mummy says: 'no' you do not ask why, 'cos you know you are gonna get a hiding, or you are going to get a speech of your life, but at school ask 'why', you know, say 'why, no I don't understand, tell me more'; you know, look me in the eye when I'm talking that way. I know that we are engaging, that there, there is a form of feedback; if you are not looking at me, how am I supposed to know that you don't understand, how am I supposed to know you do not understand, if you are not telling me:

‘Miss I do not understand’: how am I supposed to know you do not understand, you do not talk to me. So at least when you are at school, it’s ok to relax a bit, it’s ok to question me but do not let it consume you to a point where you get home, it gets you into trouble, ‘cos that’s not what we…” So she actually came and she gave us that speech, she actually, we were all - it was the whole of grade 5s - we were put in that hall and we were told it’s ok: “just know when to use it and when not to use it”.

Thobile: Would you say that that’s what made them persevere in that environment?”

MA: Mh, it did, because, because at school they were very very positive: they were very positive at school, because if they did not understand something they could ask, hence their marks gets better, jaa…

Thobile: And people in your community did not say anything about you attending a former white school?

MA: To me personally, no; they knew if everybody … if, no they knew, I mean, come on, if *uma* my siblings are at private schools, and I’m not, they say like: “*hawu*, what happened to you? where did your brains go to?” You know, they would crack jokes, as much as they … it came out as a joke - adults crack jokes a lot you know.

Thobile: They would crack jokes about what?

MA: Ok with me they would crack jokes like: ‘Do you [have] the marks to get into university? Ahm, why are you not as active as your sisters and brothers? Why do you have a coloured accent, when you are supposed to have a white accent?” It was, it was, it was always jokes, they were like: “You have got …”

Thobile: Were you ever called a coconut?

MA: Amongst my friends I was a coconut, but, in terms of family and friends, no, I was never a coconut. My sisters were seen as the coconuts, not me, my sisters were seen as the coconuts, because they did not know the mother language, the mother tongue; because the youngest ones grew up here, they automatically went to private schools, Addington, and then automatically into the … they, we, they also changed primary schools, but they changed: like, for example, my sister was in Addington and then she went straight to Durban College, so automatically she is a coconut.

Thobile: So what is a coconut?

MA: Coconut is a black person who denies that they’re black, who only speaks English, who thinks that they are better than everyone else: that’s a coconut.

Thobile: So you think your sisters are like that?

MA: Yeah, my sisters are coconuts. The youngest one, she is the youngest one, she, I’m ashamed to say, she ..jaa, shame, I still tease my sister, I call her coconut.

Thobile: So coconut is denying that you are black?

MA: Yes, denying that you are black, ‘cos you go to a black schools - I mean ‘cos you go to a white schools - you do white activities, you have white friends, ‘cos my little sister only has white friends, she only has white friends; ok she has black friends, but you know, and then my cousin, my cousin, I think my cousin takes the trophy: she would not date black guys, she will not, she thinks the white guys are better, so we, we, she gives us a reason to call her a coconut. I have no reason to call my little sister a coconut ‘cos I’m just, I’m just picking on her, but my cousin, hahaha, that one is a proper, proper, proper coconut, she

is. No we call her a coconut for real, she only likes them white, she only goes…she doesn't come to family functions, she does not, she does not come to family functions.

Thobile: Why not?

MA: Because there is no whites, so you see, she, we have a right to call her coconut, 'cos now she is just overdoing it: whereas her sisters come, and yet they also went to the exact same school. *Hawu*, "I went to a white school, ahm, you know. I'm going to go to a black function, you gonna see me at the family weddings?" Her? Her?

Thobile: How does the community say, just generally, about those that go to white schools?

MA: They encourage you to go to white schools: they encourage you, because they believe, if you go to a white school, you gonna end up in a good university, you are going to do a career that is going … we gonna be like: "ooh what's that? ooh serious!" My, my sister is doing accounting, and the community is like: "ooh what do you do there?" and my sister will name like one of her subjects, statistics, and they will be like: "ooh what's that?" So they promote you to go to a white school.

Thobile: Then they call you a coconut when you go?

MA: Ja they call you a coconut, but, but to, to them it's an encouraging way of calling you a coconut: they are not teasing you, they are congratulating you for actually being a coconut.

Thobile: So being a coconut is a good thing?

MA: It's a good thing to the community, because it means you are going to better yourself, you know you are going to definitely better yourself, you are going to have the kind of money and jobs that my our parents, the adults in the community, did not have. 'Cos I remember they would actually ask you what school did you go to when the matric results come out: they will buy the paper, they will buy, and they will be like wait…

Thobile: So you are encouraged to be a coconut, 'cos it gives you a better future.

MA: It gives you a better future: that's the stigma around it.

Thobile: Why do you call it a stigma?

MA: It's a stigma 'cos it's not the truth.

Thobile: Why is it not the truth?

MA: It's not the truth, because in my high school, even though we had like a black … worked on a black system, one of our head girls, 'C', she ended up getting sponsored. She was studying at UJ, University of Jo'burg, and now she is at Howard University, you know, so it is possible you can go to a black school and still make it: you just have to work ten times harder, that's the only difference. Jaa, whereas to them, they think: "oh no", you know, like me, they are not surprised I'm like at college. They are not at all, they are like: "ooh *nx*, (expletive) you went to a black school". They are not surprised at all, they are like: "where do you go - to 'E' College?" They don't even ask me why, they don't even ask me what am I studying. They, you know, it's just like automatic, and my sister, the one who is at the University of Cape Town doing accounting, they will ask her all the questions.

Thobile: So how do you manage all these things: the community demands on you?

MA: You laugh about it, jaa, you, you, you just entertain them. There's, hee, you just entertain them. They will be like: "aah you are not a coconut", and you just laugh, and then, and then I'll bring up my coloured accent, I'll make it even worse.

Thobile: Why do you bring up a coloured accent?

MA: No I went to a coloured school, I had coloured friends, so I, we went …

Thobile: But why do you bring it up?

MA: Because I went to a coloured school, it's just my way of entertaining them. Like: "you are not a coloured?" "No I'm not a coloured. I mean I'm not white. I'm a coloured, me I'm a coloured, I'm a coloured, you can't blame me (exaggerating coloured accent)."

Thobile: You just want to show that you are not white? "If anything I have a coloured accent."

MA: No, I'm not. There is nothing wrong with me not having a coloured, I mean a white, twang. *Hawu*, it's not such a bad thing I do not have a white twang, it's not such a bad thing. I just speak a bit faster, 'cos in a coloured school it's just automatic, you speak fast, living in the coloured community for 10 years, you pick up that vibe, you have coloured friends, you are gonna pick it up. My sisters literally speak like white people: if you had to block us like "ooh she is white! ooh she is black!" Ja no, you just have to laugh about, it otherwise you would go, I think you would go insane. Hey imagine if people comparing you, people asking you, questioning you, they ask you questions, like "why not, why not?" You just joke about it. My dad was like: "listen, don't take them seriously. Yes, unfortunately they are gonna compare you, that's how the community is: they are ancient like that".

Thobile: When they call your sisters coconuts, how does that make you feel?

MA: I laugh at them.

Thobile: How do your sisters feel about it?

MA: They don't like it 'cos they know they are not coconuts. Shame, they don't, not at all. They participate in traditional dance, they participate in anything, if I can put in inverted comas, anything "black". So no, they don't 'cos if you are being called a coconut it means you are what you are not, and then my sisters would surprise them - they would speak the mother tongue, they would speak Kenya Rwanda, and they are like: "*hawu*, (wow) you know Zulu, you know English, you know Afrikaans, and you know Kenya Rwanda": you know, ja, no it doesn't, it does not make them feel good, because then they feel like they are being categorised. Ja, they have to act a certain way, they have to talk a certain way, so our parents always tell us: "just break out, you know, just prove them wrong, basically. They call you a coconut: speak the mother tongue, when it comes to traditional functions, dance. They will be like: '*hhe* (what)?'" Oh wait, I thought, ehm, you know, 'cos normally like, like the community's kids that go to white schools, that went to white school primary and high school, they don't participate in anything traditional; they don't ever speak the mother tongue, just now and then, but like my sister and I, we will have a full conversation in mother tongue.

Thobile: How did attending a white school make you feel at the time that you were there?

MA: Aah, it made me feel important.

Thobile: In which way?

MA: Ehm, that I could be anything that I wanted, ehm,that I could achieve, that I could achieve anything that I wanted: that was, that was the difference, that was the difference, between going to a white school and going to a black school. A black school you are not **THAT** encouraged you know; ja, they will tell you, because they have to tell it to you, that you can be anything you want, but, but if they have to give to you in examples, all your

examples are limited. Ja, so I felt, I really felt important. I felt like I could do anything. High school - *shwiiiii* (just like that)- 5 years of high school and 2 years into a black school: 7 years compared to 5 years, you know.

Thobile: Now how does it make you feel, thinking about it?

MA: I, I, I wish I stayed in a white school: I definitely wish so, ehm.

Thobile: Irrespective of the treatment and all the other challenges?

MA: Jaa, no, those, those you could cope with those, you could cope with: I would just make sure I read constantly in class, to show the teacher: "listen I'm not slow". But, but those were minor things, ehm, the positives for me, positives outweighed the negatives, because the positives were more out there, whereas the negatives was more of a personal thing. It was very very personal to me; the negatives were just personal, so I could put my personal feelings aside: that was fine. I could deal with my personal feelings, that was fine, so when I look back I actually wish I had stayed in a white school. My mum even says: "things would be different if you had stayed in a fully 100% white school".

Thobile: What did attending such a school mean to you as a person at the time?

MA: I could speak better English than everyone else, than my Zulu friends. Hehhehe, I had the English accent you know: I had the apparently … I had an English book, I was like: "ok I have an English pronunciation. I was like ok, 'cos they had a Zulu accent, especially my Xhosa friends: they had that **Eastern Cape** accent, so it made me feel good. I was like: "*hawu Mhh,* ja I speak better English than you all, heheheh, I pronounce words better than...I know more words than you guys, than you do".

Thobile: What does it mean to you now, looking back in retrospect?

MA: It's a learning curve: I've learnt a lot, I've learnt a lot, ehm, the black school did teach me to be who I am; you know you're black, you're black, you know, don't try and be what you are not. The white schools taught me to believe in myself.

Thobile: What does that mean, being black?

MA: Being black, being black, ehm; do not let anybody tell you what you can't do, just because you're black don't mean that you are limited. Be black by your skin, that's all. Be black by your family, by your DNA. Basically I'm black because of my DNA: there is nothing else, apart from that. If you take away my DNA I'm literally just 50-50. I am 100% equal to every single one else. There we go: being black means I'm equal. Just my skin, but you are not going to define me by my skin colour. I'm so sorry: I refuse, hhe, for what, no ways, no thank you.

Thobile: Your White schools what did they teach you?

MA: Ehm, never give up, never give up: always question, always question. I remember, even now, in communications I question my teacher, and she's like: "*hawu,* thank you: finally somebody doesn't just keep quiet, and be like: 'yes ma'am, yes ma'am', even if half the time I'm telling you nonsense, you guys wouldn't know". White schools taught me to never to give up, to question everything: "do not believe everything you see; don't be gullible; be your own". Ok, if I can just summarise it: have a spine, have a backbone: just because they say it's green, aaa, it's not green if you do not believe it's green: then it's not green - end of discussion.

Thobile: How do you describe or identify yourself? Do you think of yourself as a black person?

MA: Yes - a Black African person, African out of Africa: no no, I can't even say that South Africa is in Africa. Ooh can you repeat that question?

Thobile: Please elaborate some more: if you were to define yourself as black and African, what does that mean?

MA: It means I'm different from someone else, and I have the advantage of that I'm black, but I'm black with something else, I'm black with the fact that I'm from another country, so it works in my favour, because people are like: "*hawu*, what are you?" I'm like: "no I'm black", and they are like: "no wait, you are not black, you don't sound black - you more or less don't look black". I'm like: "no, I'm black; I'm just from Rwanda, but I'm black". I'm confident, jaa, I'm outspoken. I'm not going to take anything lying back: if I agree, I agree if I disagree, I actually disagree.

Thobile: So that's MA?

MA: Confident, outspoken, ehm, friendly, very social, ehm, and, and, and as a black person, you need to be confident, you need to be social. White people are not social, white people are not social: they keep to themselves, that's that. But as a black person you need to have that confidence: otherwise you gonna get walked over. You need to have a voice: otherwise you gonna get walked over. So you need to know who you are: so I'm a black, confident, outspoken, friendly person.

Thobile: What does it mean to be African? When you say all the things you have said, is that what makes you African?

MA: Ahm, yes, it does. That's what sets me apart. Indians are quiet, whites are quiet.

Thobile: And you are [quiet]?

MA: That's what definitely sets us apart from whites and from Indians: we are very social. It's, it's just common: they know that we are just social, you know.

Thobile: That's what sets you apart?

MA: They know that we're loud - we are not loud, we are confident. That's what I tell people: I'm confident, I'm not loud, I'm confident. You never find a quiet and confident person - it doesn't, it doesn't, no, yes!

Thobile: Thanks MA, we have come to the end. The latter part was quite profound, where you started saying who you are: it sums everything up so nicely. Before we end, do you have any questions or comments for me?

MA: Comments: ehm, what do you hope to get out of this research from us? 'Cos I know you, that you had your mind set on something, but I'm sure now, with like the three of us - is it, I'm the third person - with all our different views, ehm, are you still stuck on that certain type of questionnaire, or or are you going to approach this differently? Because you came out with paper and a plan, and I'm sure now, with the three of us, it's completely different. Are you going to approach this the same as you had pictured it?

Thobile: Good you asked that question: it's a very good question. I listen to your stories, I just let you tell me your story, and I probe. The difference I'm beginning to see is that between participants that attended predominantly white schools only, and those that have never been to black schools.

MA: I just hope your research goes well: it feels like this is going to be a field day!!! You can have the best of both worlds: I have the best of both worlds, whereas my sisters only went to white schools.

Thobile: Groundbreaking work!

MA: You can have both worlds why not? I have, literally. I have the best of both worlds. I went to a white school, I went to black schools, whereas my sisters only went to only white schools. They only have white friends, they don't know the black side. I'm like [a] child: I went to both, I know both worlds, hahhaha.

Thobile: And it widens your horizon?

MA: Ehm, yes, it has: it's not black and white, it's more.

Thobile: Ja?

MA: I loved - I love - I've never done an interview. In fact I've, I've never done a research, I've never done research, except for school work. At least not for something this important. I think it's important, because people assume you went to a white school - you are A B and C. I'm like: "no excuse, you, you got me wrong". No, I hope that the results get to our parents, parents and grandparents, because my grandparent thinks: "you went to a white school, we have lost you completely". So now, if this can get to parents, especially. I have a friend who lives in the farms, and her parents do not want to put her in white schools, as they are scared they'll lose her. They do not understand that you can have the best of both worlds. I love this research. I wanna hear a perspective of someone who went only [to] a white school. I'm definitely looking forward to the focus group. I'm probably also going to laugh internally. I'll be like …coconut!! I'm also looking forward to the feedback.

MA: What do you hope comes out of this research, out of us participating?

Thobile: We have not been to the environment that you guys have been through: we want to know how the non-racial system has panned out …it's only when we know what you went through for us to inform policy.

MA: Like there are schools where you cannot have your dreadlocks …I know of schools where you can't wear your isiphandla (bracelet made out of skin)… you cannot speak your language.

Thobile: This is giving us the facts on the status quo, and direction going forward.

MA: You are saying, you are diverse: but you are not diverse …rainbow nation … you can ask some students if South Africa is a diverse country, and they'd disagree with you. I've got friends that can disagree with you.

Thobile: Thank you so much. It's been good 'MA'(participant). I look forward to meeting you again for the focus group.

MA: Pleasure, it's an absolute pleasure.

INTERVIEW WITH N

Thobile: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. As I have mentioned earlier, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage should you desire to do so. To begin with, could you please tell me a story about your experiences of attending a Model C or a predominantly white school, where black students were a minority. Please tell me where and how it started, when you started attending a predominantly white school, and whether you had been to a predominantly black school before. I am particularly interested in your experiences as a black learner in a white school and how you managed your life at school, family and community levels.

N: Ok, well, ehm…I grew up eMlazi and then I moved to Malvern, but during the time I stayed there, my brother was attending a predominantly white primary school and for that reason I was …exp…uhm, made to also go to a predominantly white school, uhm, because he went there as well and, ehm, my experiences going there was, uhm, it, eh, it wasn't a more, it wasn't a culture shock but… more say 'cause, ehm, my brother had already exposed me to, uhm, mixed race friends and that whole atmosphere, so I ble…fitted in well and blended in well with the kids but, ehm, I got to learn more about different cultures and heritage…heritages and, uhm, and had different ethnicities as friends. Ja…

Thobile: Ok. You are saying your brother attended a predominantly primary school and you also did the same, whose initiative was it: who decided you go there?

N: Definitely my parents. They ss ..felt the need for us to be exposed to more of a Westernised side of the world so of the …ehm…of education so then we could have in I think in their mind …a broader aspect of understanding things and not just a, a a… standard way, should I say, that you, you wouldn't find in most black schools it, should I say, education is quite limited but if you go to a white school you get a, a a a a, better just a, aaa, way, ehm, should, I don't know if this is a proper word, but more quality education, so you could be more progressive in life and exposed to different types of subjects, and to to, uhm, sort of so you wouldn't be into like one discipline, uhm, one discipline, you get exposed to, er, multidiscipline and things.

Thobile: So it was about exposure, quality education?

N: Mhhh

Thobile: That sounds really very interesting. Your experiences - I suppose you also had some positive experiences. Tell me more about the friendships you made, relationships whatever that was positive for you.

N: Fortunately for me I grew up post apartheid so then, ahm, the kids as well, they were more welcoming (humming) they didn't really have any discrimina, eh, discrimination against me but, uhm, as they grew up (voice up and emphasis) I think they became aware (emphasis) that, uhm, uhm, uhm, bla, uhm … Africans are supposed to be treated, they think in their mind, that we are inferior towards them (straight posture) so they grow and have that mindset, a mindset that we, a mindset that they should treat us a certain way …and sometimes we'd have an inferior complex towards them but, ehm, ehm, I think that sort of made me more strong and more determined, should I say, toooo become a better person to try and break that certain (long) way of thinking or that (long), ehm, that stigma attached to, ehm, African people.

Thobile: And that stigma was?

N: The stigma is mostly that, ehm, Africans, arrrrre … (long), a bit, ehm, narrow- minded, ehm, ignorant and they're not well educated.

Thobile: So when you were there, what sort of friendships did you have, who were your friends? Were they black, white, were they mixed? Who did you befriend?

N: I befriended a multitude of races: from coloureds, whites, Indians , coloureds and …ja…a I was, eh, I thin[k] I didn't, and blacks as well of course, sooo but as I grew towards high school and university I think I had more African friends because that's the [time] when you sort of relate …you find out that you could relate to them more than another type of race.

Thobile: That's very interesting, 'N', when you say when you grew up, you say you got more attached to black students. Tell me more about that you could relate more to them, in which way?

N: In sort of experience, we have a cert…certain way of growing up …our culture, and then whites have their own as well, soo you'd rather, uhm, stay with …your, uhm, because you being more comfortable and not to lose yourself, rather stick to your own types of people in that way, than to stick with whites where you ..no matter no matter what, you can never find your way, you always have try to change yourself in order to fit in with them, that's why I prefer to hang out more, should I say, with Africans than whites, but I'm not saying that I only have African friends, but I am friends with whites but I always will be more relatable to Africans.

Thobile: So what you are saying is in primary school it did not really matter but as you were growing you kind of related more to your own people you say. Give me examples?

N: It's because the standard changed when you…shall I say it became, sometimes my parents we can't, not afford to go and take me out for trips go, shall I say, sometimes they wouldn't take me seriously, if I said I wanna go surfing. It's not, ahm, it's not … your typical …

Thobile: It's not your culture?

N: Ja we do not do surfing and all that stuff, so I couldn't pretend to take an interest in it, like it, so I rather do things that are more, shall I say, do things that are not too much of a hassle ... that cause stress or anything sooo that's why.

Thobile: So white girls will be going surfing and the black girls?

N: They're like ja…we don't do that!

Thobile: So what were they up to?

N: We'd just either stay in, play indigenous games, or just go to the movies, but nothing too extreme. No extreme sport or anything.

Thobile: I'd like us to go through some of the challenges you encountered as a black learner in a predominantly white school: things like language challenges. Whatever challenges you experienced. Enumerate and elaborate.

N: Most of the challenges was more literacy, where we'd read a book and of course English being …it's more of a secondary language, you didn't really pick up on some of the vocab, so it was always sort of understanding what, uhm, you were reading and, uhm, and it just, uhm, education as well, ehm, as a black person we, uhm, we, we don't really, uhm, our parents because, uhm, they, uhm, weren't, uhm, weren't able to progress, uhm, with their education, should I say, we, uhm, we couldn't necessarily ask them to assist us with homework and stuff like that, we, we could only help ourselves they, should I say, coloureds, maybe whites or non-whites excluding Africans, they, should I say, maybe they had an advantage, and their parents could help them and assist them with any school subjects or anything, so we had to always push harder in terms of learning.

Thobile: Because there was no parental support?

N: In terms of the …just education.

Thobile: So was literacy the one major challenge?

N: Yes I think literacy was a major one …for me.

Thobile: How did these challenges make you think and feel about, or even think about yourself? What impact did that have on you as a person, as u 'N'(participant)?

N: It made me feel a bit … it made me feel as if maybe I was not good enough to be there and, ehm …you would also feel as if, ehm, you would always have to try two times more harder than the standard person, than the average person ja… so everything was double the pressure for you.

Thobile: You had to work harder than the rest of them?

N: Yes, and read more … being on a lower level of reading and stuff like that … embarrassing stuff like that … (blushes no eye contact).

Thobile: That's how you felt about it? You felt embarrassed about it?

N: Yes very embarrassed.

Thobile: For them it was easy and for you a struggle?

N: Yes.

Thobile: Do you feel that you were, you were equally valued or treated fairly as a black learner?

N: Where I schooled I think I was treated fairly up to high school where there was, uhm, I think they'd be twice as much cautious with African students, because they'd already been most of the, uhm, African students were considered students that, aah, were, uhm, most, should I say, the naughtiest, the naughtiest . So you would have double the attention than the standard, uhm, normal-non-Africans.

Thobile: You are saying there was no fair treatment, as there was this standard that you are naughtier, simply because you are black, even though it may not have been all of you?

N: Yes.

Thobile: Was it something you could relate to? Was it true?

N: Yes, it was true, I won't lie. 'Cos we were hooligans, and you find that… somewhat (stress) disciplined, but… I think it's in our blood yeah …haaa (soft laugh).

Thobile: When you say hooligans do you mean black students were more misbehaved than white girls? Why? What caused that?

N: Not ..should I …lack of etiquette and discipline at home, ehm, at home you, uhm…of course you wanna be scared of your parents but, ehm, eh, wow, ja… I don't ..ja…

Thobile: So it's two different environments: at school there is certain etiquette that's expected?

N: Ja.

N: It's because you didn't understand their way of discipline, it's different from the discipline at home.

Thobile: you were seen as not conforming to what was expected?

N: Yes definitely not conforming.

Thobile: But then why did you become hooligans? Were you rebelling against the system?

N: We were definitely rebelling and we thought, uhm, if, uhm, we couldn't meet them on their level then we'd rebel and go against them.

Thobile: What sort of things would you do?

N: We'd just speak Zulu and, and, uhm, when they discipline us we'd swear them in Zulu and if they …ja….

Thobile: It was like you were saying we do not want to conform to the system? So we'll just be ourselves?

N: Yes.

Thobile: Explore the treatment by teachers and your fellow white pupils. How was that?

N: Ahhh…the teachers tried as hard as they can to make us feel as if we're… ehm, where I schooled to make us feel equal and valued: it's always not so much the teachers but it's the students (stress) …their part as well, uhm, to also make us, uhm, feel just as much valued as the teachers made us feel …

Thobile: Your fellow white students made you feel valued just like the teachers?

N: Some no, no I'm just saying they did not try as hard as the teachers to make us feel valued.

Thobile: What did they do that made you feel less valued?

N: They'd usually, uhm, just tease us, tease us, tease us, about ridiculous things, uhm …maybe taking taxis, wearing fake hair…ja.

Thobile: So they'll tease - what would they say for example [abou]t taxis?

N: Like obviously we'd have to go to town and then take a taxi to go home, sometimes we stay late, 'cos our parents they do work before they come and fetch us, they'd tease us and ask us why we were not being fetched. Sometimes parents would be working and we'd have to take a taxi home; they'd tease us about stuff like that. For them it's easy as their mothers do not have to work. They tease us, maybe they had a maid at home so then they'd say is your mother a maid, and just stereotype us like that (whole paragraph at high speed and with a smirk on her face).

Thobile: Did you feel like you could live your life, and live the life you wanted to live, as a black learner in a predominantly white school?

N: You could (emphasis), depending on who were your friends. Me, luckily I could 'cos I haa, ehm, I had black friends and they were accepting of N… if I go …to go, to the white side, then I'll have to change and try not to be too ghetto, so that they do not feel, ehm, feel threatened or frightened of me so…I guess I'll have to balance, I mean I'll have to cater for both sides.

Thobile: You felt you could express yourself as black depending on who you were interacting with at that particular time?

N: Yes…yes..you get some white people that like to, people to… they like that whole African culture, so they allowed you to be yourself as well, so you get some of them that are kind of snobbish and if you come there and be ghetto they are very stand offish. Sooo….

Thobile: So what does being ghetto mean, to be ghetto?

N: To be loud …to talk without, uhm …to comment without actually listening to …you don't, when you listen you should be waiting for your turn to talk; sometimes we just listen to, wait, just speak without hearing the other person's side of things.

Thobile So that's what it means to be ghetto?

N: Yes. We didn't want to read sometimes, which is common and just taking our time getting to places, even to class arriving late.

Thobile: So that's standard ghetto behaviour?

N: Yes.

Thobile: What triggers it?

N: I think it starts from at home, it starts from home, like the community… sometimes at church maybe … you hang out with friends as well.

Thobile: So it's that whole thing you mentioned earlier, where the home environment is different from the school environment, there is a certain culture that the home promotes that the school does not necessarily accept?

N: Mhhh.

Thobile: So being ghetto is about expressing yourself, just being yourself, irrespective of what the environment says?

N: Yes, yes, jaaaaa. Not conforming to their environment.

Thobile: Was the school accommodative of your culture? How did your school accommodate your culture?

N: They did, they had various culture clubs for different types of cultures, where you could express and expose the other students to other cultures, so that they would understand why you were doing the things you did. They couldn't necessarily not be open minded to

or act like they do not understand why you are doing things a certain way as it's your culture, so, yes, they were very accommodative of our culture

Thobile: So you are saying on certain days in a year.

N: Yes.

Thobile: It wasn't like you could live your culture on a daily basis, you could just live your culture?

N: We…in terms of that culture, I remember in my school, I remember there was an Indian girl who had with a nose ring; I remember they had to go to court and they tried to make her to take it off - she eventually won the case and so, should I say, they were not fully accommodative of people's cultures.

Thobile: You could celebrate who you are on certain days of the year?

N: Heritage Days, and then you have cultural clubs once a week, so it was just that.

Thobile: So you couldn't be Indian through and through every single day of the year?

N: You had to conform to their rules and regulations and their codes of conduct.

Thobile: At home which language did you speak or do you speak?

N: English and Zulu, isiZulu, that's it, that's all I know.

Thobile: Describe your relationship with your extended family, especially relatives that did not attend white schools.

N: Of course you always feel as if you have that advantage than them, and then the relationship, you always just have to forget about that and remember that at the end of the day it's not about who is better than whom; at the end of the day you are family, we are one, you are at equal levels … you meet them at their place, and so you just find common ground just being family.

Thobile: Any challenges?

N: In regards the family?

Thobile: Yes.

N: Yes maybe that they did not know that much of English, but that doesn't matter as there's always isiZulu but…. yes that's about it… language barriers.

Thobile: Language barriers?

N: Ja..

Thobile: Positive experience, coming back and meeting relatives and community?

N: I would, I would have exposed them to more of a westernised way of living, because they are more of community - farm-based, and mina I'm more westernized, so it'd be just that exposure to the modern world.

Thobile: So you took something to them. Anything from them?

N: They always remind me of my culture, my roots, and by that I mean the Zulu culture: we do ceremonial things, they'd help me and remind me how to do certain things, (humming) … just that …rituals…cultural rituals.

Thobile: Sometimes the culture of white schools and culture of family is not the same; how did you manage the transition from a black community to a white environment, any challenges experienced with the transition to school?

N: Well (long weeellll), the challenges…speaking English.

Thobile: Or the culture, how did you transition from your black culture, coming from a black home, going into a predominantly white environment. Any challenges?

N: Just speaking English, one way and a…(pause about 7 seconds).

Thobile: So it was just English, English all the time. How was your English when you got there?

N: It was… wow, I almost can't even remember. I guess it was just ok, just not bad.

Thobile: It was ok?

N: Ok to get me through a conversation, to get me through a conversation…but then I was kind of quiet when I first started, because this is new to me but then there were other, uhm, African students (emphasis) who I could go out with, together we could go and

form a relationship, some of them with a different race, so it was less stressful (energized).

Thobile: How did you manage the school demands/their expectations of family versus and that of the school?

N: They were accommodative, should I say, the school was accommodative, they understood my background, the level of expectation from me, they did not put pressure on me to be at that …uhm, English, uhm, at that what do you call it white level of thinking or, uhm…

Thobile: Expression?

N: Expression. Yes.

Thobile: When you went to high school how did you manage the cultural difference between home and school?

N: I ….I exposed myself more to different sports like hockey, tennis, so I could… sort of …break away from just that, uhm, uhm, to break away from, uhm, to break away from, uhm, that typical, uhm …

Thobile: The stereotype?

N: Yes. Uhm, stereotype. Netball, soccer, whatever, so I did other types of sport to be well-rounded …within that …

Thobile: In the face of the challenges, elaborate on the factors, be they at school, family or community, that enabled you to persevere despite the challenges.

N: Well my parents had sent me there for a reason, to get my education and to progress in life, and that always drove me as a person to forget about what's going on around me and just focus on education, working hard and getting where you want to be in the end.

Thobile: What did other people in your community say about you going to a white school?

N: They'd just say …, luckily I had kids that already went to white schools around me, but if I had to go take a taxi with students who are from the townships, and they'd probably call me Model C, Model C.

Thobile: So they called you Model C?

N: Yes.

Thobile: Anything else?

N: It didn't really bother me. They were just being kids and, uhm, that's all they knew at the time so I took it in my stride and carried on.

Thobile: So they called you names, so you became Model C? How did people …?

N: We were just called model Cs.. and you …it made us sort of feel as if we…you just think why must we feel bad, for being advantaged because we… it's not our fault, as our parents put / took us there, it was not our fault. We took it in our stride ja…maybe you feel bad for them, we felt bad for them, but there is nothing you could do.

Thobile: You felt bad for them, not yourselves?

N: Yes. They were not exposed or afford a model C school.

Thobile: Of course life at a model C school could be vastly different from the life of a young boy or girl in the community? How did you manage the school versus community demands on you as a person? (on your understanding of who you are, your self?) Please give examples.

N: I think it's…for me the school and family wanted one thing (emphasis) for me to …progress with my way of thinking so…I didn't really struggle with pleasing both, because they both wanted one thing , because I come from a white community a white community sort of, but even a black community, you are expected to have your life improve…to improve your life . Everyone had one goal in mind.

Thobile: When you say everybody had one goal in mind you are talking about?

N: The…community, school and parents.

Thobile: Some community members have labelled black learners who attend white schools coconuts. What does that make you feel or think about that?

N: Coconuts, coconuts, no,I just think it's that thing about being advantaged, being a coconut, ehm, it's I don't think it's a proper term to call us because, just because you are white, being a white person does not mean you are smarter, uhm, doesn't mean you are smarter. I think they have this, this thing that being a coconut is about us being white on the inside. No, just because … going to a model C doesn't mean that we go to that school to be white, we go there for a better education. End of the day we don't go there to be, pretend to be, white, we go there for a better education. Ja.

Thobile: Doesn't make you a coconut?

N: No, doesn't make you a coconut. Don't know where the term comes from.

Thobile: What did attending Model C make you feel and think at that particular time when you were still there ?

N: Ja…that's definitely…, I felt very lucky to be there, very very lucky, and I wasn't there to waste my parents' money, 'cos they could have sent me to a township school but they sent me there, so I didn't have time to mess around.

Thobile: What did it make you feel, just being there? Sometime[s] you feel lucky to be there… special, and you have to, I felt very fortunate, very, very lucky. I didn't have time to waste my parents' money.

N: Sometimes you feel lucky, but also pressured to do well. At the end of the day you had to bit[e] the pressure, you have to perform well at the end …at the end I felt very fortunate.

Thobile: How do you feel NOW?

N: I feel fortunate, it gave me, and opened, a lot of opportunities; but now it seems as if it's also, a, a, a don't know if it's a bad, don't know, bad at times. People, shall I say, at university: they look for more disadvantaged kids, they give them first preference, so now you get, you can come out with As from the Model C school, but it doesn't matter because they obviously want to take kids from the township, that who come with as, and take them into places in university.

Thobile: I sense some conflict: it's like you are not as black as the kids that come from the township?

N: That's the idea that they have, that the government has, it's like we are not black enough.

Thobile: Not disadvantaged enough?

N: Not disadvantaged enough.

Thobile: What did it mean then?

N: It meant to me that I have the opportunity to better my life and, uhm, and, uhm, to … grow as a person beyond the stereotypical beliefs of a, aa, avera, of a, a black person to break that mould that we have. Ja…

Thobile: And now as you reflect in retrospect, what does it mean?

N: As a white person … a black person going to …?

Thobile: Ja, as what does it mean having attended a predominantly white school?

N: It doesn't mean anything to me I think 'cos at the end of the day, uhm, it, it was me who worked hard to, uhm, by me telling myself to work hard to, uhm, to get to one level, to the next level, primary to university, it doesn't really …you do not need to go to a model C school to…ehm, to sort of advance yourself as a person, you can go to …work hard at a township school, you can get to the same place, doesn't matter where, where you came from, we can all get to the same place.

Thobile: If you had a choice where will you go?

N: I'd probably go to a township school

Thobile: Why?

N: Because it's cheaper and, err, its…. ja…but…I don't know if the discipline is as good as the Model C school …don't know if I'd made it, as it is hard to control a room full of black people hehe (laughing). Ja…

Thobile:	Ok, how would you describe yourself? Who is 'N' (participant)? Do you think yourself as a black person?
N:	Yes. I think am black, I'm not just black by my skin. I am (emphasis),uhmm, very involved in my culture and, uhm, uhm, my beliefs in my ancestors; I think that is more what makes you black, how connected you are to your roots, than just your skin tone.
Thobile:	So 'N' is black on the outside and black on the inside?
N:	Spiritual…I don't know …
Thobile:	Ja you have a spiritual connection with your ances …
N:	Ja…with my ancestors…ja.
Thobile:	Thanks 'N', we have come to the end of the interview: any comments/questions?
N:	That was a very interesting interview. Ja…
Thobile:	I enjoyed it too, and I must apologize because last time I did not have my recorder, and my supervisor insisted that I must share this with him. Thank you, thank you.

INTERVIEW WITH W

Thobile: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. As I have mentioned earlier, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage should you desire to do so. To begin with, could you please tell me a story about your experiences of attending a Model C or a predominantly white school, where black students were a minority. Please tell me where and how it started, when you started attending a predominantly white school, and whether you had been to a predominantly black school before. I am particularly interested in your experiences as a black learner in a white school and how you managed your life at school, family and community levels.

W: Ok…so starting from like what… primary school or…?

Thobile: Anywhere is ok, just about anywhere.

W: Oh my gosh!! It's just an acquired lifestyle so …like you start at primary school. eh, first thing you get told (imitating the teachers at admission) "eyyy his English is not good!" .

Thobile: So you do another grade naught.

W: Something like that … but elokshini (at the township) I should be going kwa first year or something! You come back home and you get: (imitating caregiver) "*Hawu awusazi isilungu* (O noo! you don't know English) …we are going to make him read!!!"

Thobile: So go to grade 00?

W: Jaa something like that. It wasn't necessarily in a predominantly white school, but it was your model C ….that was in Joburg …and I came here because… I think I was in standard 2. From that time I think from grade 2 *u gogo* (grandmother) would make me read, right up to, I mean 12h00 (midnight), and she'd make me read with expression (imitating ugogo with an accent and a high–pitched voice similar to that of white English teachers): "the dog went across the road": and you came along and you read "the dog went across the road (imitating how he'd read just being himself without any pretences) and she will be like: "Start again, go, start again!!!" ….That was in Jo'burg. I came here because … I think, from that time in grade 2. Ehm, my mom calls one day, *wathi "wenzani u 'W'*? (participant) (she asked "what is 'W' doing?") *Ugogo* was like: "*ngiwasha izitsha u W usafunda* (I'm washing the dishes, W is reading)". *Umama* (mother) says "that's not fair, I'm bringing him to Pietermartzburg". So, eeeer, I get here, *ngiqale* (I started) e 'P' Christian School. There were more white people: you are around white people (with emphasis). At this school, there were more white students, and then it becomes another acquired lifestyle, you are around white people.

Thobile: What do you mean: "acquired lifestyle"?

W: I started *e* (at) 'P'Christian school, a whole different lifestyle: you talk about (imitating a white voice) "mountains and nature"… all the things you do not have elokshini (in the township) you talk about (again imitating a white voice) "excursions", all that nonsense… "what appeals to life" and …and, err, you know …you go through that phase. I got into a lot of trouble for culturally misunderstanding things, like I'd sing Shabba Ranks's song, Mr Lover Man, and they'll be like (imitating the voice of his school mates): "You don't do that …this is PMB Christian school" !! I'll be like: "In Joburg we used to play a thousand songs …sing a lot of songs like oooohhh I wanna sex you up! Hey…!!!"

Thobile: So it was a culture shock?

W: Meanwhile I didn't know what sex meant. I was just singing a song. Then you get caned and all of that so …that's rather tough for a black man.

Thobile: And you were young then, hey?

W: Ja…Jee, then I'm going to high school, and for high school I went to what …? St Charles?... it's a boys school and …so you have to man up there, whatsoever. I mean that was after what? 1997? not too far from democracy and whatsoever. You grew up hearing, ehmm, (imitating significant other) "Jaaaa….*iBhunu lizokushaya* (the Boer/Afrikaner will beat you up) in rugby", ehmmm, and now you're like: "Now I'm here… It's all I've been train…had been prepared….".

Thobile: Who says ibhunu lizokushaya (the Boer/Afrikaner will beat you up) - who tells you so?

W: That's what you get told by grandma because (imitates his grandmother) "Your mom was hit, was in prison in 1976 and got beaten, and your uncles got beaten (emphasis) by *amaBhunu!!* (the Boers/Afrikaners)", and you grow up thinking at some point you will get beaten up. You are like: "Why bring me here when I'm going to be beaten up?" You then are like: "We …now ….we got democracy. So that means like I had the constitution always with me …

Thobile: To protect you?

W: And I was forced…I forced myself, to read the Long Walk to Freedom at 14. I read it for two years, standard 6 and 7…so those were my main tools of intimidation.

Thobile: Why did you feel that you had to read the constitution?

W: Just, uhmm, it was to intimidate white prefects who wanna bully me so that I could say (laughing and loudly imitating how he handled it then): "Hold on …hold on …hold on …hold … section says ….by the way section says …" and then…I'd bring along Long Walk to Freedom… I thought this is how Mandela dealt with such people. It gave me a lot of …

Thobile: So it was like arming yourself?

W: I was the first one to read it (laughs) in the whole school.

Thobile: This was 1996 hey?

W: Err… I never took it back. I read it the next year, for now understanding, ehm, your words. Getting more into it… After reading that book I did not need to go through high school: I was done, I knew what needed to be done …what was to be done. I was done (laughs sarcastically), I was like: "Take me out of here I'm not a soldier, why pay people so much money for people to tell me rubbish? Let me go…!!".
I came here to a school ebizwani (what's ?) Jaaaa….It's called Cambridge, it was in town, no uniform, no prefects, and you are on top of buildings… best year of my high school…!! But not good for me academically, ehrr, though I did well academically, I performed well, but it was too much. It wasn't good for my academic career. …but what I'm saying ….

Thobile: Was it also a predominantly white high school?

W: It was for all the kids that got kicked out from the other schools… they could be here, and are happy to attend varsity kind of sessions. You no longer had to go to all the classes, do all the things, you do not wear uniform and in your breaks you can go out you know. I thought great….I had too much of a good time: too much of anything is not good, so I went to Thomas Moore to do 9 and 10. There,… there were no prefects, but I still had to wear my uniform. I'm argumentative, and I like art, I needed to be contained as I challenged everything… alternative thinking. I had too much of a good year there - I was becoming a challenge - everything I analyzed, everything!! Sometimes I would not even be performing well academically but I still would have the knack to…

Thobile: What motivated you attending these schools?

W: The only way she felt I could be contained, the only thing she said (his mother) when she got irritated, is that she's paying.

Thobile: So your parents decided: your mom?

W: She felt only a private school could contain this animal!!(emphasis)

Thobile: Share with me the positive experiences?

W: Look, having access to the library makes a difference, and a dedicated librarian, and being able to choose any book, with no-one saying (imitating some of the teachers) "that's not at your level: how are you going to do that!!" and, if you are struggling, you can keep it for as long as you want …that makes a very big difference.

Thobile: And relationships / friendships?

W: You get to make friendships, you get to see the more affluent people …the other side of life, how they enjoy life and different philosophy of life …you get exposed to that community, or that section of our society.

Thobile: Were they across the colour line?

W: Jaaa, you you …but look (pause): at the end of the day you always have a …you know… a stronger alliance amongst… because of association, because you feel some things are done at the exclusion of, err uhm …I'm a pretty, I'm a pretty, err, what can I call it a …disruptive kind of a person, so you, like, you have an English session, and you are the class that's doing badly, and he comes in and he is like: "Shakespeare …" and you are like: "Shakespeare??!! wait a minute, we are in Africa, I don't care about Shakespeare, give me my language!"

Thobile: Did they give you your language?

W: Third language …!! They are paying for a teacher to [teach] at third language … Only St 'C' (school) gave us first language, they dealt with *inqolabobane,(* a recognized, authoritative Zulu Textbook used at High School) phonetics, delved into *izaga*,(idioms) *izisho* (sayings), amaphonetics, the books you'd read, , all of that, you don't get that at third language.

Thobile: And you felt it was important for you to get that?

W: It was… you know I'm from Joburg, err, and in KZN the language is so connected to the cultural things, you know *ukweqiselana*, (deliberately use a language or phrases that are not understood by others) and everybody can be so artful, I needed everybody… idioms, you need it as it is the only way you can control your anxiety. Depending on how artful you are…

Thobile: So it was it for survival? You are also drawing a relationship between language and culture?

W: There is no line, it's all intertwined, whereby I think in the European side, I think you can … I mean there is the South African English, and the English you get taught at school, and there is the reading English … where we learn Zulu, not *Scamtho* not *Tsotsitaal*, where you learn to understand that you are connected to everyone, based on *izithakazelo* (clan names) and *ukuzibongela* (sing praise names) like *uBoyabenyathi u Ndlovu* (Ndlovu clan names)…*irente uyayibhadalela* (you pay rent)… understanding where it started, that is, the beginning of the pneumatics.. *njengokwazi lokhu kwakusukela lana* (knowing and understanding where it all began) (imitating those who speak isiZulu at first language) "*ngisayocinga umuntu ogwazwe inkomo*" (I'm going to search for the person who was gored by a cow) if you do not know those connections you think *umuntu ugwazwe inkomo …bayakweqisela*. (the person has been stabbed by a cow…they deliberately use language/sayings you do not understand). There'll be like *"ugade inkomo"* (look after the cow) from then on I was like "*sengiyocinga umfan' ogwazwe inkomo!!"* (I'm going to look for the boy who has been stabbed by a cow).

Thobile: *Sowuyakwazi ukuzithakazela*? (do you know how to say your clan names?)

W: You needed it, as it is the only way to understand that you are connected to all *ngezithakazelo* (clan names).

Thobile: So, there is more to it than just language?

W: Your understanding of you as an African person, where it starts, that is, the centre of the pneumatics , the pneumatic dynamic !!! not the other way around, not from the spokes to the hub and not the other way round, not outside the hub …from the hub to the spokes. At

my high school, everyone thought I'm being political, whether it is in the classroom, playground, soccer field, during sport, whether it is outside, when I think it's time for the alternative mindset… You were able to build a mind swell solidarity of people of your race, they felt you are taking them up 'cos they are scared, they are scared of victimization, and I'm like: "what is there to be scared of? Black man is free!! (shouting on top of his voice) let's engage on these issues!!"

Thobile: Did you feel like you were the lone voice?

W: Jaa, you can take up the whole lesson. I remember at St 'C' (school), Mr X (teacher) saying he's gonna put Geography and another subject together, he combined all the standard sixes, and he says check article so and so on the Sunday Times…It becomes ideological: he picks on M's (one of the renowned black African leaders) building (…a hotel in Ulundi and says what's 'M' thinking ..who goes to Ulundi …you can't control the market, who goes to Ulundi? They did not cater for the needs of the black people institutionally. I said "I wanna take you on, like the dog takes on a bone outside of this". Then everybody goes "haaa, you don't say that - that's a principal!"
Don't tell me not to shave my hair I'm not white …it's not going to appear yellow. Do not bring up your stupid rules …just these itsy bitsy things, we should knock ourselves down and find some agreement.

Thobile: You were challenging the system?

W: You know? They'll be like: "Why did you bring this person to learn here?" and I'm like: "I have a job to do if I made you feel like that… you are like… I made you think like that, good!!so that we can engage". I took on the hardest things. When they say the hegemony of English, I'm like: "How does the hegemony of English come into this?" then I said "Good". *Ma* (my mother) as a Psychologist, you don't do things according to the book. When somebody says they saw their granny go to a *sangoma athi ubone ugogo wakhe oshonile* (goes to a traditional healer and say she saw her granny who has passed on in adream) in a dream… what do you say in a clinical sense you are…?

Thobile: You are hallucinating?

W: Hallucinating because you are not trained cross-culturally, but classically they are also functioning, they are running their family. They only saw their gogo in their dream: what is the symbolism of that? I'm going to face the… what should [one?] learn in order to. Due to the lack of transcultural judging by the system *ekhaya* (at home) my mom breaks the rules to address her constituency, for she will not get business from whites - abelungu, the Indians, and Indians cannot sort out a black man psychologically. You have more resources, unable to deal with the needs of the population, so that was basically just my my…

Thobile: Did you feel like- going back to the school environment - that they valued you, the teachers and your fellow students?

W: I am the prick …when I say I'm the prick, I prick you, I want you to open up and, err, be real. Other stuff that is complex and a bit emotional and throws judgment up your whole gestalt, what you are aware of, and what you choose to put a blind eye to, you close your eyes to.

Thobile: Do you think they valued you for changing the status quo? How did that make you feel?

W: Great!! It's not disputable stuff, it needs finding solutions to. Lateral thinking, alternative mindset, problem solving: I like to [be] tearing things apart - that's why I did arts: they say here is an arts project, and I'll be like I'm going to build with steel.

Thobile: You just want to be yourself?

W: That's all.

Thobile: The treatment from the teachers, did you feel like you could live your life as a black learner?

W: That's the challenge: the battle lines were drawn. Those who liked me liked me - they'd even fight, for instance, that project on the hegemony of English on the indigenous culture ... killing indigenous languages. 'K', 'St M's (schools) they'd come, they'd put them in one class, and say our black students are not so good. Our teacher…she says I don't do that. I had even interviewed 'M', the Dean of Humanities, as there was no Dean of Psychology at the time and 'PN'. I was like: "Why do you call Africans soldiers?"

Thobile: What was it?

W: It was an essay …The teacher would say "Why do you not give him an A? What problem do you have with this and that?" and she says she came tooo strong, and my teacher, because she liked me, she'd fight for me, but the others … But life goes on you like me you hate me

Thobile: How did they accommodate your culture?

W: If a school is giving me third language Zulu, … cannot give me my language, that means it's not interested in knowing who I am, that's indigenous rubbish. 'St C' (school), 'H'(school) , I think they have everything: becomes a bit political, a bit … in my culture I look down when I talk to you, then you say, in my culture I do not look at you, but then comes "you are shouting at me…"

Thobile: How did you manage that?

W: It gets ugly, from which point of view you coming from, I'm not trained like that. From where I come I don't see things like that, I do not see things the same way: how do you manoevre? Secular and homogenous culture …

Thobile: Do you feel that this is what they are promoting?

W: Understanding that Anglo-Saxon will take you somewhere in life.

Thobile: So homogenous would be Anglo-Saxon?

Thobile: What language do you, or did you speak at home?

W: Zulu.

Thobile: How would you describe your relationship with your extended family, especially your relatives or cousins that did not attend white or Model C schools? (Elaborate on positive experiences as well.)

W: It's always why waste so much of money. They called my mom a lot of times (imitating the teachers) "He's like good if he paid more attention."

Thobile: Why spend that much?

W: Each time I did something informative. You acquire that free-minded private school person. It's problematic it will help if they taught them first language, so that they could mediate, so that they do not become social outcasts, then it's too late, they get to university, look at him from the rural areas.

Thobile: How do you explain that?

W: You think you have many options, and you forget to narrow them down to the needs of your community. You have no parents there, and then you get to do a lot of things that occupy. They come from a good base, and they explain it. They went to the best schools so then what happens? You want to explore the world, then it gets tough and it needs commitment and you want to change.

Thobile: How did you manage the transition - you had just come from e Soweto?

W: Don't take it too seriously, he comes from Soweto - meanwhile this is 'P' Christian school: u 'TM'(an acquaintance) *uma wakhe ubaba wakhona wayewuthisha umama eyi* (his mother …his father was a teacher and his mother a) Social Worker … the boy was e 'St C' (school), he was there and he would say things like: "The white man, you start playing cricket, learn about hockey" and you like: "I just wanna play soccer". Like, you know you get to learn how things are done here, otherwise you will be a misfit.

Thobile: What did other people in your community say about you attending a former white school?

W: When you challenge things about way of life "Oh now you think you know better … *eyi lembiza yakho* (oh no your traditional medicine) has not been tested for toxicity *hamba uyodla amaphilisa"* (go and take pills). Have you got it right man? What do [you] know, you are never good enough, that's why you say "Let me take it up, as long as they are engaging, and it's matters of substance then …"

Thobile: What did people in your community say about those that attended former white schools in general? What did you feel about this?

W: You think you are better off, you think you can tell people… when we stayed here in PMB you meet friends *e Makethe* (at the Market) the …Tsotsitaal, you start learning Hip Hop, you take a leaf off there, so that what they did in America that helps Hip Hop, depending on which angle you take,

Thobile: Life at a predominantly white or Model C School could be vastly different from the life of a young boy or girl in the community? How did you manage the school versus community demands on you as a person? (on your understanding of who you are, your self?) Please give examples.

W: You are not being given the language and your culture, you are learning about this (imitating the significant others) *"hee yabona laba o lamthuthu lomfana thina emaplazini sibuthiwe"*. (You see these coconuts they do not understand the life of hardship of black people living in the rural areas) You are not regimented, not like the Boy Scouts, *Izintombi* (maidens)…you are not even learning about that …the ability to interpret. Now you start to see certain behaviours being loud celebrations you misread, you do not have a base. You are never good enough, unless you beat yourself and learn the other that is not your own, then you become a coconut. So then you have to do your homework outside this framework, if you do not appease the streets… Tsotsitaal… then you become …the culture Regiments *Izintombi* (maidens), you do not do all of that so that when you are old you get excised. You can imagine…

Thobile: Some community members have labelled black learners in white schools "coconuts". What do you think/feel about this?

W: Look, ehm, it forces, ehm, the… can I call it alienation, you are born here …and leave the stupid debate that we came from the equator, that there were the Khoi people here.

Thobile: Were you ever labeled a coconut?

W: It was easy, because I came from Jo'burg, and Zulu and my cultural understanding. It was daunting, who was gonna teach me all this. My first year at 'St C' (school) was good, but then I had to leave and in the other school. Today I can address a*maKhosi*.(Chiefs).

Thobile: You have found your way and have the capacity to address *amaKhosi* (Chiefs)?

W: After I finished I Long walk I asked to be taken out of the environment, to home schooling, where there is a strong move towards understanding i deficit. I had the opportunity to learn about what is the difference between a black artist and a white artist and of course I interviewed a black artist. He came up with a clever idea of how to mix sugar with dough. I came out of school thinking I was going to help all the black artists - it was romantic - I thought I do not have to work, but it took me on a journey, learning about African life, and how the industry can be formalized …can you mould this in plastic, can you bring industry to him *ukuthunga ngobuhlalu* (make arts and crafts from beads). All of that you represent, that link now so you have to

Thobile: You went on you own Long Walk to Freedom?

W: It's making sense it's converging you should be able to go into any space and learn

Thobile: How do you feel or think about having attended a white school now (explore the time dimension)?

W: I enjoyed the library more than I got to read about Steve Biko and Tsietsi Mashinini.

Thobile: You created you curriculum?

W: Sort of…

Thobile: How do you feel about having attended such a school now?

W: My grandma…That's what I have… Can we get everyone reading reading about your culture and other cultures.

Thobile: What did attending a predominantly white or Model C School mean to you as a person? At the time. What does it mean now?

W: Beaten up to action *"azokushaya amabhunu!!"* (the Boers will beat you up) I'm a big dreamer - I sit here and I'm absent-minded (imitating significant others): "You have a serious attention deficit: amabhunu they are going to beat you up!!". My mama would be like: "You need to ease your way." You feel [a] privileged kind of structure to life you can count a number of people that go through it and they survive. You had the means to explore and do your own thing. Other people are forced to narrow the deficit and take the pressure: you feel like you are stepping up; you should be anything you want as long as you learn the regiment rather than being limited… it's not part of the textbook and you like: "come on what are we here for?"

Thobile: How do you describe yourself?

W: What you see is what you get. I'm very black, I am African. Being proud of the soil, looking like the soil, in Xhosa uthi ndimdaka. When I say ndimdaka I'm not saying I'm dirty, I'm saying I'm an African. I'm a symbiosis of what you see in this space. In English I feel I'm pretty much a well- grounded African… young adult who is sensitive to the space, the sum of parts that make a whole, who enjoys the differences and compositions, the sameness of it… there is a common unit standard or common denominator, a set of values that, when you understand, you can appreciate the Diaspora - you can take it around the world, you can take it around that constituency, but being comfortable amongst … around other races.

Thobile: I am so thankful for your time. Any questions/comments?

W: In 1999 for my matric year I posed a question: "Why is it tertiary institutions refuse the indigenization?" Where I sat down and asked professor, why [are they] producing black people that are going to misdiagnose the other race groups?

Thobile: *Kodwa uzwile ukuthi basifakile isiZulu manje*? Are you aware that IsiZulu is now one of the languages of instruction?

W: Why aren't you indigenizing content, why aren't you teaching people about the majority, why are you not bolstering African medicine? Why is it so difficult for business and capital to …is it 'cos the freedom of the revolution made a concession, as opposed to saying …it discounted itself, it gave the former oppressors peace on the plate…it is easy for the beneficiaries to say we had no choice.

Why do people carry on this way, where are we meeting each other, why do we need to be compromised, why are black professionals become professionals in their thirties and forties? and, like I said, my partner built a station when he was in his twenties with Transnet. I wanna react but I do not know how …

Thobile: Thank you for your participation 'W'I look forward to meeting you at the focus group session

APPENDIX 11 – FOCUS GROUP

Thobile: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. As I have mentioned earlier, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage should you desire to do so. To begin with, could you please tell me a story about your experiences of attending a Model C, or a predominantly white school, where black students were a minority. Please tell me where and how it started, when you started attending a predominantly white school, and whether you had been to a predominantly black school before. I am particularly interested in your experiences as a black learner in a white school and how you managed your life at school, family and community levels.

Sl: When I was in primary we were not in the same class as white people they said it's like Afrikaans class so they were taught in Afrikaans all subjects then they said it's an English class an English class maybe ey there were no whites coloureds Indians and stuff…so it was …hectic hahaha!

K: So hectic to be black. English Afrikaans? There should have been mhlampe (maybe) Zulu yabo (you see).

D: Multi-racial school, they don't do Zulu they don't do Zulu

Sl: They were tauting us Afrikaans

D: but the home language is I think at your school the home language was Afrikaans

Sl: First language? My first language was English then Afrikaans

K: then the others it was Afrikaans then English

D: why didn't they do English with the other whites?

Sl: They do they were doing English just that they said it is English and then Afrikaans class and English class cos it's blacks and whites

D: I don't understand: that is not true

Thobile: so there was that separation?

Sl: yes just to blind us

K: yet you are doing the same grade

Sl: we were doing the same grade same everything just that it was an Afrikaans class

D: were you doing Afrikaans

Sl: yes

D: you were doing Afrikaans, so why did they separate you?

Sl: I don't know I don't know even now even my brother he is in an English class and there is an Afrikaans class

D: you know how they do it they know that most of the whites will go for Afrikaans and then you guys will go for Zulu. Wow!

Sl: yes…exactly exactly that's how they do it For them to separate us

D: you know guys I'm going to do Afrikaans and Zulu as a first additional language

Sl: In my school they never like taught us Zulu I never did Zulu

K: But Now they do

D: Ja they do now it's either Afrikaans or Zulu

Thobile: so what you are saying there is

D: they want to separate us

K: not yet there should be a Zulu

D: if you do not do Afrikaans as a FAL then you have to do Zulu as a FAL

K: cos you have to do 2 languages

Thobile: Who is in the Zulu class?

D and Sl: Blacks blacks only obviously

Thobile: How did that make you feel? Do you have similar experiences?

D: Exactly, there was separation the FAL…

K: In mine there was no separation but there wasn't Afrikaans only the English the home the only language. It was only English as the whole it was only not many languages.

Z: in our school it was a choice there was no separation

K: your school was better

Sl: That was great man that was great which school is that?

D: H (school) is a ….

Sl: where is that school?

D: It's around here

Thobile: You are one school but it's like 2 schools in one?

K: That was a big problem

D: it was ac hallenge cos we know Zulu and they would talk only Afrikaans My grade 9 teacher told me to not to do Zulu He said don't do Zulu Zondi do Afrikaans. He actually told me not to do Zulu and I was like "what?" I was like No way she told me that ehm when I'm working maybe somewhere somehow the only language I'll speak …I will meet maybe Afrikaaners and white people

Z: but that is true

Sl: they used to say like even if you go to work area you won't talk Zulu you will only communicate in English and Afrikaans

D: but the thing is the thing is you know most of people don't know Afrikaans so the only main language is English you know why don't they do English like us and then they do their language they don't have to pull us in their Afrikaans class

Z: Afrikaans is the same as IsiZulu

D; is the same as IsiZulu

Z: Afrikaans is the same as IsiZulu? How?

D: Exactly

K: How?

Z: cos If you are a white person you'll do English and Afrikaans you are not gonna do English and Zulu…The universal language is English

Sl: then the second is Afrikaans

K: The second is Afrikaans or Zulu

D: No, it's not Afrikaans

Thobile: They were pushing you towards Afrikaans and you resisted

D: I resisted because I was like NO! because I can't do Afrikaans you know my home language is Zulu so I'm black I have to go with other black people I have to do Zulu with them where will I talk Afrikaans I don't know Zulu at all so that's what those whites were trying to make us do not talk Zulu . Afrikaans is very hard

Sl: Afrikaans is very hard cos they used to say we do essay and presentations in Afrikaans damn damn!

D: Tell me about it

Thobile: So the resistance was it's not my language and I wanna be with the other black kids?

D: I cannot do Afrikaans why don't they do Zulu with us why do they take me and not take the white person and say hey go and do Zulu why do they take me and say go and do Afrikaans

K: like some of them they said we must do English if you are doing English grade 1 grade 2 grade 3 grade 4 up to grade 7 right you are Zulu there are jinx that you won't be able to like write in Zulu you can only speak in Zulu like you are neglecting your own language

D: that's the whole point in a multi-racial school you don't do Zulu you do at a class at a Zulu class that's when you do Zulu and the Zulu is so easy and the English is YHooo

Sl: no man the Zulu is not easy

K: it's like this listen to me if… what happens now ja…it's better now

D: I'm saying the multiracial Zulu is easier than the one they do at elokshini (township) schools. My cousin was ehm he was doing grade 8 and grade 9 at ehm these schools at the lokshin schools and then he goes to L (school) and he was like Oh my God I only every time like I got 100% in Zulu every time it was so easy and was like what?

K: what I have noticed is like this: if you are in a multiracial school your first language or home first language yeah it's like your first language is Zulu your home language is English

D: exactly!

K: when you go to our schools there in communities

D: the Lokshin (township) schools

K: Ja: our home language is Zulu so you will only find that there English is harder than isiZulu but whereas there on the other side Zulu is harder than English

Thobile: Why are you not happy that they taught you easy Zulu?

D: because it's not equal

K: No it shouldn't be easy should be balanced

Thobile: how?

Sl: They should be like teaching them the way the way they teach in other *lokshini* (township) school

Thobile: So you want the difficult Zulu

K: Ja you can't be doing nouns at grade 10 like doing nouns whereas you do it in grade 1 there! And you do it in high school when you do it in primary so it ain't equal

Thobile: why do you feel strongly about this?

D: it's fair it is fair

Sl: can I ask you a question guys: in matric did you write the same paper as the other schools like Lokshin schools

D: No it's not the same paper the multi racial school paper is easier the lokshin (township) Zulu paper is harder than theirs it is the home language

Thobile: Why is it not fair that isiZulu *e Lokshin* (in the township) and IsiZulu in multiracial schools is not at the same level?

D: Because you know ehm let's say in multiracial schools what I'm thinking they are saying about this thing is that Zulu is easier than English they are telling us that we have to take English more seriously than IsiZulu and at the Lokshin schools they are telling us that we have to take Zulu more seriously than English so that's the whole point

K: yes that's what is controversial between the department they just should just make it the same

D: same level

Thobile: for you it's not like you want the one above the other

D: exactly

K: When you get your results it's like people in multiracial schools get As in Zulu and…

D: Exactly! Tell me about it.

K: and this side you get As in English this side so it's not equal

Thobile: So they end up getting good marks for IsiZulu meanwhile e Lokshini (township) they may not be getting the same marks

D: they get the higher marks in English. They get As in English and then at the multi-racial school they get more A's in isiZulu

Thobile: so that's where the unfairness is?

Sl: we all deserve to pass

D: My cousin I was like I was doing isiZulu and my cousin was like c'mon 'D'(participant) I was like what? And he is like t's not the same thing: it's not the same thing this is harder your Zulu is easy

K: and you just come and show off and ey I got an A in Zulu

Thobile: Any other challenge?

K: I think we should talk about sport

All: Sport. Yes. Rugby was for whites…whites only

K: The only sport that I found had many like both blacks and whites there at school was cricket

D: swimming is for whites not blacks

K: Ja. Swimming is for whites

Z: Sometimes if you don't do sport they won't take you

Sl: Ja on multiracial schools like my my my like u 'MaS' my brother my younger brother was telling me he has to stick by rugby because when he go to high school they take him according to his sport just imagine that just imagine that no sport

K: you won't be taken

Sl: you won't be taken

D: You get scholarship if you are playing sport

Thobile: Sport why the separation? How did this separation happen?

K: Even if you wanted to play it's like they are telling you that whites are more talented. They make like when there are selections…

All: Exactly

K: When there are selections

D: I think it was something ehm

Sl: I think I think rugby it's for whites vele vele nje (as a norm)

D: Exactly! Something that you mentally…

K: For my school there was like a coach a coach was white so…

D: Every coach was white besides the football coach is black

K: For selections if we're all like blacks and whites there like playing for selections they would choose blacks they wouldn't choose blacks I mean they choose whites I don't know why even if you played better than the white guy or probably I thought maybe they knew the father of the other guy or they are friends or

Thobile: Even if you play better?

K: ja!

D: That's because he's white they are white

Z: A group was for only whites and the B group white C blacks

Thobile: So there were those dynamics? You went to the lowest of them all? So who is in the A team?

All: yes

D: We were on the lowest

Sn: and my brother fought to be on the A team in cricket and rugby

D: B is for Indians whites Indians and C is for blacks CD is for blacks

Thobile: Who's got A?

D: Us

Thobile: So who is in the A team?

All: For whites!

K: In rugby there are whites in Cricket Indians are dominating

D: Coloureds never go to A Indians go to A

Sl: Coloureds if they are fit

D: Coloureds we were down low with them

K: o Brian Habana (a coloured rugby player)

D: We were in the low with coloureds

Thobile: How did that make you feel?

K: Like I also wanted to join the chess team

Thobile: What other challenges did you experience?

D: The tennis you know tennis was for white girls only

Sl: Yes tennis. I also wanted to play tennis but I couldn't

D: I loved tennis but they were like Ohh! Zondi you can't get in yeyeye

Sl: I couldn't

Sn: I guess it also depends at which school you were in

D: Which schools you went to?

Sn: I went to 'X' Academy (name of school)

D: Where is that?

Sn: It's in between Kranskop oh it's near Kranskop between Greytown and Stanger

D: So far away ..

Thobile: What were your experiences?

Sn: Personally I will speak the truth. Personally at our school we had different a variety of sports but then there was a thing that hockey is played by white people

D: Exactly

Dm: But but no it was just a stereotype by us black people you could actually play hockey but then it was just mostly white people playing it and they were good at it. So if you are not good at it you would go to netball, volleyball or something else but then it was that stereotype that hockey is for white people

Sl: Then it's ending up with white people?

Sn: and they encouraged each other to actually be good and help each other. They wouldn't help you unless you are really determined to learn so it was just like that

D: Wow!

Thobile: So you could actually get into the hockey team?

Sn: Yes you could you could. But you know when a place is… ehm white people they dominate in that place it's very difficult for you to join in and actually mingle with them because you know you just feel black

D: Yes always

Thobile: What makes you feel black when you are in a non-racial environment?

D: Because it's a multiracial school

Sn: It all comes down to friendship. At school while it's during sports time at school they are friends so

Thobile: Who is they?

Sn: Ok the white…Who ever

K: Also and teasing too

Sn: and us blacks we are friends to each other at school

K: Ja even if you tried to make friends with them they don't want you to be friends with them

D: Not all of them though with me I had a white friend

Thobile: At school you are friends and then?

Sn: No let me take it down…to where it starts like this school that I was in it was situated at a mission station. The mission station there are people who stay there and there are people who come there just to study but there are people who were born there and stayed there you know. So for instance ehm I came there I wasn't born there but most ehm almost every white people they stay there at the mission station you also get people who stay there the black people so they grew with each other and they have been friends since like the beginning of everything Then I joined in in grade R grade 1 I joined in. I could either be friends with them or just be classmates in school. So if they are friends they are gonna do the same things if you choose sports they're gonna choose the same thing

D: Sorry I can't deal with that

Sn: and if you haven't made friends with them in the beginning while they choose whatever they are choosing they're gonna mingle together and you are gonna be left out

K: You can never ever blend in

Sn: Ja. You canl never be able to actually blend in

Thobile: Wow: you could never blend in why not?

Sn: Cos you couldn't from the start

Sn: Ja If you didn't catch it from the start you've missed it

K: It's gone

Thobile: So what happens for the rest of your schooling career?

K: It's just my classmates. Haa

Thobile: How do you better that?

Sn: You can better that by actually forcing yourself to become friends with them

D: I can't force myself

Sn: They are nice people but they're unlike us they wouldn't actually wanna make friends with you you get one of those who wanna make friends

D: Why do it have to be us who want to make friends with whites why don't they come to us still? Why don't they approach us every time we have to approach them? No! I can't deal with that

Thobile: So it's like there is this movement you guys going that side…

D: Exactly they are not coming to our side

Dm: and since since the democracy we're like Ha we are all equal why should we come to you? we also not coming to you we are forming our own group. They are like we are also not coming to you we are forming our own group so

Thobile: So there are groups there now?

Sl: so they like whites and blacks

D: There are lots of groups different groups but ehm

Thobile: So now at the friendship level at a sport level at a language level there are those separations

D: Yes

Sn: I think it's because of our freedom wena (you) *sis Thobile kuwukuthi sesifike la sithi khona No! sesiphelile isikhathi sokuthi sinincenge abazali bethu bebenincenga* (we have reached a point where we say NO! We are no longer prepared to suck up to you, our parents did that and hat is enough)

D: They were doing that for us we are not doing it

Dm: As much as I would like to be your friend I'm not gonna force you or *ngikuncenge* (beg you)

D: Go all out

Dm: Why should I go all out *ngoba nawe uyathanda nawe ukuba umngane wami?* (You also like to be my friend) You should also go all out… Let's meet each other halfway

Thobile: Now if that was the attitude with your white counterparts, white learners how was your relationship with teachers?

D: The teachers were…

Sl: The teachers were friendly

K: There were few

Sne: There were few that were friendly especially in primary school

K: Even the opportunities that were give us they were for white people

D: Exactly they were like haaa

Sne: yes

K: Like my school chess team I loved chess and I played well

D: It’s for nerds

K: But it was always for whites

D: It’s for those smartly white people

K: Ja smart ones it was for whites

K: ja smart boys

D: Merits

K: if you are not smart …

D: If you put on glasses you white I mean you are smart

K: Jaa

Thobile: So do you mean you were not good enough to get in the chess group?

K: And I wasn’t white enough

All: hahahahaha

Sn: At the end of the day it’s about not being white enough

D: Exactly we weren’t white enough

Thobile: What counts here is it not being good enough or not being white enough

All: It’s not being white enough

D: You can be good in everything ….you can be good in everything but they will discriminate you somehow

Sl: Do you know what I remember the first year when I went to a white school and they said I copied eish man hhe

K: I also had the same problem

Sl: They were like this one is coming from a black schools and now she is getting like high marks she copied

K: I also had to rewrite a test

D: What?

Sl: Seriously

D: I was gonna go out and leave them like that. I was gonna leave

Sl: Mina they took me and they put me in front right in front of the teacher and I’m like Oh God

Thobile: So coming from a black school you can’t be good you must have copied

Sl: Yes

D: You’re naughty, you are irresponsible if you are coming from a black school

Sl: I felt so embarrassed then

Sn: No but you know guys what's more embarrassing is the stereotype that black people are just naughty if it's trouble there is a black person there

K: Yet you find whites smoking, fighting, bullying

D: Yes bullying is for white people most of the time who bullied were the white people

K: Most bullies are white. Ja

D: Most bullies are white

Sn: You actually get *uthole ukuthi mhlampe* (you find that maybe) you had a fight and there was a white person involved and *uyena mhlampe uqalile* (and s/he probably started it). They'll be like No you were the influence

All: Yes!!

Sn: you influenced him to do it

Thobile: Who says this?

Sn: Whoever. It could be the parent it could be the teachers, anyone. Anyone in the authority

K: He wouldn't have done it without you

D: Exactly

K: He's never done something like this

D: You gave him some ideas

Thobile: Are you guys any of these stereotypes? Are you naughty?

D: No! what?!

K: We are just like normal kids we are normal kids we are normal kids

Dm: Yes we are naughty

K: We are normal kids. Normal Kids

D: I'm not naughty I'm just stubborn that's all

Dm: No. we are not normal kids we are naughty. You know what happens in each school there are rules and us

K: We break them

Dm: We are there to break them

D: Even white people

Dm Even white people, yes

Dm: But *sengisho ukuthi* (I mean) whatever they say most of it is very true

D: Unfair

Dm: Most of it is true guys

D: They making us to be like that though they are make]ing us to be naughty cos if you keep saying I'm naughty I'm naughty then I'm gonna end up being naughty cos I'm doing what you want me to do to be

Sn: But that's up to you that's up to an individual

Thobile: Seems like you have the evidence that blacks were naughty. What would you do?

Sl: Mina (I) I'm not

D: I'm not naughty

Sn: In a way I was. It was the boarding school basically

K: They are the naughtiest

Sn: It was a boarding school and…

Thobile: Where does the naughtiest come from

D: The boarding school children are naughty

D: I wasn't naughty but yes the boarding school kids are naughty

Sl: Let's not refer to you specifically generalize: they were naughty

D: Very naughty

Thobile: What would you do?

K: It's the freedom that they have

Sn: Anything that is against the rules yes! cos you the rules they are the things that hinder you from doing the nice things for instance we didn't have TV we weren't allowed to talk to boys ehm

K: There comes lesbians from that

D: there comes a story

Sn: So you'd you try you like this guy and you tell him and you are not allowed to be you are not allowed to engage in a relationship with him so you gonna do it under cover

K: You bend the rules to see the person

Sn: You are gonna to do it under cover you get a white friend you tell her about it she is like I also wanna do it they do it as well

Sl: Then you influence

Dm: You are the influence

Z: No hhayi ngeke (there is no way)

D: Then you are the influence

Thobile: So you guys were naughty

Sl: Ja. Boarding school kids are naughty

Sn: But you know what the problem is wena (you) Miss Thobile, *ukuthi* (that) as much as we are naughty there comes a situation where you are actually innocent just cos they think you are naughty, they will be like "we know you are naughty you were naughty *futhi* (again)" whereas you were innocent

Thobile: So there is a stereotype whether you have done it or not you have done it

Sn: Yes you have done it for instance you are also in boarding school but not naughty but if you were found in some sort of *ilentuzana* (this thing) trouble they'll pinpoint you

K: Even with a person who is always in trouble if you are found with the person who's always in trouble you are all

D: You are in it. Ja my friends were like that as a matter of fact

Thobile: Did you get a sense that you were valued the same as the white learners other kids

D: No! What?! not in my school

K: Sometimes you do

D: In my school I was like ehm I was like the smartest in grade 8 I was like the smartest all of the guys and then Ms ehm I was I was in Ms A's class and they'd come and say she'd come and say to the white guy maybe he failed or she failed maybe his English or something: "You have to work hard you have to do this" but when it's a black: "you are so stupid you are this and this and this and that". Like sorry so unfair…

Sn: In my school they differed

K: Ja. Not all of them

Sn: Ja. With us you got those who really wanted you to make it who actually put an effort on you to actually stand there and be seen. Then you got those that they'd rather have someone else

K: always they are oppressing you

D: yes they are oppressing you. But I must say you would also get black teachers who actually oppress you

All: Exactly ja yes that's what happened when the principal was changed and he was black: I was like Yes!!

Sn: So it all goes to favourites really

D: It all goes to your ehm to your race

Thobile: So sometimes white teachers treat you the same as black teachers: Does this mean it's the same whether you get taught by black or white teachers?

Sn: But usually in multi-racial schools…

D: But most of the time it's us most of the time it's us

Sn: But the thing is in multi-racial schools you get like 5 black teachers imagine if there is like 5 teachers, so even if they want to stand up it's like Ms Masombuka Ms Masombuka in Sarafina she wants to bring them up but someone is oppressing them

Thobile: So your take is : Black teachers would try and bring you up

Sn: Some will but some won't they'll just be like they'll be like if Ms sos and so says then you did it…

K: They just accepted just whether it's wrong or right they just accepted

Sn: And you get one *ozokhuluma nawe eceleni athi kumele uthule yazi mane uthule* (they'll bring you to the side and say you need to keep quiet, just keep quiet). They are scared…

K: *Kumele uthule, ehhe*.(Keep quite, right?)

D: cos we have rights we can't shut up we have rights we talk whatever

Sl: we have rights hahaha and some of us are using rights in a wrong way hahaha

Sn: *Yazi Kumele uthule idlule lento* (you know this thing has to pass)

D: Don't argue just shoo

Thobile: How did these experiences (challenges) make you feel?

Sl: Yes they said I copied very embarrassing

K: Like you you redo a paper

Sl: and I had to go sit and write in front of the teacher just to prove myself just imagine that

Thobile: So they made you redo the paper? What were your marks like?

K: Still good

Sl: Still good and what proved this cos I always got like higher marks higher marks throughout the year then that is where they got convinced *ukuthi* (that) yes.

K: They start to see you as ehm any person

Sl: You know eish man eish man

Thobile: Any positives?

D: hahah I don't think there are positives

Sn: Mina (I) personally out of these challenges, well it depends on the character of a person, if you really wanna let someone bring you down. I never let anyone bring me down cos I knew I had potential in whatever I did

D: Wow!

Sn: if I put my head to it I'll do it if I like it I'll do it no one is gonna stop me from doing it. If… the thing is in these schools you get these negative things coming to you but it's up to you you as an individual whether you wanna fight them or you wanna let them come to you

K: It's like the more like you become stronger

Sn: In our class at school up to matric when you get your report you get positions they give you you have to get a position in class you have to know your position in class and when I came there

Thobile: What is a position?

K: According to your achievements and marks

Sn: Yes like if you are a class of 50 students

D: And the blazer has to differ

Sn: and maybe get a position 18 so you know ukuthi (that) you are 18 in class you are average or what

K: So we got Ok according they'll expect white people to

K: To always be on top

Sn: Yes and this other time I …had and when I got my position I actually figured that there are a lot of white people behind me

K: Yeah Like *Thyo*! (Wow!)

Dm: Like lots of people

D: Mh exactly there are a lot of them and that makes you feel good

Sn: it makes you feel goodlike you don't have to be white to be good

D: Exactly but that's mad

Thobile: you are affirmed: Like you don't have to be white to be good

D: exactly

Sl: and what scares me the most is the person they say I copied to she failed and I was just like…

Z: Shame poor thing

K: How can I copy to someone like that?

Sl: I was like "God!"

Thobile: So you had to fight so what tools did you use? So one of the tools was to do well

D: you have to do well

K: Yeah then you'd be recognised as a good person

Sn: and kwi sport you had to do well nje do what you know

Thobile: What else did you do to assert yourselves there?

D: You had to do very well you had to stand out

Z: Abide by the rules

K: Don't be too shy like, like be able to speak out

All: Speak out

Dumi: Ja that's very important to speak out because you get black people who are actually very good in English they are fluent but they don't talk

D: Exactly, they dpn't say anything

Sn: They don't talk they don't say anything and at school if you stood out and talk they'll be like : Wow!!

Thobile: and the wow meant?

D: Oh well then I'm wow then I'm good and the blazer you know at my school all we were working for were our places it was different from the other students. If you are an A student your blazer would be different if you are a B student your blazer would be different

All: exactly

Z: What if you dropped?

D: If you drop they take out the badge

Sl: they take the badge out. Thina we used to wear the top 5 badges top 10 badges so

Z: Thina we got colours.

D: No! If you get an A if you got an A you have to get an A

Thobile: What colours were you getting?

All: Academic and sport

Thobile: So there was no discrimination then: you guys were doing well?

K: After some activism ja

D: We were doing well

Sl: I had colours in academic

D: I had colours in academic too I had a blazer

Sl: like they were giving us badges like top 5 badges

D: and if you are an RCL your blazer used to differ like different blazers

Thobile: So you were in the RCL?

D: I was a president of my school

Thobile: you were a president?

K: well done girl

D: Yes!

Thobile: Wow !!so you did a lot of talking?

D: Ja I did a lot of talking. Yes

K: I know your school they say like it came out in the paper this week Voortrekker like this year is the first year they are getting a black president

Sne: Just imagine that

D: Can you imagine that?

K: Since back in the days it's always been white white white

D: It's not about the vote it's how it's how you you perform in school it's how you and what I have seen is ehm the votes are not for kids you guys can vote but when the teachers are comparing… they can say No we can't take her we can't take her let's take this one .

K: It wasn't a democratic school…democracy

D: That's how happened to me that's how I became a president They were like No! I wasn't even voted to be on the RCL. I was like what?

Thobile: You were not supported by the teachers?

D: You got support from teachers not from students

Thobile: So you got support from both otherwise you wouldn't have been president

D: Exactly

Thobile: What made teachers discount the student vote?

D: I don't know because…for suure

Sn: They had different encounters with you they had different encounters with you. You get a teacher a white teacher who is very nice to you. you are in her class you are doing good she likes you then you get this one you're doing good but she just doesn't like you and she yabona (you see) whatever khetha she is like she is bad influence as much as she Is doing good she is bad influence

D: My principal was like ok the RCL were raising ehm who wants to be a president and the RCL were all of them and I wasn't raising my hand and the principal was like Zondi raise your hand raise your hand and I was like No Zondi raise your hand can you imagine and I'm like No my principal was like raise you hand and I'm like "No NoI'm not raising my hand I don't want to be the president raise you hand I'm like No!!

K: It wasn't democratic to become president there

D: Exactly. It was like the RCL

K: Just the teachers pick you up

D: No the RCL pick you up

Sl: Our problem at school they will be like if you voting for prefects and head boys and head girls. They will be like ok "Vote" at one point you will be just voting and then at this I don't know I don't know I never voted I just don't vote

Sl: Mina I only vote once, now I never.

Sn: I don't know I don't believe in voting because of I don't know maybe it's because of where I come from. Anyway anyway, so at this point your vote is a secret we all know that. Then there came to this point where they gave you small little papers it's written your names 'Sn M' (her name)

K: Ja. It's nominated already

Sn: No! SM You are gonna vote on this paper what I didn't write my name Why?

K: They want to see who you voted

D: It's not a secret. Yes! They want to see who you vote for

Sn: because they want to see *kumele uma uma choosa* (when you choose you have to) ama prefects *kumele ukhethe umuntu ohloniphayo ocebanyao ohlebanayo* (You have to choose those that are respectful, that will tell on those that are considered naughty)

D: Exactly i uniform *yakhe ehlez'i* (his/her uniform always) decent everything

Sn: Lutho iyeke indaba ye decency ngoba sonke si decent esikoleni (do not even mention decency as we were all decent at school)they were very strict *esikoleni kodwa bafuna ukhethe umuntu ocebanayo* (at school they want you choose someone who can tell on others)

D: *Weeee ngangingeke ngimkhethe umuntu ocebanayo* (no ways, I wouldn't have chosen someone who tells on others)

Sn: *Ohloniphayo omaziyo ukuthi nje* (someone respectful someone you know that) she doesn't deal with nonsense *uzokuceba ngeke aze akuwarnishe uzokuceba*.(s/he will tell on you without a warning) They wanted you to choose those people

K: Ama (they are) spies, spies

Sn: If wena (you) ok sebebona ukuthi (they can see that)Ok u 'Sn'(participant) chose *isigangi isigangi owaziwayo ukuthi uzofavourisha kusho ukuthi u'Sn' isigangi* (well known delinquent that will favour Sn that means Sn is also a delinquent)

D: I think it was unfair

Thobile: Ok give us positives: it wasn't all that bad, I mean it wasn't that bad we have a RCL president right here you guys had colours? Anything else?

D: They taught us to be responsible

Sn: These multi-racial schools they give extra classes

D: Exactly

Thobile: Who goes for extra classes?

All: Anyone who wants to

Thobile: Just generally from your observation who would go?

All: Anyone

Sl: In our school it was just anyone

Sn: And if they see that you are battling and actually *kodwa wena* (but you) you don't wanna get help awusho lutho (you don't say anything) they would actually because at school they would look at your marks and they would be like *mhlampe abantu abathola abo 40* (maybe those who get 40s) they would write letters to your parents telling them *ukuthi* (that) you should be forced to come to them

Thobile: So that was positive because that was helpful?

K: We had ehm many many types of sport instead of having soccer, netball only

Sn: The availability of ehm equipment at school computers, libraries, that was just nice and you could really access that at anytime

Thobile: Let's talk culture now:

All: Weee (Oh That?)

Z: Jesus! Hahaha Thixo! (Oh God!)

D: culture! Yhoo!! (Oh No!!)

Thobile: You are in this white environment and you come from a black environment. How was that experience?

D: Like how you have to roll?

Thobile: How did you reconcile the expectations from both?

Sl: Terrible

Sn: it was nice

D: In my school it was terrible

Thobile: Let's start with the nice

Dm: Well, it was very nice because they were keen to actually learn about our culture. They want yes…and like the majority of our students they knew Zulu they'd speak Zulu

K: They were white?

Sn: Yes. They'll speak Zulu. Do you know that that advert yaka (of) King Pie?

All: Ja

Sn: She was in the same school as I

D: Ha!!

Sl: Seriously?

K: That's why she speaks so well

D: she speaks so gorg..

K: I also thought she was ehm black

Sn: So nje we spoke Zulu they loved Zulu *ngeke uze ubahlebe* (you can't gossip about them)

Z: Even the food

Sn: Ja. They loved the food

Z: On the 24 of ehm September they loved to taste the food like isigwaqane (mealie meal mixed with beans), konke (everything) inyama yesiZulu (Boiled meat)

Sn: *Thina esikoleni* (at school we) we had Maas

Sl: Seriously?

Sn: We had Maas for supper

Sl: Thina (we) in our school they just threw the answers at us

K: I don't remember us having maybe any type of food from our black homes

Dm: Ja and they'd actually. If mhlampe (maybe) you wanna because we had different people there: German speaking Afrikaans we would have French speaking Koreans Chinese various sorts of people so if you wanna learn their language there were clubs. And our clubs there is Zulu club Afrikaans Club if you wanna join in

K: At least you were having clubs

Sl: At least hey?

D: Ja. There were clubs yes, French

K: Even reading clubs or…

Dm: Where they actually they take you step by step through their language

Sl: At least you had that experience

Thobile: K, you are saying you never had that experience where you could bring your food from a black home

K: Ja. We were fine if there was like Diwali

D: Their thingies, ja!

K: the thing…just to share to the class when it's the 24 we were never told to bring our food. We were always like… The Indians were all…mostly bringing the food

Sl: On the 24th it just went and past nothing ever happened

D: Like nothing

K: Even Umkhosi Womhlanga (Reed dance)they didn't even celebrate the thing. Like right now you are allowed to go early from school to prepare for Umhlanga but there no one was like released for Umhlanga. It was n't really recognised, ja

Sn: But the other thing *ma'am ukuthi* (is that) as much as these things *esizishoyo* (the things we say) these negative things and positive things and what what, you know when we join multi-racial schools we wanna become white

K: yeah

D: No! I don't wanna become white

K: Not necessarily ja, we adopt the style ehe

Sn: No no that but nawe (you) you wanna *ufuna ukuthi uma ubuyela kini kuthiwe* (when you go back home you want them to say): "oooh! she is from a multi-racial school"

K: Yeah we are adopting the style of whites

Sn: As much as we would not admit it

K: *Udla kwaboma sushi*, amaprawns (you have sushi and prawns) now

Sn: Sifuna nathi kubonakale ukuthi (we also want them to appreciate that)

D: I come from e multi-racial school kudliwani (what do we eat)?

D and Sl: Prawns

Sn: *Mhlambe umuntu akhiphe i doyi* amachips lawa akalwayo (Maybe someone takes out chips that are measured by the packet) and you are like

All: Noooo!

Sl: It's unhygienic, yes

Sn: *usuzenz'umlungu nawe* (you are acting white): the thing is when it comes there as much as we complain about these things but we don't raise points *ukuthi ngeke sifuna ukuthi kwenziwe ukuthi la esikoleni nathi* (that we also want this and that to be on the menu of activities for the school)

K: Siyathula nje (we just keep quiet)

Sn: Siyathula (we keep quiet) we abide by whatever they give us. So that's why they dominate because *nathi as comi nama* (we also do not come with) ideas. You get black teachers *abathi* ja (that say yes) submit

K: Ku right nje (It's Ok like this)

Sn: Just submit

Sl: submit, yes

Sn: *Phela uma si submitta vele yibona abozophatha ngoba kuzofanele kube khona ophathayo so kuzoba ibona* (you know when we submit they will lead us because obviously someone has to take the lead so it will be them)

K: *Kuvele kwaqala bona* (they have been leading from the beginning)

Thobile: So that's one side of the story that you wanna be white. You are saying you don't wanna be white?

D: I don't wanna be white. Miss, I was saying that because *bengifuna ukuba* (I wanted to be) responsible you know what I'm saying I want my English to be fluent I want to be more ehm to be more decent because sometimes *izingane zase malokshini* (township kids) they'll do anything like *Hawu*! What? *asi attendi asingeni nje la asifundi siyahamba* (we are bunking lessons we are not going to class, we are leaving) you know if you do *lapha kuma* (in these) multi-racial if *unikwa* (you are given) i homework for sure *uzoyenza ngeke uze uyenze into ekuseni ngek'uyenze i* (you will do it you will not do it in the morning) homework *ekuseni* (in the morning) everything *yesikole ihamba* (school related matters are) on point *angazi kanjani* (I don't know how) it's how maybe *indlela abenza ngayo* (it's how they do things)

Sn: That's true

D: Everything *yesikole ihlezi i* (school related matters are always) on point ihlezi i (they are always) right

Sn: *Ngicela ukukubuza* (Can I ask you something)something?: You don't wanna be white ok ja fine but tell me if you don't wanna be white you are in a multi-racial school. What do you do during break time?

D: Hey?

Sn: What do you do during break time?

D: I eat

K: Chit chat with her friends

Sl: You eat macaroni and cheese

D: Exactly with my friends, exactly

Dm: Why don't you play *shumpu* (game played with a ball made up of plastic)?

K: Like, ja…

D: Shumpu there is nobody who want to play *shumpu*

Dm: Just nobody sees…

D: Nobody Exactly

Sn: that's because nawe (you) you were not willing to play *shumpu*

D: No why would I play *shumpu*?

K: Ja

Sn: Why *ungafikanga wakh' ibhola wathi* guys *asidlaleni ushumpu* (didn't you get there, make a ball and invite others to play?)

Sl: Because I'm black

D: No! *hhayi* (no ways). Can't

Sn: because you wanna awalk around like white people

K: Ja. *khona asizange sikwenze* (we didn't do that)

D: You don't do that

Sl: But in boarding school like in hostel we used to do that

D: Yes exactly we do that

Sn: *Mina esikoleni ngangihlupha* (I was very the naughty at school)

D: *Uyabonakala* (we can tell)

Sn: But *ngangihlupha* (I was naughty) in a nice way yabona sis Thobile *mina angifuni umuntu angiphathe. Hhayi ukuthi angifuni ukuthi angiphathe ngokuthi nani nani like kodwa angifuni ukuthi ngifeele ngazukuthi…* (You know my sister I do not want to be controlled by anyone. Not that I do not want to be managed this way or that but I don't want to feel like…)

K: *Uzwa ngaye uyakutshela* (S/he imposes herself/himself/ domineering)

Sn: we are in the same level we are in the same school why *kumele ngibe phezulu kwakho?* (should I be domineering) *Manje usuyahlupha manje ke* (Now you are naughty)…No I don't want you telling me that. *Mhlampe uMiss Thobile angagitshela* (maybe Miss Thobile can tell me) because she is …*kodwa naye uyangicika* (but she also annoys me)

All: haahahhah

Sn: No seriously yabo (you see) *mina ngangifuna ukuthi* (I wanted that) cos u shumpu in multi-racial school yabo hhayi ukuthi (you see no that) it is not permitted but it's just that *kumele ucabange ukuthi (* you have to consider)

D: Ubani ozodlala ushumpu? (Who is going to play shumpu?)

Sn: It was just inappropriate *ubani ozodlala ushumpu*? (Who is going to play shumpu?)And this other time…

Thobile: Why is it inappropriate? Isn't it one of the games you play?

K: It's our favourite

Sn: But you get this when you play shumpu they'll be like Noo (imitating disapproval from whites). What are you doing now?

D: No. Maybe they'll like it though. You don't know these guys, maybe they'll like it

Dm: Yes! They would like it. *Mina esikoleni sethu khona into esasi* (At our school there was something that)…we had a huge corridor and so *kwaba angazi kwenzakalani* (there was I don't know what happened) but *yase yavala* (it was closed) I think they were renovating

or something but so base bayivala (then they closed it) so *yayi echoisha ngalendlela uma uthi Hey!! kuzwakale ngale* (it had an echo such that when you shouted Hey! You could be heard the other side)

D: *Kuzwakala* (you could be heard)

Sn: Ok. It's break time nobody is working sihleli (we are relaxing) so you could make noise as much as you want to. *Kukhona into esasiyidlala kuthiwa uqhib'khowe iyi step sodwa.*(there was a game we would play called "*qhib'khowe") Manje nje sasimile ngebreak simile silibele ukuziqhenya saqala sathi qhib'khowe qhib'khowe khowe khowe bangijoyina nabanye kancane kancane* (Now we were just whiling away time minding our business and we started singing "*qhib'khowe, qhib'khowe*"the others joined in bit by bit)(showing the movements and rhythm) *Saqala manje senz'ulayini* (then we formed a line) then the teachers are like Hey these people? Then they like this thing and they are like Oh it's something nice base bathi (they said) but you mustn't make noise.

D: Exactly. It's break time

Sn: So we are like sorry *ngeke sisasho ukuthi qhib khowe sizoshaya izinyawo kuphela asisawenzi umsindo* (we won't say qhib'khowe we'll just stamp our feet) .*Kwaze kwafika* u principal (until the principal arrived) and the principal was like I'm so glad you guys are playing and you are in matric. And we were like yes why can't we play just cos we are in matric we can't play now we have to act all old?

D: All serious

Thobile: Who was playing, was it a mixed group?

Sn: Yes black people … there was they also wanted to play t but they couldn't play

D: They were terrible

Dm: They liked it at the end *kodwa kuwukuthi ke nathi ke if sinezinto ezika so ilento engiyishoyo uma sinezinto ezikanje singazi implementi* (if we have things like this game and we do not implement them)

K: We introduce…

Sn: Yes. if we don't implement them ngeke zize zenzeke kuzobe lokhu kunje (things are not going to happen the staus quo will remain the same).

Thobile: Please comment on the issue of the white school not recognising black cultures please share your experiences in this regard

K: Ja.

D: Well, there was one time when *ekhaya kwakunomsebenzi* (we had a traditional ceremony at home) then if you are a Zulu and *kini kuhlatsiwe* (you have slaughtered a cow at home) you have to *ufake isiphandla* (wear the traditional bracelet).

Sn: Ohh, my word I can I feel for you

D: *Isiphandla sami sasisikhulu hhayi bo futhi* (My traditional bracelet was big my goodness) so then I went to school on Monday and ehm one of the kids was like mhh this thing this thingie ehm this bracelet of yours Zondi stinks you know it's disgusting

Thobile: What did she say?

D: This bracelet of yours stinks it's disgusting so Ok I don't wanna hurt no one so I just shut up so I just kept my mouth shut and then ehm miss ehm that miss came in after lunch and was like what's that smells and they are like like "Zondi!!" all of them the whole class I was so embarrassed I was like my grandma ehm I told my grandma grandma I have to take this thing out and my grandmother was like No you have to stay with this thing for a week at least

Thobile: So they said you must take it out

D: Yes Mr principal said I must take it out

Sl: Did you, did you?

D: No No!my grandma was stubborn. She was like: "No! Never."

Sn: Well, at school there were rules so you couldn't practice culture

Sl: Also in our school cos there's this…

Thobile: The rule was don't practice culture?

Sn: You can't as much as you are white or Zulu or Afrikaner or whatever

K: Impepho, ukushunqisa (Burn incence) and all that

Sn: No! you can't do that if you do it you do it during holidays or whatever because they were I think they were trying to avoid something like that where you get Oh it stinks and all that

Sl: Cos in our school there was this one child has isiphandla they just cut it out

D: Yhoo!

Sl: They cut it out and threw it in the bin they said it's not allowed in school

D: That's harsh

Sn: Cos *vele kodwa kwi* (obviously in the) code of conduct when you *actually ungena esikoleni* (register) you sign a code of conduct *la usho khona ukuthi* (where you declare) I Abide

K: I agree.

Sn: So whenever you came with things like that they'd pull out the code of conduct, pull out your form you signed here on this date

K: Here is the lease

Thobile: Can you separate culture from education? Are you signing to say that you leave your culture tradition at the gate because you want to be in the institution?

Z: But they did

Sl: Like Indians when they wear like they wear o Sari these even the dots they were allowed for them and these these red wires

Sn: At our school it wasn't allowed. At our school no one was allowed. No one!

Z: You were equal

Thobile: Could you speak isiZulu?

Dm: Yes At least you could. That you could do but no one it's only *iwashi la esandleni* (wrist watch) no bracelet no nothing

Z: *Mina ngithanda lokho* (I like that)

Thobile: But is that fair education and culture

K: It should blend

Sn: *Mina* (me)Personally I think it is

Thobile: You are saying it should blend please take us through that

K: Because if you ehm like believe in *ukuthi ma ushisa impepho yabo* …(that if you burn incense, you see)

D: Exactly

K: Like your ancestors are with you protecting you and if you didn't do that or wear e sphandla or something or maybe a bracelet or like you feel sick just because you believe

D: You feel unlucky cos that's something you believe in

K: Ja or something so if you don't do such stuff during the schools how will you cope because you didn't have those things to protect you. You see?

D: You didn't *shunqisa the mpepho* (burn incense)

Sn: But kodwa if everyone would be allowed to implement whatever they believe in it's gonna be chaos

Sl: Very

K: It's like I would want you to join me and also you you see

Sn: That's why we have rules wherever we go guys

Sl: Ja. That's what rules are for

D: Rules are not equal though

Sn: Well, at my school they were equal

D: In my school they were not equal

Thobile: So the issue here is equality, if we do it we all do it and if we don't

D: Let's not all do it

K: Ja there are spirits that we have

Thobile: You are carrying your spirits with you?

K: Ja

Sl: Amaspirits *ayasi affecta thina* (spirits affect us)

K: Some are the bad spirits like *otikoloshe* (dwarf like water sprite that represents evil in Zulu mythology) and stuff ther are somethings like that like you are writing your paper and you don't see anything when you have a bracelet and *intambo esinqeni* (a cord around the waist) you don't feel them at all, so…

Thobile: After all the experiences now that you are older how do they make you feel now?

K: Like what I think I could change

K: I feel I was lucky

Sn: I was exposed to a lot of things

D: You learn a lot

K: Also and to connect with different kinds of races

D: So we know what are they thinking about us

K: What they do

Sn: They widen our knowledge

K: Like I would like if everything is equal if we bring and share we share what we have there the Zulus the Indians the Coloureds ehm embracing each and everyone's culture and also have like if I wanna play any kind of sport feel free just feel free to do whatever I want. So I'd change things like that there.

D: The learning system is good

K: Ja it's effective

Thobile: Lastly, who are you? How has this experience impacted on your understanding of who you are?

D: I learnt that I'm stubborn

K: We are capable of conquering whatever challenges

D: Yes Exactly! Exactly !Exactly

Thobile: Are you guys black?

All: Yes

Thobile: What is your identity?

Sl: Eish I'm not black but I am a Zulu

K: I'm African

Sn: I'm a westernised Zulu

K: I have adopted both styles

Sn: As much as I'm Zulu I'm westernised

Sl: I have adapted like English

K: We have adapted everything

Sn: But it's very nice

Sl: It's very nice

K: cos if I was just Zulu I cook with fire and stuff and all the time like ngihlel'ekhaya

Sn: You got no direction

K: Ja…you see

Sn: They have given us direction man

D: Ja…exactly the career wise everything what you have to do in order to be successful you know we know I have to go home and study. I can't go to sleep without reading my books without doing anything

K: and I have learnt more about how the world works *ukuthi*… (that…)

Z: You can go anywhere you like

K: With what you know *ngoba awusekho* (because you are no longer) in the dark. You are enlightened

Thobile: So your identity is Zulu, African but you are also a westernised Zulu

K: I have adopted all of that

Thobile: That whole description makes you who you are today?

All: Yes

Thobile: So that's who you are?

All: Yes

Thobile: So that is your bottom line

SI: This is nice..

Dm: *Yazi* (you know) ma'am there are these things whereby I have noticed I have a lot of friends who are just from public school like these schools then I have friends who are from …you know when they do things you do things with them then there comes a point where you are like No I'm not gonna do this

K: *Angifiki ke lapho* (I don't do that)

Sn: And they are like awu kahle (come on) Oh

D: Ehhe (yes)

K: *Angifiki lapho* (I don't do that)

Sn: And you are just like I said I'm not gonna do that and I said it and I won't do it

D: This is wrong

Sn: It's wrong. They've taught us that we can actually

Sl: Stand for a decision

Sn: *Yazi ma'am ubozibona izingane ezifunde ema multi-racial ngisho beba u 20 izoma yodwa ithi angikwenzi lokho* (you know maám you can tell if a kid comes from a mult-racial school, even if they are a minority, they stand their ground)

Sl: Yes

Sn: but *ingane zase* (kids from) public school *ziyavuma* (they are easily influenced)

D: *Bazothi Hhawu Usuyazitshela* (they will say you are full of yourself) No!

Sn: *Uthole omunye ethi angithandi ukukwenza* (you find that even if they do not want to do something) but hey

All: *Kodwa uyakwenza* (they would still do it)

Sn: Instead of taking a stand and say No:

K: *Inkukhu zinqunywa amakhanda ziyekwe* (A saying meaning: Do not tell all)

Thobile: Is that a positive?

All: It's a positive

Sl: Because at the end of the day you are like wow I'm so glad

D: I said No!

Sl: You can make a decision for yourself and stand for it. Oh yes

D: Everytime you say yes everytime yes yes yes

K: *Uvuma konke* (agrees to everything)

Sn: *Futhi nje uyazi thina shame sinenkani izingane zase* multiracial zinenkani. (and you know kids from multiracial schools are stubborn we are stubborn)

D: *Ugogo uzasho ugog'wam (my grandma always says) always says unenkani angazi ukuthi lenkani yakho uyithathephi* (you are so stubborn I don't know where that comes from)

Sn: When *senza amareasons wethu si reasona* why (when we reason). You get it you get!

Sl: *Uyabona lapho baze bahluleke even nabazali* (you see even the parents cannot handle us) to to this and that

Sn: Ja: we are like No! *kukanje kanje* (it is like this and that)

K: *Yabo mina* (yes my) my older brother come to me for advice

AL: What?

K: But then I solution I always come up with it

Sn: Ja. We always come up with solutions

K: Ja e right number 1 solution

Sl: *Yabona ke abazali bayahlupheka* (you see our parents suffer) shame

D: And *futhi* (again) the thing is for multi-racial school kids like us ehm education comes first I've noticed that education comes first you can do all the things you want but when you are home you always study. Everytime you study

Sn: *Sinonembeza* (we have a conscience)

D: Exactly like what? *Angifundanga* (I did not study) what? You wake up

Sl: It was nice though

Thobile: Thank you so much for your participation in both the interviews and the vibrancy with which you engaged in the focus group. I take this opportunity to wish you well in your exams and all your future endeavours.