

***GLOBALISATION AND CONSUMPTION OF
MATERIAL AND SYMBOLIC GOODS BY BLACK
AFRICANS ZULU-ENGLISH SPEAKERS IN DMA:
Clothing and its Power of Symbolisation within Popular
Culture***

A 100% Dissertation submitted to fulfilment the requirements for the Degree of master in
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DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own, unaided work, except for the acknowledged supervision and referenced citations.



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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an attempt to shed light on the impact that global cultural consumption has had in the transformation of perceptions of material and symbolic consumption in everyday life among urban black African Zulu-English speakers that live in the Durban Metropolitan area. The process of transformation within this group has not occurred without resistance, confrontation and struggle against the hegemonic societal forces. Black Africans have suffered spatial segregation and social exclusion during the history of white colonisation and the apartheid system. Therefore, their socio-economic, cultural and ideological social world has been transformed through multi-cultural relationships, politico-ideological power, socio-economic unequal distribution of wealth and class differentiation. Many events have occurred since the 1980's, the most significant being the triumph of the democratic system on 1994 over apartheid power. This led to South Africa's opening the door to the global economy and to neo-liberal ideologies.

These processes have had a powerful effect on the material and symbolic consumption of the social group under investigation and particularly in the area of clothing consumption. Mediations such as the media, western religions, European languages, etc. have been part of this very complex process, which affects and transforms the social practices of black African Zulu-English speakers. The influence of western mediation has transformed the habitus and taste consumption of ordinary black South Africans. Therefore, this study is concerned with the transformed thoughts and perception of the material and symbolic consumption within the popular culture of black Africans Zulu-English speakers who live in the Durban Metropolitan Area. Consumption is a very important concept in our understanding of how taste and habitus organise the social practices of black Africans in everyday life. In addition, consumption in general and clothing consumption in particular serves to define and re-confirm symbolic meanings within popular culture and symbolic distinction between classes. This study has used three different methods: ethnographic, archival historical and statistical.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

HOW DO WE PERCEIVE EVERYDAY LIFE?

The process of understanding everyday life is much more difficult than it appears. The general common sense depicts a quite clear and compact reality. However, it is necessary to look beyond appearances of what is 'natural' in order to understand the underlying complexities of life. Marx and Engels, in their book *The German Ideology* (1976) wrote that what make us different from the other species is intelligence, or the capacity of human beings to produce the necessary conditions to survive and reproduce ourselves. Throughout history, humans have produced commodities and created new necessities, which need to be satisfied with new commodities. If individuals are to reproduce their society, they must reproduce themselves as individuals. According to Heller (1984:24), "*everyday life is the aggregate of the social effect of the individuals tendency towards reproduction, which make social reproduction possible*".

Individual reproduction is always the reproduction of historically situated individuals existing in a concrete world. In general, it can be said that men must learn to 'use' the concrete things and custom patterns of the world into which they are born however great their variety and their complexity. In other words, they must learn how to consume, in what form to consume within their daily environment, they must learn to manipulate the commodities around them. In sum, in order to be integrated into society, the individual must accept current patterns of social thought and practices, including consumption practices. Different historical and geographical contexts have direct and indirect effects on everyday life and the way in which it is reproduced, but the present-day phenomenon of globalisation brings a wide variety of large-scale global influences to the production and reproduction of the necessary conditions of social existence to an extent previously unknown in the history of humanity.

IS GLOBALIZATION FOR EVERYBODY?

Since 1980, there have been major events that have shaped humanity. There have been deep and unimaginable transformations that make reproduction and production within the realm of society very difficult to comprehend in terms of common sense¹. South Africa has also been a participant in these events, processes and changes and transformation. Political, economic, cultural and social changes have affected the entire population of South Africa, and the global age seems to have spread its power relations and contradictions to even the most recondite space of this society. The present global age is traduced as the biggest advance in the history of human beings in terms of communication, production and consumption.

This dissertation will attempt to analyse the effects of this phenomenon called ‘globalisation’ on everyday life in South Africa. In particular it will seek to examine how it has transformed taste, habitus and social practices of black African Zulu-English speakers in the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA)². It was decided to focus on the DMA because it is a busy geographical location in which thousand of people from all walks of life commute to their places of work, study, and reside. In other words, it is one of the spaces in which the complexity of inter-cultural relationships, languages and forms of being take place and where black African Zulu-English speakers, through social interaction with each other, have developed a different vision of the social world through their own interpretation of the material and symbolic reality around them.

It is through material and symbolic consumption that one can interpret the changing social practices of Zulu-English speakers which translate into a different vision and understanding of their ‘own traditional culture’. A short example can illustrate how ‘normal everyday life’ of an African woman Zulu-English speaker in Durban Metropolitan area, supposedly is subjected to these global influences.

¹ The concept of common sense is defined in chapter No 7

² The concepts of habitus and taste are defined in chapter No 5 and 6

Patience is 43 years old and lives in Umlazi. She was born on a farm on the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal and lived there during her childhood and part of her adolescence. Whilst she was living there, she did not have much opportunity to go to school and 'educate' herself because of the father, who thought she could be a lot more useful at home, working on the farm, and helping her mother in the domestic tasks. In those days, she was living according to the Zulu customs and believing in the ancestors.

After a while and when she had already moved to Umlazi in Durban, she began her own transformation, involving social practices. She started to work as a housekeeper, then she had a baby called Nosisa, and started to believe in the God of 'The Methodist Church'. Patient said, "when I lived on the farm I only spoke Zulu, but now, I also speak English because it can help me to get a job". "Now religion is part of our everyday life, helping us to have a 'better education', morals, and discerning the good to the bad things".

Everyday, she wakes up at 5:00 AM and dresses in western style clothes. After that, she prepares breakfast (porridge or cereal) for her family and her brother's family and finally, she brushes her teeth with 'Colgate'. She uses two buses and a train to arrive at work, where she works 6 or 7 hours and earns R 70 per working day, then commutes home. At home, she watches television on a black and white set. She prefers watching soap operas in English and Zulu, listening to the radio or reading magazines like Fair Lady or True Love, and sometimes newspaper like Ilanga (in Zulu) or Sunday Tribune, because 'the educated people like to read Sunday Tribune'.³

This story represents the general voices and lives of many black South African Zulu-English speakers, who were impelled to move to an urban area and learn how to adapt to living in this very different society, in terms of ways, languages spoken, history, and in the symbolic interpretation and material consumption of everyday life. I have chosen this narration, because it represents the typical response encountered during my research, obtained from informal conversations, focus groups and in-depth interviews.

The most important question that needs to be asked is whether this ethnic group incorporates into their everyday life all the information they receive from television, newspapers, radio, etc. What do black African Zulu-English speakers do with the global information about advances, conflicts, politics, social, cultural and economic changes and

³ Interview with Patient Nconco, Durban, April 2003.

events that occur throughout the world? What is the influence of this explosion of information on their life? How do 'normal people' perceive and change their perception of world events in daily life? The economic process that goes by the benign euphemism 'globalisation' now reaches into every aspect of life, transforming every activity and natural resource into a measured and owned commodity.⁴ The question is who are those enjoying the benefits of this process? How does this intricate process called globalisation affect millions of people in the world and in South Africa? On what side do the people find themselves, behind the symbolic fences or only looking at this economic global process from the symbolic windows?

Globalisation is the cause of a number of social phenomena, such as conflicts between groups of people, factories closing because of flexibility and outsourcing, and unemployment and the abundance of people working in the informal sector, increase in massive migrations, that cause inter-ethnic and regional conflicts, it seems the list is endless. However, "*several business men and politicians have interpreted 'globalisation' as the convergence of humanity towards a future of solidarity and that many intellectuals critical of this process read this passage as a process in which societies will eventually be homogeneous*" (García Canclini, 2000:10, *own translation from the Spanish text*).

There is no doubt that everyone lives in a Neo-liberal world, in which the predominant mode of production is capitalism. It is essential to understand how globalisation changes the way in which we are accustomed to see the world. Through the production of commodities, large corporations are in charge and day-by-day they demonstrate how power can be concentrated in a few hands.

The problems and questions behind this research begun years ago, when through different readings on globalization and culture, the possible links between these two concepts were questioned. Many theorists attempted to explain the relationship, especially from a Marxist theoretical approach, spearheaded by Adorno and Horkheimer's (1989) book *Dialectic of Enlightenment*.

⁴ This is an extract from a small article of Klein "Fences and Windows" In *These Times. Independent and News*, Vol. 27, No 2, December 23, 2002, Chicago.

The conflictive and different positions of various scholars debating such issues bring about a wide variety of interesting perspectives. A careful literature review has led this researcher believe that there is no question of choosing between either a 'globalised' (i.e. Western) or a local (i.e. traditional) identity. The key issue at stake is how local people integrate these global unaffordable influences into their daily lives. Is it more possible to organise from another way the mediated vinculum, their shrewdness of simulation, to personalise, pull us off their procedures of selection and segregation, of exclusion and surveillance, in short, to *re-become* as agents of work and consumption? It is necessary to elaborate logically consistent constructions, which can contrast with the form, in what the global is situated in each culture and the modes in which the local is restructured to survive, and perhaps to gain some advantages, in the interchanges that are globalised.

From the broader Marxism of Gramsci, Bourdieu, Heller, and others, the thesis will attempt to analyse in what form the advances of globalization have modified the symbolic and material consumption of everyday life of black African Zulu-English speakers in the Durban Metropolitan area, as well as how they translate and reproduce these changes according to the popular culture within the cultural field. Finally, the analysis will attempt to examine clothing as one of the most important indicators of cultural consumption, and how this helps us to interpret the symbolisation of power within the cultural field. The central hypothesis of this study is that: the symbolic and material consumption is an indicator of ideological and power representation, interpretation and re-interpretation, that explains the changing cultural social practices (perceptions, habits and aspirations) in everyday life of black African Zulu-English speakers in urban DMA, who are subject to the influence of political, economical and cultural globalization and inter-cultural relationships from Western developed countries.

ASSUMPTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The key hypotheses of the thesis were the following:

*Consumption is the main concept of everyday life from which we can understand the habits that organise the social practices of different sectors; their mechanism of adhering to the hegemonic culture; of group distinctions; of subordination or resistance.

* In order to explain the relationship between classes, we should reformulate the opposition between the hegemonic and subaltern, to include other cultural interactions, mainly through the processes of consumption and forms of communication within popular culture.

*Between the dominant and dominated cultures exists a relationship of circularity – cultural dichotomy but also, reciprocal influence – that allows us to think the different forms of use, convergence, contact, and types of influence that one can find between the symbolic universes of the dominant and dominated, remembering always that within this relationship are summarised forms of the practices of power.

*Everyday life, as a space of cultural and power reproduction, is a terrain of struggle for the signification of the everyday life of the self. Consumption allows for social differentiation and symbolic distinction between classes. In this society, which claims to be democratic, consumption of fashion is one of the most important areas to communicate the differences between social groups.

*Consumption of fashion clothing does not achieve finality only in the possession of an object or the satisfaction of a material necessity, but also serves to define and re-confirm meaning and common values, and set up and maintain a collective identity. Clothing fashion is a significant instrument of non-verbal visual communication, used by the dominant hegemonic culture within everyday life to negotiate habits and tastes of the popular culture.

*The urban Durban metropolitan target area is inhabited mostly by black Africans Zulu-English speakers who have been influenced by western developed countries and their cultures, implying a change in the social practices of everyday life in general and in the clothing fashion in particular. For example, the symbolic meaning of the colour in clothing has suffered a deep change, being more pronounced according to age categories. Younger people have suffered a deeper change than older people have.

KEY QUESTIONS

- 1) How are the modes of production of culture articulated through the different forms of reception that exist in the sphere of consumption?
- 2) Is the preoccupation of the “hegemonic sectors”⁵ to preserve identities (as they existed in the past) or is it to incorporate customs and other cultural elements of the other; or is it to do both? Is it a deliberate strategy in response to the ‘opportunities’ of globalization; or does it hide a new variation of ethnocentrism and social segregation, condemning some social sectors to the social margins?
- 3) Is it the desire of black African Zulu-English speakers to preserve their own culture or, on the contrary, are they interested in maintaining the cultural circularity and, at the same time attempt to partake in these new lines of reproduction in the context of a ‘Globalised World’?
- 4) What is the ‘symbolic’ in this process of social reproduction, transformation and differentiation?
- 5) What does conflicting interaction with hegemonic sectors determine; who are the relevant actors; what are their interests?
- 6) How are these conflicts expressed in the sphere of consumption and in the acquisition of symbolic capital?

⁵ Hegemony is a process of ideological and political direction in which a class or sector achieves a preferential appropriation of the instances of power into alliance with other classes, admitted spaces where the subaltern groups develop independent practices and always “functionless” for the reproduction of the system (Martín-Barbero, 1993:37).

- 7) How have these processes of signification and re-signification of 'the real' and empirical influenced the material and symbolic taste preferences within the community of black African Zulu-English speakers?
- 8) Where does taste arise from, which characterise the different levels within the cultural field?
- 9) How does 'taste' convert the structures of meaning in practical action within the everyday life?
- 10) Is the fashion clothing a worldwide meaningful expression, and a different language, which is used as an instrument of power and domination?

CHOOSING THIS TOPIC

Firstly, understanding the concept of culture and its different meanings and contextualisation through history permits us to have more tools in gaining knowledge of society and understanding the habitus of people. It is through the understanding of theories and paradigms that one can contribute to the greater knowledge of society, and bring social understanding of this world.

Secondly, despite a preliminary search of material of this specific topic, it is evident that there is no sign of South African research attempts approaching this subject from the Marxist perspective and its categorisations, taking clothing as an indicator vital in explaining the habitus in everyday life. There are a number of descriptive articles on the traditional dress of Zulu people but there is a lack of contextualisation, there is no explanation of the change within contemporary everyday life of the forms of being, of thought, of actions, through changes of habits, taste and forms of consumption of symbolic and material power. This is one of the central themes of this thesis.

Thirdly, this research project is based on ethnographic, historical and statistical methods, which will provide a better vision of my universe, allowing for the generalising and projecting of habits, perceptions and social practices. In other words, it is a project of methodological importance and scientific rigour.

Fourthly, the aim of put in practice concepts and use categorisations utilised by Marx, Bourdieu, Gramsci and Heller, is instrumental to the building of a theoretical schema of discussion rooted in the “real and empirical everyday life”. In other words, it is a theoretical project, which will be based upon some of the most important theories in the Social Sciences in an effort to examine and analyse concrete social life.

Finally, the existence of more tools and knowledge could open the door to people at tertiary institutions, government and non-government organisations to new ways, strategies and tactics to improve the understanding of culture and identity of people in South Africa. . Thus the study can be a guide to practical policies and practices, such as cultural tourism and debates revolving around black African culture with people of other countries or other cultures, beyond the often-uncritical use of the terms in question.

ORGANISING THE CHAPTERS

It is well known that researchers of ‘culture’ often work with very controversial information that in most cases is in doubt. The concept can elicit very wide information and many theories worldwide that have been advanced in the effort to understand and interpret this controversial concept. How does one analyse the concept of culture and the symbolic cultural consumption? Where is it necessary to make a cut that can establish the disciplinary boundaries?

This research attempts to explore the continuous changing habitus and social practices of urban Black African Zulu-English speakers in Durban Metropolitan area, and how they confront globalization and inter-cultural relationships in everyday life. How do Zulu people receive and perceive the intercultural relationships they encounter; how does the national market respond to international market forces? Within culture it is not only necessary to know the past and to make plans for the future, but it is necessary to transform and to innovate. In analysing culture is not enough to provide answers to political issues, but also, attempts to understand society in terms of economic and symbolic aspirations as well as social and class distinctions within ethnic groups.

Is it then preferable to talk about a global culture, or a culture of globalization? Is it possible to study culture as a non-contaminated one, or is it more appropriate to bring into consideration some mediation that could make the concept clearer? The following schema has as objective to help the reader in the process of understanding what are the main categories and indicators that will be developed in this research study. The reader can find along the way the main link between theory and practice, between abstract and concrete knowledge.

Chapter one introduced the main concepts that will be used in this research, the different hypotheses and assumptions, and the general questions that have motivated this study. In chapter two, the analysis of the methodological and theoretical approaches will take place. A short explanation of the main theoretical approaches and cultural theories will be undertaken, as well as historical and recent literature on clothing. In addition explanation of the uses of quantitative and qualitative methodologies (secondary and primary data, survey, in-depth interviews, focus groups, archive material, etc) will be outlined, as well as the description of the methods used namely statistical, ethnographic and historical.

Chapter three will concentrate on the concept of globalisation and will attempt to analyse the different and polemic theories and definitions on Globalisation; how people understand this concept in relation to the economic, politic and cultural field. This section includes an analysis on how cultural globalization contributes to the material and symbolic knowledge of the people, and what are the points of fusion amongst intercultural relationships, communication and symbolic consumption in the worldwide everyday. Thereafter an analysis will attempt to show to what degree South African history is related to this global process. Specifically this comparative history of South Africa will pinpoint key social phenomena such as redistribution of wealth among population groups, intercultural relations related to education, language, media and communication and the like. Both the impact of global production and global consumption on South Africa and especially on the consumption and perception of clothing and fashion will be examined.

Chapter four explores the history of Durban since the 1980s within the historical, economical, political, cultural and social context, to explain my choice of target group (why urbans, why black Africans, why Zulu-English speakers, why gender and age and how urban black Africans live in DMA). Some secondary data, census information and other sources will be added to give more validity to the data. In chapter five, theoretical concepts such as ideology, dominant ideology and the relationship with the subaltern sectors, and the boundaries between different groups. In addition, the relationship between the material and the cultural will be established. A short explanation of the theory of the fields, the theory of habitus and the theory of symbolic power will be analysed from the theoretical approach of Bourdieu. And finally, I explain the concept of class and social class differentiation, aesthetic and class distinction.

Chapter six defines the concept of popular culture and consumption in general. Common sense perceptions of popular culture in South Africa will be demonstrated through some examples such as *Drum*, Pula, Reggae, Hip-Hop music, the Shembe religion, Reed ceremony and football. Chapter seven explores the concept of everyday life and how such a concept has influenced the thought, habitus and taste of black African Zulu-English speakers. Also, how everyday reproduction within social space is related to the perception that people have about the social world. Through statistical secondary information, I analyse media, communication and audience perceptions, perceptions about clothing and footwear since the 1980s.

In chapter eight, I re-examine the concept of social class in relation to contemporary material consumption. This is done using primary data (a survey of 200 cases chosen through probabilistic sample). I examine how social space is a determinant to define social class construction, how popular aesthetic and popular taste are influenced by the position that people have within the social space, ending with some examples between clothing and social mediations such as language, religion, and media. In chapter nine, I interpret the social practices through everyday consumption amongst urban black African Zulu-English speakers that live in DMA. In this chapter the mediations used in the above chapter are analysed through in-depth interviews and the current historical context. In addition, the theoretical and practical approach on clothing will be developed

with reference to the South African context. Clothing will be analysed in relation to religious beliefs; to communication and media consumption; to languages; and to the relationship between global and indigenous clothing consumption, ending with the influence of the African Renaissance discourses on clothing consumption. Chapter ten provides the general conclusion of this paper and the relationships established between the hypothesis and assumptions with the theoretical and empirical data.

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis, assumptions and questions introduced in this chapter have stated the relationships that I would like to analyse in the research, on how globalization, intercultural relationships, historical context and consumption patterns have influenced the perceptions and everyday life vision of the world amongst urban black African Zulu-English speakers in Durban Metropolitan area.

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

THOUGHTS ON METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Choosing the most appropriate methods and techniques is one of the most crucial factors in conducting scientific research. To study processes of cultural transformations and symbolic consumption in everyday life requires certain theoretical, methodological and practical understanding. This chapter will explore the reasons why the researcher has chosen to work with hard data or statistics and simultaneously with interviews, conversations, narratives, metaphors and observation. Although the formulating of the research topic occurred some time during 2001, September 2002 was the time when gathering background reading material took place. Research material such as books, journal articles, photographs, and newspaper articles were initially collected in addition to some practical books such as *Quality of life in DMA*.

Then 200 observations related to clothes styles and 200 open-ended interviews with urban black African Zulu-English speakers that live in DMA took place as an integral part of the empirical part of the study. Three focus groups related to clothing and perceptions on' clothing habitus changes since 1980 were conducted; 4 in-depth interviews with experts and intellectuals knowledgeable about the topic; and 3 in-depth interviews with consumers. In addition secondary such as the Population Census 1980, 1996, and 2001; Census on Income and Expenditure in KZN 1990, 1995, 2000; and AMPS (all media and product surveys) 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, and 2002 were used.

In exploring the reasons underlying the use of ethnographic and statistical methods, it is necessary to say that in fact, it was not an easy task. Those study creativity; circulation and cultural consumption are usually concerned with trying to understand the "hard" data, the socio-economic movements that have occurred in the scientific and artistic fields. However, because globalisation is presented as an evasive, unprecedented, unpredictable object, those who are studying it attempt to explain such a process through metaphors and narration.

Consequently, from a sociological- cultural perspective, it is acceptable to analyse statistics and conceptual texts, and at the same time employ observation and interviews. As a foreigner living in Durban since 2001, my perception of habitus and social practices is influenced by how I understand culture, and I see the fusion with globalisation from a different perspective. The contribution that a foreigner who is more or less South Africanised, but at the same time a nostalgic Argentinean, and who also has ‘comrades and colleagues’ who have been born and lived in other countries around the world, has to be writing from a different perspective and perception than somebody born and raised in South Africa.

If it is complicated to be located in the interaction between different symbolic patrimonies, it is even more so, to pretend to study these topics from one unique national or ethnic viewpoint. Maalouf (1999:19) wrote, “Which identify myself, is to be in the frontiers between two countries, two or three languages, and several cultural traditions”. Sometimes, I have heard people ask, ‘who am I? How do I define myself?’ This question at first amused me, but now, and after thinking about it carefully, I consider the same question dangerous because everybody seems to be placed somewhere, with the assumption being that each person or group has a ‘deep truth’, an essence, an identity that is important to confirm and maintain. García Canclini (2000:18, *own translation from the Spanish text*) said that, “*those who are foreign are excluded like minorities. But in a global world, all groups are in sense minorities, even the Anglo speakers, when it is taken into account that these are many components to one’s identity*”.

OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The study of the symbolic and material consumption of clothing in everyday life by black African Zulu-English speakers is quite complex and needs to be explored and understood through the linking of different categorisations and lines of theoretical thought. From a sociological perspective several observations and theoretical writings of Marx, Gramsci, Heller and Bourdieu will help the researcher build a theoretical schema of discussion

between these, as the main line of thought, with some other theoretical arguments. that will attempt to explain concrete aspects of social life. In addition, an overview of some critical worldwide theories on goods consumption, especially clothing consumption - and their symbolic meaning related to political, cultural and economic impacts would be applied to the specific study, located as it is within the Durban Metropolitan area, Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa. Sources used are grouped into three categories, namely: published material, archive material and fieldwork material. Reference is only made to the primary sources within these.

1. Published Material

1.1 Principal theories

The bibliography of this dissertation is based on wide varieties of sources consulted, which are not all mentioned here. For the concept of globalisation the work of Bauman (1998) *The Human Consequences*; Castells (1998) *Informational Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Vol. I, II, & III; and García Canclini (2000) *La Globalización Imaginada* have been used extensively. The objective is not to merely explain the concept, but to establish a general idea of the meaning according to Marxist scholars, and to concentrate on the idea of cultural globalisation and the communication of symbolic meanings. The theoretical approaches used by Gramsci (1985) *Selections from Cultural Writings*; and Bourdieu (1994) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, that define categories such as domination, hegemony, culture, struggle, agency, and their different manifestations within a global world are also utilised.

Other sources used are Wright (1989) *The Debate of Classes*; Marx (1989) *The Capital*, to re-define class and class categorisations; Bourdieu's three main theories of fields, habitus and symbolic power; and the relationship with the concept of popular culture from Barbero's book (1993) *Communication, Culture and Hegemony*; Ginzburg (1992) *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century*; and Duby (1987) *A history of private life*. These will allow for a better understanding of the concepts of culture and popular culture, not only as concepts built around and related directly or

indirectly with the concept of class, but also related to the political and economic historical context. To analyse the concept of everyday life well known book by Heller (1984) *Everyday Life* has been used. Finally, to analyse concepts such as the cultural field, symbolic and material consumption, habitus and taste, Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* has been used.

1.2. Literature on Clothing

An exhaustive search was conducted on clothing theory and changing clothing habitus and social practices in everyday life, not only from a world-wide point of view but also in South Africa referring in particular to the Zulu ethnic group. There have been difficulties in searching for information on this topic in South Africa. Several scholars have written on Zulu peoples' clothing or dress, providing descriptive analysis of the symbolic meaning of dress, bringing the concept of culture into consideration; or providing economical analysis of the South African market as related to the textile industry. This study hopes to go further and look beyond such analyses. To research the consumption of goods and clothing consumption, it is absolutely necessary to mention the global and local economical and political models of production associated with the mode of capitalist production. However the thesis will attempt to emphasise the effects that globalisation has on the habitus and social practices of clothing consumption, and on the different perception and vision of the world held by black African Zulu-English speakers within DMA.

The following is a list of the main sources I have consulted:

- Brydon and Nissen (1998) *Consuming fashion: Adorning the transnational body.*
- Eicher (1995) *Dress and Ethnicity*
- Lurie (1981) *The language of clothing.*
- Craik (1992) *The face of fashion: cultural studies in fashion.*
- Kaiser (1985) *The psychology of clothing symbolic appearance in context.*
- Vanderhoff (1973) *Clothes: Part of your Body*, London: Verso.

1.3. Historical and Cultural literature

To analyse and understand South African history and its social system, mainly since 1980, there are several sources that have been used, chiefly.

- Du Toit (1978) *Ethnicity in the modern Africa*.
- Maré (1993) *Brothers born of warrior blood: Politics and ethnicity in South Africa*.
- Mignolo (2000) *Global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledge, and borders thinking*.
- Dubow (1995) *Illicit union: Scientific racism in modern South Africa*
- Crankshaw (1997) *Race, class, and the changing division of labour under Apartheid*.

In terms of the history and culture of the Zulu people, the following main sources were consulted:

- Preston-White (1994) *Speaking with beads: Zulu arts from Southern Africa*.
- Preston-White (S.I.: S.N) *Women headed household and development: the relevance of cross-cultural models for research on black women in Southern Africa*.
- Wright (1989-1992) *Ethnicity and history: Towards discussion of the Zulu case*.

1.4. Methodological literature

An extensive amount of academic and research work has been written on ethnographic and statistical methodologies. Many of these were consulted in the process of background reading, namely:

- Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) *Ethnography: principles in practice*.
- Fetterman (1989) *Ethnography: Step by step*.
- Denzin (1997) *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practice for the 21st Century*.
- Babbie (1990) *Survey research methods*.
- Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) *Research in practice*.
- Mouton and Marais (1990) *Basic concepts in the methodology of the social sciences*.
- Huysamen (1994) *Methodology for the social and behavioural sciences*.

2. Archive Material

The archival sources consulted from the Killie Campbell collection have been absolutely invaluable. Many documents and correspondences of Zulu speakers that lived in KwaZulu-Natal were consulted, learning about their costumes, forms of thought and how they made sense of everyday life. Of specific interest were the pictures and photographs of ceremonies and special events that reveal the meanings and symbols of their own tradition. The Don Africana library has allowed me to access very useful information like the publication by Preston-White (1994) *Speaking with beads: Zulu Arts from Southern Africa*; De la Harpe, Leitch and Derwent (1998) *Zulu*, and finally; Elliot (1991) *Zulu: Heritage of a Nation*. In addition, the Don Africana library has a large collection of news papers since 1980 like *Natal Mercury*, *Daily News*, *Ilanga News*, *Sunday Tribune* and magazines like *Drum* and others that have helped the researcher in her attempt to understand the changing clothing habitus of Zulu-English speakers in DMA since 1980.

The library of the University of KwaZulu-Natal provided the researcher with interesting sources such as the James Stuart Archive, which consists of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulus and their neighbours from 1976 to 1986. An in-depth search of Internet sources resulted in finding previously unpublished material like the exceptional doctoral research of Magwaza (1999) *Function and meaning of Zulu Female Dress: a descriptive study of visual communication*. Finally, the researcher has selected and incorporated into this case study articles from journals such as *Critical Arts*, which give light on issues related to African renaissance, ideology, culture, hegemony and mass media in South Africa, popular culture, language and national unity in the post-Apartheid South Africa, Zulu nationalism, consumerism and cultural studies. Other important journal sources are *Transformation: critical perspectives on Southern Africa*, *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, *South African Labour Bulletin*, *Indicator South Africa: The barometer of Social Trends*, and *In these Times: Independent news and views*.

3. Fieldwork Material

3.1. Secondary Data

Statistics South Africa has provided accurate information and data. For instance, the Population Censuses of 1980, 1996 and 2001 have allowed the researcher to tabulate data on the first and second language of the population, the size of the population according to race, gender, age, province location, and so on. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish a comparative analysis per year because the boundaries of DMA have been changed several times. Lack of information related to language and other important variables per race do not allow for such comparisons. In addition, there have been studies on Income and Expenditure of Household in KwaZulu-Natal, 1995 and 2000. With this data it was possible to draw up tables of household head expenditure items per month and year. A meeting with O' Leara from the Urban Strategy at EtheKwini Municipality (DMA), proved very helpful. He provided current source information and material on *Quality of Life of Durban's people* for 2000 and 2003, and also with a comparative book of *Durban's Changing Racial Geography, 1985 – 1996*.

After a long search to establish which organisation could best help in building a profile of the socio-economic level of the population in South Africa, the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) was suggested. The main problem with this organisation was that they did not have all the information available on the Internet. The staff of SAARF received me with great kindness and provided me with all the sources of information that I required. I have obtained information from the Universal Living Standard Measure, and also very useful material from AMPS (All the media and product surveys) 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, and 2002. SAARF's research surveys have allowed me to build information about media consumption (television, magazines, newspaper, cinema and radio) within KwaZulu-Natal and the Durban Metropolitan area; per gender, age and household income. I would like to extend a special recognition to Mr George Vorster, Head of the Department of Fashion, Faculty of Arts, Natal Technikon (subsequently merged as the Durban Institute of Technology) for his enthusiasm to help me in my

search of information, and for facilitating personal viewing of 20 fashion shows since 1980. This material was extremely useful and has also helped the researcher to understand fashion across a twenty years time span, and how local black Africans have been subjected to global fashion changes and finally, how the taste and habitus of clothing consumption has been transformed in the South African arena.

3.2. Primary Data

Field sources provided me with significant insight into the globalisation trend and the corresponding effects on changing clothing habitus in black African Zulu-English speakers in DMA at the present time. Three focus groups were conducted in an attempt to uncover the experiences of history since 1980. An assistant was on charge to talk to people from different locations of DMA, taking into account the gender, age and location of each invited person. We also interviewed four people who belong to anti-globalisation organisations or with critical thoughts, as for example Nise Malange from the Bat Centre; Heinrich Bomke, lawyer of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); Richard Pithouse from the Centre for Civil Society (CCS) at the university of KwaZulu-Natal. From February 2003 to October 2003 a survey was conducted, in which 200 people from different areas of DMA were interviewed. An assistant helped me collect the primary data. The questionnaire was divided into different topics of interest: general items, media and communication, religion, language, clothing taste, perceptions and habitus, and socio-economical data. It was designed carefully, aiming to build the variables that can answer the problem and hypothesis of this research. Finally, 200 observations on the clothing style of each of the survey participants were recorded.

METHODOLOGY AND THE INVESTIGATION PROCEDURES

1. Overview

I have used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, allowing me to get a deeper understanding of the daily life of black African Zulu-English speakers in DMA, and the

taste and habitus on clothing that is manifested through their symbolic and material consumption. Within the confines of quantitative methodology, the Statistical Analysis Method has been, that has given the researcher the opportunity to describe and explain, through descriptive and inferential statistics the attitudes and perceptions of black African Zulu-English speakers, not only at present, but since 1980. Within the qualitative methodology, the ethnographic and historical-archival method has been used. The ethnographic method has provided the opportunity to explore and describe everyday life through direct observation on the street and in shopping centres through informal conversations, in-depth interviews and focus groups. The historical-archival method was used to re-build the historical changes of clothing through historical inquiring and text analysis of newspapers, magazines, photographs and pictures.

2. Quantitative Methodology

There were at least two or three important points that needed to be taken into consideration when it was decided to use a quantitative methodology. Firstly, the chosen theory needed to correspond with the methodology, in this case, with the Marxist theoretical approach. Secondly, there was a need to establish whether the goal of this study was to do an exploratory, descriptive or explanatory study. It was concluded that it is essential to work with a descriptive study context. A descriptive study allows the researcher to use a highly structured statistical analysis which can be characterised by the use of a systematic classification of variables by means of frequency tables, arithmetic means, medians, cross tabulation and so on. As Mouton (1990:44) wrote: " *When descriptions are constructed by means of the relationships between variables, it is usually referred to as a correlation study*".

In addition, explanatory studies have been consulted because they could indicate causality between variables or events. In other words, a valid causal explanation, meets three central requirements: " *That a demonstrable relationship exists between the phenomena or, stated differently; that the causal or independent variable covaries with*

the dependent variable, that there is a specific sequence of cause and effect (temporal sequence); and that a specific phenomenon is the real cause of y” (Mouton, 1990: 45).

In short, within quantitative research the steps to define internal validity are, namely: first, theoretical validity through conceptualisation; second, measurement validity through the accurate operationalisation of indicators and variables; third, reliability through data-collection; and finally, inferential or descriptive validity through analysis and interpretation. It should be clear that internal validity precedes external validity, with which it is possible to generalise the results to the universe.

2.1 Objectives

General objective:

- To understand the current changing clothing taste and habitus within the popular culture of black African Zulu-English speakers in the urban Durban Metropolitan area.

Specific Objectives:

- To analyse habits and taste related to consumption through variables such as: frequency, quantity, quality, place of wear, occasions, etc.
- Similarly, to analyse habits and taste of clothing purchase through variables as: place of purchase, specific area, kind of clothing, type of shops, brands, etc.
- The influence of English and Zulu language on the changing taste and habitus.
- The influence of religion on the changing taste and habitus.
- To analyse the influence of media (television, radio, magazines, newspapers, cinema), sports, leisure activities and so on, on the changing taste and habitus of everyday life of black African Zulu-English speakers in urban DMA.
- Reasons for consumption and purchase within everyday life.

2.2 Sampling methodology

The analysis unit was defined as: black African having Zulu as a first language, with English as a second language; who live in the urban Durban Metropolitan area; are aged between 18 to 49 years old, of both genders, they were interviewed in one of the 10 urban planning units selected from the DMA map; and located in a commercial/retail or recreational area. The selection of this population sample over the total population was owing to the following reasons:

- ◆ Black Africans represent the biggest portion of the universe of the Durban Metropolitan area.
- ◆ The Zulu language is the first-most mother tongue spoken language in Durban, and in South Africa.
- ◆ Zulu-English speakers are people who are obligated to speak more than their mother language and are subject to intercultural relationships and different symbolic representations within everyday life.
- ◆ Also, Zulu-English speakers are still, to some degree, upholding Zulu customs through dress and traditional beliefs.
- ◆ I chose the Durban Metropolitan area for various reasons. Firstly, because it is the area in which I live. Secondly, because it is not too difficult to reach the 10 urban units so I did not spend too much time travelling to the chosen areas. Thirdly, because DMA is an area in which it is easy to locate urban dwellers, and finally, because it is the place in where I can find clusters of people that allow me as a researcher to acquire the quota of respondents needed per area.
- ◆ People of both genders from 18 to 49 years old have been chosen, because this allows the researcher compare between gender and age groups, to gain richness of opinion.

This age range was also chosen because they are people who have freedom to choose what they want to purchase and the majority have some economic power to decide how to spend their own money.

After deciding to work with a Statistical Method the building of the sample was the next step. It was decided to work within a probability-sampling frame because it allows the researcher to work with statistical calculations and establish relations between variables considered important, and it allows for further analysis, which can relate to the central hypotheses. A Probability sample is defined as any sample where every unit has an equal chance of being selected, which is different from 0 or 100 percent, and that chance is a known probability. In other words, it is when all the areas, people, objects, etc. of the universe have an equal opportunity to be chosen in the sample.

2.2.1 Sample Size

The sample size (n) depends on three criteria:

1. The desired confidence level $(Z_{1-\alpha/2})^2$ ¹
1.96 is 95 % of confidence
2. The desired precision (P)
3. The variability, as measured by the estimated standard deviation ($\tilde{\sigma}$) of the variable to be estimated.

$$n = \frac{(Z_{1-\alpha/2})^2 (\tilde{\sigma})^2}{P^2}$$

$$n = \frac{(1,96)^2 (50)^2}{(7)^2} \qquad n = \frac{3,8416 \cdot 2500}{49} = \mathbf{196}$$

Sample Size = 196 (approximately 200 cases)

The sample size was built according to the formula of infinite population, therefore, the sampling only need confidence, error and proportion to select the proper size, which can be projected to the total population.

¹ You can see the table of the normal curve in any book of statistical analysis.

2.2.2 Sampling framework:

A number was assigned to each area of Durban Metro (in a map of the Durban Metropolitan area provided by Urban Strategy). The sample area was chosen through Systematic Sampling. This resulted in 10 clusters, which represented areas of different socio-economical levels throughout the municipality. With Systematic Sampling the target sample is generated by picking an arbitrary starting point (in a random number table) and then picking every *nth* in succession from the list. The map was drawn taking into account some variables that have been considered of significant importance. It was divided firstly in **406 Planning Units**, then into rural and urban planning units, namely: **247 Rural Units** and **157 Urban Units**. However, only **Urban Units** were taken into consideration to define the commercial/ retail areas in question.

All urban units were numbered in commercial/retail areas. Defined small, medium and big commercial/retail areas were identified. The result pointed to **56 commercial/retail areas within the urban units**. The next step was to define which of these areas would be chosen as sampling areas. Systematic sample was, by utilising the Random Number table. An arbitrary started point initiated from the first column, line 1 and taking only the last two ciphers. The 10 areas were chosen taking as a point of reference the fact that the number of the arbitrary starting point was 56.

The 10 Sampling Units chosen were:

- 1) 30 - Durban Beach
- 2) 21 - Pinetown/ New Germany
- 3) 01 - Tongaat Central
- 4) 18 - Kloof
- 5) 53 - Isipingo
- 6) 29 - Windermere
- 7) 19 - KwaMashu
- 8) 11 - La Lucia
- 9) 39 - Durban CBD (West)
- 10) 35 - Waterval Park

population, because information was gathered through the Urban Planning Unit. However, problem presented was that if the population was used, each analysis unit should belong to this specific urban unit. This could prove to be very difficult because the sample will be taken in public spaces and not at home, telephonically or by mail. Secondly, I reject the idea of doing a proportional sample because it does not have a high degree of representation and the reading of the data is not adequate enough to make inferences and comparison between the data. Finally, the urgent concern was to take a decision regarding the criteria. How could the sampling be the most proportional possible with the information provided in terms of each urban planning unit? The criteria used is according to the size of the commercial/retail areas, recreation areas and others areas of each unit; with this a scale of high, medium and small sized area was built.

High (+ than 35 %) is the Urban Unit No 1

Urban Unit No 9

Urban Unit No 10

Medium (between 34 % to 10%) is the Urban Unit No 2

Urban Unit No 6

Small (- than 10 %) is the Urban Unit No 3

Urban Unit No 4

Urban Unit No 5

Urban Unit No 7

Urban Unit No 8

If I transform these into absolute and relative numbers the results are:

High

Unit 1 – 20% (40 cases)

Unit 9 – 20 % (40 cases)

Unit 10 – 15 % (30 cases)

Medium

Unit 2 – 10% (20 cases)

Unit 6 – 10 % (20 cases)

Small

Unit 3 – 5 % (10 cases)

Unit 4 – 5 % (10 cases)

Unit 5 – 5 % (10 cases)

Unit 7 – 5 % (10 cases)

Unit 8 – 5 % (10 cases)

This information prepared the researcher to work with the proportional quota sampling, defining it through **location by gender and age**.

Table No 1: Major land uses (commercial/retail, recreation and other) of Urban planning Units by gender of black African, Zulu –English speakers.

	Female	percentage	Male	percentage	Total	percentage
Durban Beach	20	50 %	20	50 %	40	20 %
Pinetown/ New Germany	10	50 %	10	50 %	20	10 %
Tongaat Central	5	50 %	5	50 %	10	5 %
Kloof	5	50 %	5	50 %	10	5 %
Isipingo	5	50 %	5	50 %	10	5 %
Winder- mere	10	50 %	10	50 %	20	10 %
KwaMa- shu	5	50 %	5	50 %	10	5 %
La Lucia	5	50 %	5	50 %	10	5 %
Durban CBD West	20	50 %	20	50 %	40	20 %

Waterval Park	15	50 %	15	50 %	30	15 %
Total	100	50 %	100	50 %	200	100 %

Table 1 gives me information on how many analysis units (male and female) I have to interview per each urban planning unit in Durban Metropolitan Areas.

Table No 2: **Major land uses (commercial/retail, recreation and other) of Urban planning Units by age of Black African, Zulu –English speakers.**

	Age						Total	%
	18-29	%	30-39	%	40-49	%		
Durban Beach	14	35 %	13	32.5%	13	32.50 %	40	20 %
Pinetown New Germany	6	30 %	7	35 %	7	35 %	20	10 %
Tongaat Central	3	30 %	3	30 %	4	40 %	10	5 %
Kloof	4	40 %	3	30 %	3	30 %	10	5 %
Isipingo	4	40 %	3	30 %	3	30 %	10	5 %
Windermere	7	35 %	7	35 %	6	30 %	20	10 %
KwaMashu	3	30 %	4	40 %	3	30 %	10	5 %
La Lucia	3	30 %	3	30 %	4	40 %	10	5 %
Durban CBD West	14	35 %	13	32.5 %	13	32.5%	40	20 %
Waterval Park	10	33.34 %	10	33.33 %	10	33.33 %	30	15 %
Total	68	34 %	66	33 %	66	33 %	200	100 %

Table 2 provides the information on how many analysis units (in three different intervals of age) have to be interviewed per each urban planning unit in Durban Metropolitan Areas.

In addition, when obtaining the data, Maps of each Urban Planning Unit were consulted, and this process ensured that the commercial/retail area boundaries were respected.

2.4. Method of Data Collection.

A structured and direct questionnaire was used, including open-ended questions, opened questions and attitude scales. Each questionnaire had its own standardised observation, and filter page with the most essential questions pinpointed whether the person is appropriate in terms of the sampling criteria. The data from the questionnaires and the observations and resulting descriptions, interpretations and analysis, are the focal points of the research. The obtained data was processed and analysed through the SPSS, a statistical programme for quantitative social research.

2.4.1. Questionnaire and Observation

The data was collected using a questionnaire (see Appendix number 2), which was administrated in a formal way to all respondents. It was read to the interviewee following the structure of the questionnaire in the correct order in sequence. All respondents were questioned in a comfortable environment and were treated with respect. After each questionnaire, it took 5 minutes to fill in the direct and structured observation, according to the appearance of the respondent. The approximate time to complete the questionnaire was between 40 to 50 minutes, and the time it took to approach another person in the same area took between 10 to 15 minutes. It was possible to complete an average of 6 questionnaires per day. The collection of data was conducted from February to October 2003, and the participation of the respondents was voluntary and anonymous. The questionnaires were administrated by the researcher herself and by a research assistant

who was employed. The assistant, Nosisa, is a black African Zulu-English speaker who lives in the Inanda area, with a degree in Social Sciences and previous experience in data collection. Her work was extremely rigorous and much appreciated. In particular, it was very difficult for me to go to some of the areas selected through sampling, because of the danger associated with me not speaking Zulu which, is a huge limitation at the moment of approaching the possible respondent.

2.4.2. Main Items of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into different topics according to the general and particular objectives of the quantitative research.

- The first section included questions on language.
- The second section covered salary expenditure, with the preferences ticked off from a list of expenditure items, including reasons for choosing them.
- The third section was based specifically on clothing wear and purchase, preferences, frequency of purchase, satisfaction, location and occasions, and so on.
- The fourth section dealt with general questions about leisure, activities chosen, sports and recreation and holidays.
- The fifth section concerned media and communication: consumption of and preferences for newspapers, magazines, radio, television, cinema, and music.
- The sixth and final section sought demographic information: gender, age, marital status, place of residence, education, occupation, monthly salary, goods and belongings, and housing.

3. Qualitative Methodology

While quantitative approach is more highly formalised as well as more explicitly controlled, qualitative approaches “*are those approaches in which the procedures are not as strictly formalised, while the scope is more likely to be undefined*” (Mouton and Marais, 1990: 155-156). Indeed, ethnography is one of the most adequate models to develop a better understanding of cultural problems. “*In ethnographic studies*

'reflexivity' is essential, because we are part of the social world we study" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 25).

3.1. Focus Groups

The central motivation for these focus groups was to attempt to capture the perceptions, ideas, habitus and tastes of black African since 1980. Use of discussion guide (see Appendix 2) took place. The guide simply provided an agenda for the group session that is flexible enough to be altered as the discussion progresses. Focus group interviews are typically the first step in the process of researching many different kinds of problems. They are usually used in the early, exploratory stage of the research process; in this instance, they provided me with qualitative, descriptive and historical information about the consumption habitus, opinions, attitudes and desires of the consumer participants, not only from the perspective of material consumption of clothing but also, from in terms of the symbolic consumption within everyday life. Focus groups usually involve anywhere from six to 12 people. My aim was to work with three focus groups, of six or eight people each. Each focus group covers four different topics and each topic contains different sub-topics.

3.1.1. Focus group objectives

General objective:

- To build a history of the changing clothing habitus, 'taste' and popular culture of the Zulu-English speakers within the Durban Metropolitan area since 1980.

Specific objectives:

- To analyse habits of consumption through variables such as frequency, quantity, quality, size, etc.
- To analyse habits of purchase through variables such as: place of purchase, area, type of shop, type of clothing bought there, etc.
- Descriptions of the material and how this has changed since 1980.

- Political, economic and social impacts on the everyday life, habitus and taste before and after democracy.
- Reasons for consumption and purchase (psychological, media, culture, etc.)
- Possible definition of culture through the perceptions of the group.
- Reasons for changing habitus and taste in everyday life.

3.1.2. Drawing the sample

I had to take the following consideration when defining each focus group:

- The geographical distribution of the Metropolitan area of Durban.
- The participants had to be Zulu-English speakers.
- Variables such age and sex (four men, four women, aged 30 to 50 years old). This age group provided me with people whose memories will include much of the period under consideration.
- And of course, that they belong to the popular culture (defined in terms of geographical area, habitus, education of the participant and the father, music they usually listen to, their activities and tastes).
- The duration of the focus group had to be no less than one hour and no more than two.
- They had to be different groups, heterogeneous inside and homogeneous between them.
- Each group was equally divided by gender: half male, half female.
- The groups were divided into intervals of age: 20-29, 30-39 and 40-50.

3.1.3. Gender constitution of each group

First Group: Black African Zulu-English speakers from the urban Metropolitan area of Durban: including areas such as Umlazi, KwaMashu, etc.

GENDER

AGE	Female	Male	Total
30 – 39	2	2	4
40 – 50	2	2	4
Total	4	4	8

Second Group: **Black African Zulu-English speakers based at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (staff) and who live in the Durban Metropolitan area.**

GENDER

AGE	Female	Male	Total
30 – 39	2	2	4
40 – 50	2	2	4
Total	4	4	8

Third Group: **Black African Zulu-English speakers from the urban Metropolitan area of Durban: Inanda, City Centre, Umbilo, Glenwood, etc.**

GENDER

AGE	Female	Male	Total
30 – 39	2	2	4
40 – 50	2	2	4
Total	4	4	8

3.2. In-depth Interviews

I approached two different kinds of people for in-depth interviews. Firstly, people who belong to anti-globalisation organisations, or people with anti-global sentiments, in order to capture critical ideas, perceptions and attitudes to help me understand this process of

globalisation and its effects with reference to this specific group. And secondly, black African Zulu-English speakers who live in urban DMA were interviewed in relation to their changing vision of the social world affected by the trends of globalisation and its effects. I have used unstructured and direct interviews. The types of questions asked during the interviews were largely opened, this allows for in-depth discussion of the items mentioned (See Appendix 2). Each interview lasted between one to one and half-hours. I conducted 4 interviews with anti-globalisation organisations and sentiments and 4 interviews with black African Zulu-English speakers of urban DMA. Interviews were mostly secured through a telephonic appointment. This was a difficult task because people are busy, and interview time was granted only due to their very good will and disposition. All the interviews was firstly recorded and then transcribed to paper.

3.3. Videos, Television, Newspaper and Magazines

Non-participant observation was also used. I watched 20 videos of the annual fashion show. That takes place at the Department of Arts (fashion design) at the Technikon. They provided me with the fashion show videos from the 1980 onwards. These videos serve as important documents that show how clothing and fashion styles have changes over the years, how different cultures have played a role in the symbolic imaginations and clothing tastes of people; and how clothing is a powerful non-verbal communicative language that could influence the taste and habitus of people in everyday life.

Television was one of the mediation tools that helped me to discover what kinds of programmes black African Zulu-English speakers enjoy watching. I also viewed documentaries on the history of the Durban Metropolitan area and costumes worn by its inhabitants. Regarding newspapers and magazines, the Don Africana library, Killie Campbell, and local newsagents were helpful in terms of providing photographs, pictures and images of clothing in everyday life since 1980. Understanding why an ethnic group prefers some newspapers and magazines to others is an interesting indicator that shows us who they identify with and what is involved in the different processes of such identification.

CONCLUSION

The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches has allowed me to analyse in a broad-based manner my field of interest, and has given scientific validation to the data, which can be generalised to the entire universe of black African Zulu-English speakers that live in the urban Durban Metropolitan area. Qualitative methodology was used to give an insight into the historical development of clothing taste and habitus since the 1980s, within a specific ethnic group. In addition, this approach was appropriate to study the influence of inter-cultural relationships and the effects of the diverse languages, political and economical factors that occur together in the same geographical space. Finally, qualitative interview techniques also helped me to interrogate the processes and effects of globalisation on the group under study. Quantitative methodology is centred in a specific time, and is a punctual approach with a clear position in space and time. The objective of choosing this methodology is to give me an insight into the relationship of black African Zulu-English speakers in urban DMA with the immediate environment around them, both in terms of perceptions, consumption patterns and changes in cultural taste and habitus, as influenced by the forces of globalisation.

GLOBALISATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON SOUTH AFRICA

WHAT IS GLOBALIZATION?

No different theories about globalisation will be reproduced in this section. It will be a very long and tedious explanation, which has been repeated time and again in international literature. The two main positions will be thus outlined in this chapter, which concentrate on the different theories about globalisation and the way in which these two approaches understand the effects of this phenomenon on South African culture in particular.

The first approach essentially reduces globalisation to a synonym for neo-liberalism. According to this perspective, globalisation applies one model to both developed and developing countries that wants to participate in the global economy. The main components of this paradigm are the market economy, the multi-party system, the opening up of national economies, and free circulation of capital, protection of the foreign investments, and intellectual property, the fiscal equilibrium, and the freedom of the media. All those countries that are outside of this model like, such as Iraq, Iran, Libya or Albania, should be exiled from the rest of the world. However, the crisis in Mexico since 1994; in Russia and the South East Asia in 1997; the biggest economic and political crisis in Argentina's history which occurred in 2001, the desolation of the African continent plagued by hunger and misery; and the continuous wars and struggle in many countries, generate doubts on the applicability and benefits of this model.

The second approach does not understand globalisation from a scientific perspective. Globalisation thus is comprised of multiple narratives. To think 'the global' requires transcending these two postulates. The concept of globalisation can be understood as "*a set of processes of homogenisation and, at the same time, of articulated fractionation of the world, that re-order the differences and the inequalities without erasing them*" (García Canclini, 2000:49, *own translation from the Spanish text*).

This homogenisation and articulated fractionation is increasingly been recognised by scientists and scholars, and that it is expressed not only through data but also through metaphors and narratives. It is for this reason that I have chosen to include more qualitative responses into my studies. To explain global processes, it is necessary to talk about people who exchange goods and messages with people from other parts of the world, watch movies and television from other countries, and build their imaginary with events that they have not experienced directly.

IMAGINING THE GLOBAL

Globalisation can be seen as a set of strategies entrenching the hegemony of industrial macro-enterprises, financial corporations, and media conglomerates allowing them to appropriate the cultural resources, work hours, free-time, and financial resources of the poor countries, subordinating them to the concentrated exploitation with which these actors have re-ordered the world since the second half of the twentieth century. In addition, globalisation is also the 'imaginary scenario' for collectives and individual subjects. In other words, for governments and enterprises of dependent countries, for producers of cinema and television, artists and for intellectuals who all have objectives to reinsert the products in more expanded markets globalisation provides new possibilities. The process of globalisation has stimulated the public 'global imaginary'.

Globalisation increases international competition and allows for the expansion of cultural industries, with capacity to homogenise and, at the same time, draw attention in articulated ways to regional diversities. In addition it destroys the small, uncompetitive producer and gives to the periferic cultures the possibility to spread music, parties, ceremonies, food, clothes, and so on through transnational enterprises. The development of the sciences and technology during the last half of the twentieth century in the United States, Japan, England, Germany and France has increased the gaps between levels of production and consumption between the developed and developing countries. It has been said that: "*The European Union with 7% of the global population, export 37,5% and*

import 43,6% of all commercialised cultural goods” (Garretón, 1994 cited in García Canclini, 2000:24, own translation from the Spanish text).

The materialisation of the global imaginary is not accessible to everybody. Few countries experience the possibility of form part of it; only people living in the developed world, earning salaries and wages in strong currencies, are able to access these material goods/benefits. In other words, minority sectors benefit in these countries, while for the majority the global possibilities are kept like a fantasy. The discourse of globalisation covers fusions that only happen between a few nations. This discourse only covers inter-regional relationships, the linking of enterprises and circuits of communications, or consumption between Europe, the United States or specific areas of Asia. Societies are everyday more and more opened to the importation and exportation of material goods that travel from one country to another. In addition, circulated messages co-produced from several countries are circulated, which express in the symbolic form processes of co-operation and exchange even if this exchange has not materialised in concrete form.

CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION OR LOCAL CULTURE

Many scholars have questioned whether it is better to be globalised or defend local identities. How could one recall the different events that occur in the world and link only specific territories, leaving others outside the system? Is it north, south; east, west; national or international? Consider the world agreements of economic and political integration: The installation of the Euro as the single currency in the European Union since 2002, and the resulting disappearance of the national currencies, was meant to establish strong economic links with huge consequences for the symbolic identity of the European communities. From anthropological and socio-political studies about Europe, such integration resulted in programmes that aimed to build common projects. But, such programmes are not sufficient to overcome the distance between the Europe of the producers or marketers, and the governors related to the citizenship, or common people of these different societies. These common programmes and projects of integration have

not achieved too much because they do not account for heterogeneity, with the differences and conflicts, which refute the possibility of homogeneous identity.

The *Liber* magazine, edited by P. Bourdieu in 10 European languages, wrote that the explanation for the low social consensus about the meaning of globalisation is the predominance of 'European Bankers' in the efforts toward social integration. He questioned the capacity to create social *vinculums* through a global theory that does not take into consideration in its economical calculations the social cost, including illness and suffering, suicides, alcoholism and drug-addiction (Bourdieu, 1998). In addition, different languages, races, traditions, religions, ethnic groups, nationalities and customs are part of this big confusion in which the defence to preserve identity is mixed with the symbolic meanings generated by technological and scientific development and changes. *"The eleven languages that are spoken in the European parliament respond to cultural differences that have not disappeared with the economical agreement of integration"* (García Canclini, 2000:26, *own translation from the Spanish text*).

How do people feel about this diversity and challenges to identity in the era of information? Some centuries ago people felt secure within frontiers that were determined by the nation-state and with a sense of belonging to some specific place, group and culture. Today, beyond the national communities there are people, goods and messages that are still moving. *"The total number of people that leave their own country to establish themselves in other, for more than one year, is approximately between 130 and 150 million. It means 2.3% of the global population"* (García Canclini, 2000:53, *own translation from the Spanish text*). It is common knowledge that people travel for everywhere, not only as tourists but also to live and establish themselves in different countries. Los Angeles is the third Mexican City, Miami has the second highest concentration of Cubans, Buenos Aires is the third Bolivian City, Nigerians are still migrating to South Africa and KwaZulu-Natal is the home of the largest Indian population outside of India itself. *"Britain has a population drawn from Celts, Saxons, Vikings, Normans, Romans, Afro, Caribbeans, Asians and others, so the 'English' language is a hybrid of words from all over the world"* (Barker, 1999:36). Migrant

people are called with different names all around the world. They are called Afro-Americans, Lebanese-French, Argen-Mex, Indo-European, etc. Through migration it is not only people that are migrating, but also symbolic and material commodities, forms of looking at 'the other', different world views, forms of being, and so on.

However, it is not only through migration that one can discover difference. There are sets of anonymous and translocated mediated powers that are very difficult to identify. For instance, where is the central office of CNN? Is not Sony Japanese? Why is its headquarters in Miami? Where are thrillers, soap operas, news, and other forms of entertainment produced? How many people know that the Universal Studios – the most profitable movie-making studio group in Hollywood - was bought by Japanese capital? Global tendencies can exist in cultural processes, especially in the cultural industries, but it is incorrect to say that global culture will replace national cultures, mainly when only a small fraction of the cinematographic products, music, clothing, painting, and so on, are generated without local characteristics. Global symbols are gaining in importance in Japan and the US where they are mostly produced, in some European countries, and far less in Africa and Latino America. This means that the effects of global symbols have to be read in different way in Africa than in Europe and so on. The symbols of globalisation are not usually created in the third world.

Therefore, the alternative is not to ask whether it is better to be globalised or to defend local symbols of identification. The above few examples indicate that the inter-cultural relationships, inequality, racism and confrontation with other civilisations and symbols, all co-exist. It is important to use the narratives and metaphors, 'the imaginary', to understand the symbolic relationships that are built through global communications and migrations. The imaginary helps the entire society to know, listen and look at the 'others', to perceive and understand different discourses and forget that a large amount of people never will be part of the global network. As has been expressed: "*Therefore, the imaginary is imposed as a component of globalisation. The segregation is the necessary reversal of the integration, and the unequal limits that promise communication*" (García Canclini, 2000:65, own translation from the Spanish text).

CULTURAL CONSUMPTION AND GLOBALIZATION

There are many symbols that are continuously moving across space and time. Why is 'reggae' the rhythm and symbol of Bob Marley and Jamaica's freedom, listened to in Africa; why was the tango so popular in France and currently is so popular in the world; why is Latino and Spanish music everywhere? Why young people wear Adidas, Levi's, and Calvin Klein synonyms of both distinctiveness and belonging and eating McDonalds and drinking Coca-Cola is considered so cool? The consumption of global products and commodities is perceived in similar ways everywhere. However, is perception influenced by the same social schemas across the world or is perception related to the historical context of particular countries? And, is consumption only material or is it also symbolic? How is symbolic culture represented in the everyday consumption of the population?

As Castells put it: *"Because culture is mediated and enacted through communication, cultures themselves – that is, our historically produced systems of beliefs and codes – become fundamentally transformed, and will be more so over time, but the new technological system"* (Castells, 2000:357). Castells reminds us here that the concept of culture has to be understood with reference to different mediations and it is not possible to define it in isolation. Over the last two decades and as a consequence of scientific and technological development, statistics confirm how communication and information technology has grown without precedents. *"According to UNESCO, in 1992 there were over 1 billion television sets in the world, 35% of which were in Europe, 32% in Asia, 20% in United States, 8% in Latin America, 4% in Middle East, and 1% in Africa. Ownership of television sets was expected to grow at 5% per year up to the year 2000, with Asia leading the change"* (Castells, 2000:367).

However, the term communication refers too much more than television. The Internet has contributed in an incommensurable way to the global mapping of the world. *"In the US, the Asian Pacific, and Latin America the Internet is the backbone of the global computer-mediated communication"* (Castells, 2000:375). *"According to sources*

collected and elaborated by Vinton Cerf, in June 1999 the internet connected about 63 million computer hosts, 950 million telephone terminations, 5 million level 2 domains, 3.6 million people in more than 200 countries” (Castells, 2000:375). Geographical boundaries have been trespassed by communication technologies all around the world. However, does this mean that everybody can access such advances?

In the past, cultural consumption was enabled through primary relationships within geographical symbolic boundaries and sometimes through secondary relationships of functions and roles. At present consumption in everyday life is carried out through four different kinds of relationships. The primary relationships, based on face-to-face direct encounters; the secondary, which occurs as a result of functions or roles managed in social life; the tertiary, which are of an indirect character, mediated by technology and big organisations; and finally, the quaternary relationships, in which one of the parts is not aware of the existence of this relationship. Actions of surveillance, telephonic espionage, and archives of information are among these. Let me illustrate this last relationship with an experience that happened to my husband recently. He received a letter from DirectAxis that said: “Mr. Mullen with a personal direct loan of up R20.000... you will be enjoying the benefits of financial flexibility. Yes, Mr. Mullen, all these benefits can be yours to enjoy with your instant cash loan from DirectAxis. Just give us a call right now on 021 670 3400”. How did this company know our personal details? The information and data accumulated with each use of the credit card and the Internet, constituting a superpanopticon, but with the peculiarity that *“to proportionate data for the storing, the person object of surveillance is converted in an important and pleased factor of surveillance”* (Bauman, 1998:68). It clearly means that individuality and privacy are disappearing through the new means of global communication and consumption.

At present, globalisation is enhancing the last two relationships explained above. The production and consumption of material and symbolic commodities are crossing the boundaries of the local territories and one does not know who is beyond of the relationships that one confronts in everyday life and how one is the object of knowledge

and surveillance. without knowing who the subject is. The continuous bombardment of codes, signs and messages are changing and redefining the perceptions and attitude of people in a global context. Look for instance at how global companies are selling their products through marketing them a lifestyle' necessities that will help one live a better life: "*IBM isn't selling computers; it is selling business 'solutions'. The owner of Diesel Jeans, Renzo Rosso, told a magazine, 'we do not sell a product, we sell a style of life!'"*" (Klein, 2001:23). Recent examples are the mass-produced with the image of Che Guevara and Bin Laden. The symbolic meanings are different beyond the similarities. As one can see, global production is used not only to satisfy material needs; when we buy a material commodity, we are buying more than this; we are appropriating new symbols that can form part of and re-transform 'our own culture'.

Castells has put it very succinctly: "*CNN has established itself as the major global news producer worldwide to the point that in emergency situations in countries around the world politicians and journalists alike turn on CNN full time*" (Castells, 2000:367). This occurred with the 'anti-terrorist war' lead by the US against Iraq, and the war's image built in the global imaginary has been formed by news channels such as CNN or the BBC. According to Clarke (2003:132) "*The United States now relies on foreign oil for 55% of its energy requirements and this is expecting to rise to 65% in 2020 and continue to grow thereafter*". Actually, Iraq controls 20% of the world's known oil reserves. But, how many people are aware of this and the real reason of this war? Who manages the information and news flow? To be informed it is necessary to go beyond the main news channels of the world. In the meantime, the main news channels did very well in their task of convincing the world of who is the victim and who is not. The construction of global perception is the common denominator that unites and at the same separates people in creating new visions of this world.

CONNECTING THE WORLD THROUGH MEDIATIONS

In Europe only a few centuries ago, to travel even kilometres out of the 'village' were the privilege of a small percentage of the population. It was nearly unthinkable to imagine

that such a privilege could be extended to people of other countries, continents or islands, especially if these 'others' belong to different races, religions, languages and so on. However, history teaches that the first signs of globalisation began a long time ago with the advance of commerce and industry. Such advances were not limited to the European continent; Europeans with technological and scientific advances went far beyond their frontiers, to conquer new lands, natural resources, and people. That was the beginning of a process that caused much bloodshed in Asia, North, South and Central America, Africa, and Australia. However, this was not all. Europeans extended their domain within the political, economic, cultural and social arena, influencing the daily lives of people across the world. Through Christianity and missionary work, the imposition of different languages and discourses, institutionalised education, new forms of working life, technological, natural and scientific advances, new forms of governance, and so on, Europeans achieved the domination of millions around the world.

Mediations, as tools that aid the circulation of discourses, are specific to historical contexts. As a result of colonialism in history, the concept of multi-cultural relationships or inter-cultural relationships acquires an important meaning, which can be represented in everyday life with different levels of fusion or differentiation. The circulation and migration of people, objects, natural resources, ideas, thoughts, science and technology, languages, ways of education, labour, cultures and believes, has produced enormous fusion between places and people, changing political, economic, cultural and social relations across the globe. South Africa of course, has not been exempt from these historical processes of colonialism, slavery, racism, social class differentiation and the struggle for freedom. All these different processes have left their unmistakable trace on the population in general and on the black African population in particular.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

It is well known that South Africa has a bloody history of wars and colonisation by Western Europeans, mainly the Dutch, French, German and English. But the descendants of these colonisers remain the minority. The South African population comprises of the

'coloureds', black 'Bantu speaking', a large Indian population in KwaZulu-Natal mainly, and finally some people from the rest of the world. Let me illustrate the composition of the South Africa population to help us in the process of understanding the inter-cultural relationships that exist here in the twenty first century. By 1819 the white population already numbered 45000 and in 1904 this number had increased to 1.1 million. In 1980 4.5 million 'white' people lived in South Africa. Since the end of the nineteenth century, whites increasingly moved to urban areas and by 1904, 588 000 whites had already been urbanised. By 1980 the number of whites in urban areas had increased to 4 million. The coloured population increased from 445 000 in 1904 to 2.6 million in 1980. The Indian population of South Africa was 152 000 in 1911 and 477 000 in 1960. In 1980, 91% of the 821 000 Indians in South Africa were already living in urban areas. By 1904 the black population numbered 3.5 million, and in 1980 almost 17 million. Of this number, 6.5 million (38%) were living in urban areas and 10.5 million (62%) in rural areas (Oberholster, 1988).

The country's overall population growth more than doubled between 1960 and 1984, when it exceeded 32 million. The black proportion of the population varied little between 1904 (67,4%) and 1960 (68%), as immigration compensated for the lower natural increase of whites in these decades and established their numbers, population projections made on 1981 suggested that by the year 2000 South Africa would have 45 million people, of whom 34.9 million (77.5%) would be black, 5.3 million (11.8%) white, 3.7 million (8.2%) Coloured and 1.1 million (2.4%) would be Indian (SAIRR, Survey 1981).

These statistics show clearly the growth of the population groups and their distribution within urban and rural areas. This rural/urban division does not reflect the apartheid's policy of unequal rights of blacks to access the urban areas, thereby denying them the 'privileges' that it might bring in terms of improving living conditions, expectation and aspiration of material and symbolic consumption. The researcher will concentrate on the black/African population group for different reasons: firstly, because the history of this grouping is very rich with respect to customs, traditions, languages and

religion; secondly, because it was the group with the least chances of receiving education and the least access to the urban style of life; and finally, because it is the population group with the least contact with the media, and technological advance.

1) Apartheid in South Africa

Whilst the roots of apartheid go back long before 1948, it was in this year that the success came unexpectedly, on a minority vote. The central and enduring contradiction of apartheid was the need for blacks to assist in the economic progress of the country, yet they were denied political rights outside the rural 'homelands'. Thus, "*Whilst the labour of blacks was admitted to be necessary for the country's development, that country could never be theirs. It is the same contradiction which for the first time became constitutionally entrenched in the new constitution of 1983, which [excluded] 73% of South Africa's population which is black from participation in national politics*" (Lemon, 1987:48).

Two measures taken during 1950 were fundamental to the whole design of apartheid. Firstly, the State instituted the prohibition of mixed marriages act, which prohibited sexual relations between whites and non-whites, to preserve what was popularly but misleadingly regarded as the 'purity of the white race'. Secondly, the State partitioned land according to race. Nearly 100000 blacks were removed from squatter camps in the western suburbs of Johannesburg and resettled in Meadowlands. This was done, "*to minimise racial contact all races were compelled by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 1953 to use separate public amenities in every sphere of life including eating and drinking, transport, entertainment, recreation and personal hygiene*" (Lemon, 1987:51).

Twenty years later, in 1980, the results of apartheid geographical segregation could be seen in the varying levels of urbanisation within the population. All groups except blacks were highly urbanised. The Indian population was the most urbanised group (91% in 1980), followed closely by whites (88%) and coloured (77%), all of these

figures reflecting developed world urbanisation levels. Black urbanisation had risen from 24.3% in 1946 to 38% in 1980, but remains more characteristic of developing world levels of urbanisation. The 1980 census thus became the first to record a large increase in the number of blacks in South African cities, a fact even more disturbing for apartheid planners than the overall rapid growth of the black population (Population Census, 1980).

In addition, the international community had focused its attention on the conflict ridden situation in South Africa and the lack of regard for basic human rights towards the black population and many countries felt impelled to take action with respect to the apartheid government.

In 1980, South Africa's proportion of foreign trade to GDP [fluctuated] considerably, primarily because of variations in the domestic economy caused in the gold price, but [it] remained consistently high and was 71.3%. South African economic growth [relied] heavily on direct foreign investment, [...] dominated by multinational corporations whose investment is largely undertaken through reinvestment of their South African earnings, and foreign direct lending, on which the public sector [had] to rely significantly to finance its expansion (Lemon, 1987:356).

From the mid-1980's South Africa began to suffer from declining foreign investment, because multinational corporations reduced their involvement in South Africa and American banks asked at short notice for large-scale repayment of their short-term loans, forcing the South African government to temporarily suspend repayments. Sanctions against South Africa would have been meaningless without the participation of the western countries. At the same time, foreign investment in South Africa comes overwhelmingly from the European Economic Community (R22.9 billion in 1983) and the USA (R26.5 billion). Over the years, South Africa has become more reliant on four countries – USA, Japan, West Germany and the UK for her imports; her exports are more widely distributed but the western countries are dominated the patterns (SAIRR, Survey 1984). These international actions against the apartheid government affected the country deeply, and the political and economic crisis occurred on various levels of society.

2) **Post-apartheid South Africa**

During the late 1980s, the collapse of the apartheid regime became more and more evident. This involved a long process of negotiation that led up to the April 1994 elections. *“Shortly before the April elections, General Constand Viljoen negotiated a deal to the effect that the issue of self-determination written into the constitution. This concession was described by the VF as ‘wrenching open a door’ for the continuation of ethnic politics in South Africa ”* (Norval, 1996:285-286). Thereafter began a process of instituting a new imaginary and form of social ordering based on non-racialism, one of the central preoccupations of the democratic post-apartheid order. At the same time, there has been a commitment to respect cultural diversity. Above all, the constitution was written to ensure political equality, and the right to equal citizenship for all South Africans.

However, implementing policies destined to foster non-racialism and redress economic inequalities has not been without tensions and conflicts. Some of these conflicts are centred on the commitment to ‘affirmative action’, since *“non-racialism presupposes a colour-blind constitution, while affirmative action requires a conscious look at the realities between life chances of whites and blacks”* (Norval, 1996:294). All these programmes and commitments are necessary in order to develop democracy in South Africa and to eliminate the gross material inequalities that exist here. With the end of apartheid and its restrictions on movement, many rural black people moved to the cities in search of opportunities for a better life. According to the Population Census 1996, the entire population of South Africa was 40 583 573. Of this total, 53.7% lived in urban areas and 46.3% in rural areas. The black/African group made up 76.7% of the population, with the remainder as follows: coloured 8.9%, Indian/Asian 2.6%, white 10.9% and unspecified 0.9%. Of the total black/African population, 13 486 473 were living in urban areas (43%), while 17 541 743 people (57%) were living in non-urban areas.

In the 1999 census survey, households reported roughly twice as many male migrants as female. The overwhelming majority of migrants – 2.0 million of the total of 2.5 million, or 83% - come from non-urban areas. Two-fifths (40%) of migrants from urban household, compared to 32% of those from non-urban households, are female. Female migrants tend to be younger than male. Among both male and female migrants, the 30 – 39 age group accounts for around a third of all migrants (Women and Men in South Africa five years on, Statistics South Africa, 2002). This data show how after apartheid ended, and with the arrival of democracy the migration of black African people to the cities increased. Desperate people wanting to improve their condition of life and future moved to be closer to better education, employment and other possibilities.¹

THE ‘RAINBOW NATION’ AND THE ‘AFRICAN RENAISSANCE’

South Africa, after such terrible history of oppression, exploitation, social inequality and racism, was and is committed lessening the distances between the different groups of the population and opening the doors to the world. In 1994, Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the term the ‘rainbow nation’. *“He hoped that this naming would be the cornerstone and the foundation upon which a unified nation could be built”* (Boloka, 1999:95). From April 27, 1994, when South Africa saw its first democratic elections, new kind of national symbols were introduced, related to the promises of the ‘rainbow nation’ and the ‘African renaissance’. This last concept is linked to Africa’s attempt to revive itself after the unsavoury period of colonial rule and its aftermath. In South Africa, this concept is linked to Thabo Mbeki, the current president, who articulated it as a means to Africa’s empowerment. The reason for a ‘renaissance’ in the African continent, according to Mbeki, is the following.

[It] is the need to empower African peoples to deliver themselves from the legacy of colonialism and neo-colonialism and to situate themselves on the global stage as equal and respected contributors to as well as beneficiaries of all the achievements of human civilisation. Just as the continent was once the cradle of humanity and an important

¹ It is not possible to show percentages of 2001 Census related to movement from rural to urban area because it does not have statistical analysis between race and the area of Durban Metropolitan.

contributor to civilisation, this renaissance should empower it to help the world rediscover the oneness of the human race (Recorded speech in Japan: 1997).

Whilst the 'rainbow' as an elusive image deals with unity in diversity, 'renaissance' is a controversial one centred on exclusivity, based on nationhood and the continental boundaries. But the complexity and controversies of these concepts goes beyond this poor explanation. In the chapters that follow an attempt at explaining them further will be undertaken, as well as illustrating them with examples from the daily life in South Africa within the context of the global.

INTER-CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

South Africa is a multi-cultural society. South African history abounds with discrimination of the black people when compared with some other groups of the population. Apartheid influenced the possibilities of beings urban or rural inhabitant; and for those urban people, it defined whether they would live according to developed or developing conditions. Other indicators, such as 'education', 'language' and 'media and communication' are instrumental in explaining with hard data what was and is the connected relationship between the black group with these indicators, and the connection of the black/African population group with the rest of the society.

1) Education

The legacy of illiteracy and lack of high-level skills among the mass of the black population of South Africa is one of the bitterest legacies of apartheid. It constitutes not only a severe brake on economic growth and the capacity of the new democratic state to implement necessary changes, but also on the full participation by all in political and economic processes. Illiteracy is not confined to the percentage of functional illiterates within the general population, but is evident in the lack of basic reading, writing and computing skills possessed by graduates from the system of Bantu education. It has been described thus: "*A staggering 66% of the total black population is considered*

functionally illiterate, with the highest number occurring in those between the ages of 16 and 34 – the generation schooled by apartheid” (HSRC/NTB, 1991:159).

With respect to the level of education of black/African population; 6 882 733 (22.18%) have no schooling, 7.98% have some primary education, 23.21% have complete primary, 22.87% have secondary completed, 6.62% have matric and only 2.48% have higher education (Population Census, 1996). Close on one-fifth (18%) of African women aged 25 years and older, and 13% of African men, have no formal schooling, compared to fewer than 1% of white women and men. Among the African women and men and coloured women, 6% or fewer have a qualification higher than matric. There was a decrease in the percentage of women and men without formal schooling in each population group between 1995 and 2001. The decrease is most marked for African women and men, at five and three percentage points respectively (Women and Men in South Africa five years on, Statistics South Africa, 2002).

The adult literacy rate of South Africa in 1980 was 74.43%, in 1991 it was 82.16%, and in 1996 was 85.93% of the population (Stats. in brief 2002, Statistics South Africa) In 2000 it was estimated that between 12 and 15 million of the population of approximately 40 million were illiterate (percentage range 9%) (Cambrink and Davey, 2000). According to this information, there has been some improvement in the education and literacy of the black population along the years, mainly with the coming of the democratic government post-apartheid. The current regime has opened the doors of new plans and policies with the aiming to reduce the distance between groups of people in the society through increasing knowledge and employment opportunities. And, through educating disadvantaged groups, there exist the possibility of inserting them into the labour market, in the production system and in the culture of consumption and access of knowledge, including the new technological and scientific global advances.

2) Language

The South African language issue involves more than just the conflict between English and Afrikaans because, according to the 1980 census, Afrikaans and English were the

home language of only 20% and 11% of the total population respectively. Easily two-third of all blacks (with their nine recognised written languages) cannot speak, read or write Afrikaans or English. On 8 May 1996, the Constitutional Assembly of the Republic of South Africa adopted a new democratic constitution. In this constitution, a considerable number of clauses are devoted to matters of languages, reflecting the immensely multi-lingual and multi-cultural nature of the society. Central government spells out its position on language in education in the 1996 South African Bill of Rights, Clause 29:

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account a) equality, b) practicability, and c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory law and practice.

Whereas language policy expressly professes to promote multi-lingualism in South Africa, language practitioners in languages other than English are complaining more and more that their languages are being marginalised to an even greater extent than in the past.

At the very least, the 80/85/91 census data identify the role-players on the South African multilingual scene. The 1991 data leads to the conclusion that the four most dominant languages in terms of numbers of speakers (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, and Afrikaans) are spoken by 72% of the population. 42% (about 16 million people) of the population report being able to speak/understand/read/ write English . Another 42% of the population also claim the same for Afrikaans and 43% of the population for Zulu (Maartens, 1998:20).

According to the population census of 1996, 14.4% of people spoke Afrikaans, 8.6% English, while the most common-spoken language of the country was Zulu with 22.9% of the population (9.1 million people), followed by Xhosa with 17.9% speaking it as home language. In 2001, 13.3% spoke Afrikaans, 8.2% English, while the most common-spoken language was Zulu with 23.8% of the population (10 677 305 people),

and followed by Xhosa with 17.6% as home language (2001 Census, Statistics South Africa, 2003).

South Africa does not have a single main language that serves as a binding symbol of unity for the entire population. Whereas the current 11 official languages are all spoken in the South African parliament, the dominant position of English is rapidly becoming entrenched. The unfortunate result is that the majority of people do not have the command of English needed to succeed in higher education or to compete on an equal footing for the prestigious and higher paid jobs. As the result of the official language policies over the years, most black/African people attach little value or confusion to their mother tongue and believe it to be deficient or impoverished in a way that makes it unsuitable for use in the modern global society.

3) Media and Communication

The acquisition of radios, televisions, telephones and cellular phones has increased drastically in the last decade within the black/African population in South Africa. This is not only a result of the democracy, but it is also the result of the migration to the urban and metropolitan areas, and a result of the educational and languages programmes that attempt to cater for ethnic and cultural differences within the learning environment, and also a result of the effects of globalisation.

In 1997, 87.29% of black/African households, 86.5% coloured, 93.3% Indian and 98.1% whites had a radio. In 1998 the number of black/African household with radios dropped to 86.4%, coloured 84.7%, Indian 96.9% and white 97.1%. In terms of household owners of TV sets, the percentages for 1997 were 49.2% black/African, 81.3% coloured, 97.1% Indian and 94.5% white. In 1998 were 50.3% of black/African, 81.5% coloured, 96.1% Indian, and 95.2% white (Statistics South Africa, Stats in brief, 2000). However in the Population Census of 2001, the percentage of black household owners of TV sets had decreased again to 45.27%.

Considering that the introduction of the television to South Africa only occurred in 1974; the programmes during apartheid tended to be conservative, there were very few channels: the Afrikaans and English programmes could not be understood by the majority of black/African population, the viewers of television by this group has increased to a significant level. The use of radio and television is essential to feeling connected and informed and for the creation of 'an imaginary' of the society and the world. I will analyse this in more depth in the chapters that follow.

The number of black/African households which have a landline or cellular telephone in the dwelling is 740 783 (28.59%) of the total population (The people of South Africa, population Census, 1996, Statistics South Africa). In the Population Census 2001, 1 116 12 (12.12%) of the entire black/African households had a landline telephone in the dwelling, and 2 286 291 (24.83%) had a cellular phone. In other words, there has been an increase in the acquisition of fixed hire and cellular telephones from 1996 to 2001. The necessity to be part of the global trend, to have more status, and to be prepared for an emergency, make the use of the telephone, but more specifically the cellular phone, an indispensable tool that also gives the appearance of belonging to a network.

THE CULTURAL EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

If an African listens to some form of western music, watches some form of western television, and buys western produced consumer goods, which they enjoy, this cannot easily be classed as 'domination' without resorting to arguments that rely on the idea of false consciousness. In addition, it should not be assumed that the consumption of western consumer goods has the same meaning or the same outcomes in Africa as it does in the west. In South Africa there is a growing realisation that people can no longer live in isolation and that events that radically affect one group must also influence other groups. These groups may differ culturally and socio-economically but broadly speaking they share the same social reality. Meaningful intercultural communication, however, depends on factors such as the potential for conflict in a multi-cultural society, the cultural differences between the different population groups and the nature of its

membership. The boundaries between the different ethnic groups in South Africa are almost always accompanied by socio-economic, language and /or religious differences

Particularly in the less developed parts of South Africa (and these mainly include areas where blacks live), the electronic media are of special importance in the creation of social reality as reflected by the social learning needs of Blacks. The mass media are also powerful acculturation agents and these media may significantly contribute to the creation of greater commonality in South Africa society through the establishment of a macro South Africa identity (Groenewald, 1988:252).

The rise of a young generation of artists who have spontaneously turned away from formalised 'decadent' westernised art, particularly within the apartheid concept, ties in with the criticism from within and outside the established art systems against the dominating ideology and aesthetic which put an elitist art in an inviolable position (Prinsloo and Malan, 1988). The television channels 2 (created in 1980) and 3 (created in 1983), together with radio contributed a great deal to the promotion of black musicians. No fewer than 18 record companies are marketing the music of black artists, and female vocalists such as Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Margaret Singana, and Patience Africa are as popular as singers such as Steve Kekana and Kori Moraba, and groups such as Stimela and Ladysmith Black Mambazo, and artist such as Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela.

According to Prinsloo and Malan (1988:278) "*Various hybrid music styles have been created in the last decades. The Mbaquanga music developed in the townships from the earlier Marabi, a pan-ethnic music style, and the Kwela. In this process American Jazz is modified to a unique African Jazz*". The prevalence and popularity of American inspired Hip-Hop, and Rap music among black South Africans is epitomised by the Soweto based 'Prophets of Da City'. Other kind of hybrid music is Kwaito, from which some of the very well known singers in South Africa are Mafikizolo and Mandoza. This new form of hybridisation is exported back to the west. All of these hybrid forms, which have global cultural characteristics, are today part of the identity of the South African population, and they help to build the new global imaginary, beyond the cultural differences of each ethnic group.

TWO EXAMPLES ON GLOBAL FASHION

Globalisation has influenced the cultural arena of the entire world. But the manifestation of this influence is represented in different forms and symbols associated with this new regimen of ability to transcend barriers of space and time. South Africa is not an exception. In what follows, two examples of everyday in South African are presented, which represent through reference to clothing, the encounter between the black/African population and the global trends.

In the local newspaper the *Daily News*, I once read an article that made an allusion to the relationship between the Africa renaissance, the fashion industry, and globalisation. The article said as follow:

M-Net's Face of Africa has for the past four years acted as a launching pad for African models internationally. This event has successfully catapulted Africa into the spotlight of the world fashion, which in the past, has been monopolised and dominated by the Eurocentric West. Africa has finally been born, in the fashion arena. Significantly, M-Net Face of Africa's importance goes beyond the world of fashion. It has become that all-important, much-needed vehicle for presenting a positive image of contemporary Africa to the entire world by showcasing herself, her people and cultures and by making indigenous contributions to the global society in the true spirit of globalisation (*Daily News*, May 31, 2001:8).

This extract of the article shows the inevitable connection between media and global trends of clothing and the local production of Africa. With the demise of apartheid, South Africa wanted to reconfigure its image to the world, and become an equal player in all sectors, including the fashion industry. The M-NET face of Africa is an attempt to recognise black African beauty, which the 'Miss South Africa' pageants of apartheid never acknowledged.

The second example is the wedding of Princess Nandi Zulu, 25, the second daughter of King Goodwill Zwelithini, to Chief Bhoungwe Mfundo Mtirara of the

Thembu clan in the Eastern Cape, which was a showcase of different South African cultures.

The wedding brought together two royal families, with different cultures and traditions. Princess Nandi is the daughter of Queen Buhle Mathe and is the first daughter of Zwelithini to tie the knot. Chief Mtirara is the son of Xhosa Chief Zwelakhe". "Princess Nandi Zulu and Chief Bovulengwe Mfundo Mtirara exchange a mischievous glance during the western-style of the wedding on Friday. Yesterday, the final day of their wedding, they married in traditional manner. Many guests proudly wore traditional clothing to identify themselves as Xhosa or Zulu (*Sunday Tribune*, December 8, 2002:1).

In this second example, one can see the inter-relationship between two very important and powerful ethnic groups, with different customs, clothing traditions, languages, and so on. During their thirteen wedding days, they had different clothing, some of them according with their own traditions and others more western, showing that traditions exist alongside the globalisation and modernisation of the world. But, the clothing was not the unique western symbol; the wedding also included western ceremonies, food, beverages, music, languages, and the fabulous car used for the married couple.

These two examples show African people transcending the local community frontiers, but the articulation with the global is imagined in different forms. In the second one, the couple have not lost their traditional rituals and appearance completely but these are subordinated to a global imaginary. The fashion worn represent the by-directionality and reciprocity of interactions; it suggests that now is impossible to hide what 'they' (i.e. 'the west') want to do with 'us' in terms of appearance, mannerisms and clothing, and what 'we' want to do with 'them', in the appropriation of such western symbols. This example shows how clothing can be used to dissolve the national barriers, crossing boundaries, and establish intercultural relationships.

These two examples represent attempts to make the leap between the concrete and abstract, the immediate and the intercultural. Narratives and metaphors suggest the

coexistence of different époques in the tension between the local and the global, and the contradictories livelihoods of actors, whose intensity and polyvalence is difficult to enclose in concepts. It is common practice within the Social Sciences to inter-link narration and explanation, metaphor and theory. Related metaphors as cases, which allow for generalisations, and provide useful illustrations to theoretical principles have been used throughout the chapter. Examples have been used that have the capacity to challenge assumed conceptualisations regarding globalisation and inter-culturality, such as the theoretical and abstract schemas as those of common sense.

CONCLUSION

Changes have occurred in the world in an accelerated ways, owing to advances in science and communication technology. These changes have translated into a new vision of the world, a new imaginary. This process called globalisation goes beyond the process of local, national or transnational relationships of capital and corporations. These global trends and their imaginaries are formed through the circulation of capital, messages, goods and people. It is not only the production, but also more specifically the material and symbolic consumption of goods which produces global change and transformations in the forms of being and ways of seeing the world. Consumption within everyday life is overcoming in part the boundaries of cultural differences and is accepted globally through of the re-interpretation and representation of the new symbolic meanings and social practices of people in society, but not without multiple conflicts.

In the context of this and local history, some indicators such as migration, education and language is included, in order to give an insight to the changing history of the population within a specific time period. The focus of this study places special emphasis on statistical information of the black population, which make up the majority in this country but have nevertheless been object of discrimination and exclusion by other groups and political powers in the past. The result is a mixture of cultural symbols that reflect both 'own' and 'other' within a specific ethnic group, which is a result of this complex intercultural relationship.

BOUNDARIES OF THE ANALYSIS UNIT

GENERAL CONTEXT

After exploring some of the cultural effects of globalisation in South Africa in particular, this chapter will attempt to explain in more detail the 'analysis unit' of this study; why it has been chosen it, and how it is related directly with the object of study. The analysis unit consists of 'Black African people; Zulu-English speakers of both gender; from 18 to 49 years old who have lived for at least one year and are living currently in the urban areas of the Durban Metropolitan area – EtheKwani Municipality - within the KwaZulu-Natal province'.

The analysis unit chosen will be the object of a historical and scientific examination, which aims to give light to and explain the changing taste and habitus within everyday life of this specific ethnic group especially in terms of material and symbolic goods consumption. The 'global culture of consumption' is affecting everybody, and new productions on the global scale are creating new necessities and desires, which become important to consume if we want to belong in this new global financial, economic and communication society. Clothing has been chosen as the main indicator of consumption, which will be related to the changing attitudes, tastes and aspirations of this ethnic group who are affected by global trends.

However, before this specific issue is examined, an explanation is needed as to why this area and ethnic group have been chosen. Some insights into variables that define the analysis unit are also needed. A general history of the province, and Durban in particular, specifically in terms of migration is needed in this juncture. Colonialism, ethnicity, and its influence on the population group has been analysed within this area. Secondly, a look into the different ethnic groups that live together in Durban and existing relationships between them is important. Thirdly, the concept of race needs to be looked at. Fourth, the concept of urbanisation, and its application to the Durban Metropolitan area must be explored. Fifth, the conflictive dynamics of language, and language as

related to education is discussed. Sixth, gender issues, pertaining to notions of masculinity and femininity, according to customs, tradition, and myths need to be examined. The analysis based on the variable of three different intervals of age – 18-29, 30-39, and 40-49 will follow. The condition of life of blacks African within the Durban Metropolitan area needs to be explored within this chapter.

DURBAN'S HISTORY SINCE 1980

1) Why 'Urbans'?

The Durban Metropolitan Area is located on the East Coast of South Africa within the province of KwaZulu- Natal. It is a melting pot of cultural diversity, with African, Asian and European influences creating a rich cosmopolitan society with an important influence on trends not only in the economic and political arenas but also in the cultural field. However, the reality of this cultural diversity within Durban is far from being the fairy tale it might initially seem; conflicts, social segregation and, the exclusion of some population groups by other groups – which had ideological, political, economic and cultural power – were the everyday experience of the less privilege groups during the past 25 years. In the previous chapter, reference was made to the apartheid group areas acts, which led to the forced removals of large sections of the population from the early 1960s. In KwaZulu-Natal, thousands of urban black African people were relocated to the poorest and most undeveloped areas. *“In Natal over 1 million people were removed from the urban area”* (Surplus people Project, 1983).

According to the Central Statistical Service, in the Natal province during 1983 the population was estimated to be 2 842 000 people. The population distribution was as follows: 51.1% blacks, 20.6% white, 3.4% coloured, and 24.9% Asian. Artificial geographic divisions between the black and the non-black populations of the country were created, which eventually resulted in certain artificial patterns of semi-urban settlements.

A greater degree of 'urbanisation' of the black population exists in KwaZulu and Durban than is reflected in official statistics, but many black people live in these artificial (abnormal) urban structures. It was stated that: "*In May 1985 the government announced a decision not to resettle some 700 000 urban blacks but to develop instead the 52 townships in which they live, of which one of the largest are Chesterville and Lamontville (58 000) in Durban*" (Lemon, 1987:208).

Removal or threat of removal was the ghost with which black African people lived during the two decades of resettlement in South Africa, which affected deeply the black African population within KwaZulu-Natal. Those resettled in the homelands have suffered varying degrees of material loss in terms of facilities and living conditions. Black Africans were relocated in relation to the white urban areas, to areas the further away from the Metropolitan area, where the lack of the minimal life's conditions was the currency of everyday life's survival. Poverty, unemployment, landlessness, exploitation and misery were some of the consequences of these unfair practices of relocation. Official figures suggest that 38% (6.5 million) of blacks lived in urban areas in 1980, (this figure ciphers excludes those living in informal settlements around Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Newcastle, Pretoria and elsewhere). The urban black population settled mainly on an 'ethnic' basis, for example 96% of blacks in the Durban-Pinetown area were 'Zulu'.

As Preston-Whyte (1982:164) observed: "*Serious problems are suffered by blacks living in white residential areas who constitute a largely ignored category of 'non-people' whose presence is tolerated because of the services they offer to whites but socially ignored both in planning and the day-to-day community life of white areas. Such blacks numbered 66 577 in Durban in 1980*". In other words, in the 1980s urban blacks were accepted to live in white areas only when their services were requiring for the white population's necessities. The largest concentrations of squatters in South Africa are found in the Durban metropolitan area, the outer areas of which are controlled by the KwaZulu-Natal authorities. As Schlemmer (1985:169) wrote: "*The number of informal housing*

units was estimated in mid-1983 at 130 000, with an estimated occupancy ratio of eleven persons per unit giving a squatter population of 1.4 million”.

He continued: *“The settlements are densest just beyond the boundaries of formally constituted local authorities, as close as possible to urban infrastructure and transport route: thus the largest squatter areas, Inanda and Malukasi, are located beyond the formal Durban townships – both themselves now part of KwaZulu – of KwaMashu and Umlazi respectively”* (Schlemmer, 1985:187-188). These quotations are useful in order to exemplify the unfair policies of apartheid, which destroyed the possibility of access to the ‘modernised world’. Removal policies were the cause of unemployment, lack of education, poor sanitation and access to the basic conditions of life for the black African; their aspiration of belonging to this consumption society fading further from their expectations and desires.

2) Racial Separation or Racial Integration?

Since the 1980s, the two most important events in South Africa history have been the tumultuous final phase of apartheid and the birth of democracy. Despite the ferocity with which apartheid was implemented, it never achieved full racial separation and the historically white areas in particular were ironically the ones in which the greatest mix of races occurred. From the mid-1980s, black Africans moved from the black rural areas and an enormous growth of the black urban peripheries was the result of such process. It was also in these areas that the greatest change occurred, according to the censuses of 1985 and 1996. The poor and middle-income groups sought places of residence near to the city’s main concentration of jobs and services in the urban core. However, no signs of racial integration are evident in the outlying black townships and rural areas. As in other South African cities, apartheid planning in Durban sought to reserve the core urban areas for Whites; to locate Indians and coloureds in buffer areas between white and black areas, and to place black townships in areas adjacent to tribal areas for eventual incorporation into homelands.

As the city's urban strategists have written: "*Using Durban's existing racial settlement patterns, topography and natural features such as escarpments and river valleys, and man made boundaries such as highways and industrial areas, the state engineered Durban's racial structure between 1948 and the early 1990s, when racial policy was abandoned*" (Urban.Strategy, 2003:6).

The deeper origins of this system lie in the colonial policies of territorial and urban segregation. However, these policies were systematised and deepened under apartheid. Apartheid policies were first implemented in the 1950s and then further entrenched in the 1960s and 1970s. According to Urban Strategy (2003), urban reform under apartheid began in the late 1970s, with the Riekert Commission report, but this focussed on the economic mobility of urban blacks, and did not tamper with racial residential policy. Further reforms occurred with the President's Council Report of 1986, which abolished influx control and established multi-racial service councils. However, the president's council stopped short of abolition of the Group Areas Act. The period under investigation was marked by the speeding up of reform and the corresponding escalation of urban violence, which, broke out in Durban in 1996.

The impact of reform and violence was felt first on the urban peripheries, where it unleashed processes of intra urban movement and the shifting of blacks into more strongly class defined areas. Only with the breakdown controls under the Group Areas Act and their eventual abandonment, did racial integration begin to take place on a significant scale in areas previously defined as White, Indian or Coloured (Urban Strategy, 2003:6).

The following table depicts the absolute numbers and percentages of the various strata of the population, explaining how the black African population group was distributed in the racially defined areas in 1985.

Table No 1: Racial group representation according to racially defined areas in 1985 (DMA)

AREA	Blacks (absolute numbers)	Blacks (percentages)
Black Rural	495625	36.6%
Black Township	644159	47.6%
Coloured	7619	0.6%
Indian Urban	34887	2.6%
Indian Rural	5020	0.4%
White Urban	100175	7.4%
White Rural	66230	4.8%
Total	1353715	100%

According to Urban Strategy (2003), the total size of Durban's population in 1985 was 2 339 186. From this total, 1 353 715 people (57.9%) were black. While areas defined as black were the most racially homogeneous areas in Durban, Black people were at the same time the most widely distributed of all racial groups though other areas. The great majority 84.2% of black people lived in black areas, 36.6% in the tribal areas and 47.6% in the townships. Of the remaining 15.8% of the majority, 12.2% were in white areas, 7.4% in urban areas and 4.8% on farms. Only 3% were living in Indian areas and 0.6% in coloured areas. The black townships of Durban in 1985 were the least racially mixed of all group areas. The proportion of blacks in these areas was close to 100%. The most striking anomaly is that the white areas defined by apartheid policy to be the exclusive preserve of whites were the most racially mixed of all areas. In 1985 no white area had an exclusively white population. All had a mixed white and black population, in various proportions. *“Several had majorities made up of other racial groups. 77% of the population in white urban areas were whites. The second largest group was blacks with 16%; the third most important was Indians with 5% and the remainder coloured with 1%”* (Urban Strategy, 2003: 15).

According to Urban Strategy the fastest growing areas in Durban were the black townships and informal settlements, where the population increased from 651 000 to 964 000, or 3.6% per annum over the period in question. This change was determined both by internal growth of the resident black population and by inward migration of blacks from outside areas. This inward migration occurred despite the migration of upwardly mobile black people out of the townships over the same period. The poverty of the black African population, the low service levels of the areas and their relative spatial isolation from the resources of the urban core, was one of the many problems that residents were obligated to tolerate. An analysis of the Human Development Index (HDI) for the DMA suggests distinct imbalances across population groups and settlement types. *“Formal (predominantly white) settlements have high HDIs (an average of 0.864) whilst that (sic) for formal, informal and peri-urban black settlements are extremely low with averages of 0.274, 0.087 and 0.139 respectively”.*

The changing racial composition of areas is most readily assessed by comparing the percentage of people of different races in these areas between 1985 and 1996, shown in Table 2.

Table No 2: Racial Groups in Areas of DMA in 1985 and 1996 (Percentages)

Areas	Blacks 1985	Blacks 1996	Colour 1985	Colour 1996	Indian 1985	Indian 1996	White 1985	White 1996	Total
Black rural	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Black towns.	100	99	0	0	0	1	0	0	100
Coloured	12	25	86	72	2	3	0	0	100
Indian urban	3	17	1	1	96	81	0	1	100
Indian rural	23	64	1	1	76	35	0	0	100
White urban	16	30	1	3	5	10	77	58	100
White rural	74	69	1	1	22	24	3	7	100

The areas that have changed least in terms of the racial composition of their population are the black rural areas and townships, which remain essentially racially homogeneous. They are followed by Indian urban areas, which experienced a significant inflow of blacks and outflow of Indians but remain, nevertheless largely populated by Indians. The coloured areas experienced more change, with the proportion of black residents more than doubling over the period. Despite the outflow of coloureds and inflows of blacks, coloured people still made up nearly three-quarters of the population of these areas in 1996. And finally, in the white urban areas, the proportion of blacks nearly double over the period 1985 – 1996, but in the white rural areas the proportion of blacks declined from 74% in 1985 to 69% in 1996 (Urban Strategy, 2003).

Therefore, from its basis in the apartheid structure of the middle 1980s, racial change appears to have occurred through a complex process of inward and outward movements within the metropolitan areas. The Indian rural areas, most of which interface with tribal rural areas or townships, displayed the most dramatic changes through the rapid inflow of blacks and rapid outflow of Indians. However, a feature of change between 1985 and 1996 was the re-emergence of mixed race, or what we call ‘rainbow’ areas. These are areas where no race comprises more than 50 % of the population of that area.

This cut off point is merely for purposes of illustration and does not bring out changes that occurred on a wider spatial basis, but is nevertheless useful in identifying core areas from which racial integration appears to be spreading. Using this measure, the rainbow areas are mapped below. Most important in terms of population size is the CBD, which in 1996 had 40% of blacks, 24% of Indians, 28% of whites and 8% of coloured people (Urban Strategy, 2003: 20).

There are 4 main nodes of residential integration developed in Durban between 1985 and 1996: the CBD, Bellair – Clairwood, Clare Hills – Sherwood – Waterval Park and Briardene. The findings on Durban’s rainbow areas are of considerable interest given the policy objective of racial integration adopted since the middle 1990s. They suggest that spontaneous, or market driven, processes of deracialisation are occurring in certain parts

of the city. The areas in which racial mixing is taking place are middle income areas within the city centre and within an arc in close proximity to it, several of which have histories of past racial integration (Urban Strategy, 2003:23).

However, the social distance between affluent whites and poor blacks that existed under apartheid may indeed have changed little over the decade in some residential areas. At the present, urban blacks have little more possibilities to access to better education and job opportunities with higher incomes. While the rural areas – black and whites – contained the metropolitan area’s poorest and worst serviced areas, the black townships and informal settlements are developing slowly. The residential racial integration appears to be occurring most rapidly through spontaneous market processes within the urban core, but this process of integration has a long way to go before full racial integration occurs perceptible feeling of racial discrimination amongst the inhabitant of the urban Durban Metropolitan area disappears.

3) Why ‘black Africans’?

South Africa is a country in which many ethnic groups live together. Each has their own history, cultural practices and beliefs, and forms of being. However, apartheid as an institutionalised form of racial discrimination, oppression, and ethnic fragmentation has had terrible consequences for the black Africans in particular. Culture, race, class divisions, differences in historical background, language and religion have all served to reinforce this racial segmentation. South African society is still suffering from the legacy of an identity-assigning colonialism and racialism imposed by successive minority governments. Colonialism was not only a materially exploitative relationship, but it also involved ideological domination, shaping the way in which colonised people came to perceive themselves. Although ethnic differences are not simply the result of apartheid and colonialism, those systems carry enormous responsibility for the way in which ‘cultural nationalism’ and ethnicity were used for extensive and heartless social manipulation.

Ethnicity and ethnic conflict have become part of our day-to-day 'common sense' language and thought, much like 'tribalism' and 'race' – everybody appears to know what they mean when they use these terms to make sense of the world, and they imagine that all others use them in the same way. A keen observer of the phenomenon wrote: *"The absence of clarity as to the meaning of ethnicity and 'inter-ethnic conflict' is even more astonishing when we consider that they have so readily functioned as explanatory tools for large-scale killing and destruction in South Africa"* (Maré, 1992:3).

KwaZulu-Natal was and is the land of the well known 'Shaka, the king of Zulu Kingdom and is the geographical and ideological home to the 'Zulu cultural identity'. Currently, the state, the Zulu monarchy, and some African nationalist leaders represent the Zulu people as a unified group, which in itself suppresses or ignores the presentation of the history of other groups in KwaZulu-Natal who were dominated and destroyed by the Zulu warriors. The cultural symbols of this ethnic community can be used to mark the boundaries with other ethnic groups. For instance, language, religion, the dress associated with cultural history, festivals and ceremonies, values, music, etc. are some of the strongest symbols used at the present by the Zulu community to identify themselves against the other. In this case, Zulu military prowess through history is a very important symbol of identification and pride within the group.

Zulu identity in KwaZulu-Natal centred around four criteria of identification: birthplace, descent, language, and history. In addition to these criteria, what I will call 'conventionalised' ways of identification, the familiar and understood ways of behaviour, existed. Conventional ways of being included the practice of *hlonipha* (literally, to respect) and *ukukhonza* (literally, to worship), which are customarily associated with Zulu people (Dlamini, 2001:198).

This reiterates the point that the Zulu ethnic group has a direct relationship with its history and it has been deeply implicated in the building of a group identity. However, in KwaZulu-Natal the European colonisation has had a strong impact on the past and present. The European people brought to this country their own history, lifestyle,

ideologies and understandings. They introduced the concept and meaning of racism and racialisation as an essential tool of domination and differential power.

As Miles (1989:79) put it: Racism refers to a process of racialisation where 'the group identified must be attributed with additional, negatively evaluated characteristics and/or must be represented as inducing negative consequences for any other'. Racialisation is a dialectic process of signification. Ascribing a real or alleged biological characteristic with meaning to define 'the other' necessarily entails defining Self by the same criterion .

When the Europeans defined Africans as 'black', they were implicitly defining themselves as being at the opposite end of a common dichotomy or continuum that of skin colour. The African's 'blackness' therefore reflected the European's 'whiteness': these opposites were therefore bound together, each giving meaning to the other in a totality of signification. Similarly, when Europeans identified Africans as constituting an inferior 'race' by Europeans, Europeans were simultaneously, if only implicitly, defining themselves by reference to the discourse of 'race', albeit with a different evaluative connotation. Thus, Self and Other were similarly encapsulated in a common world of (European) meaning. By virtue of sharing the common world of meaning, 'the other' may adopt the content of the racialised discourse to identify itself as Self.

Thus, those who use the European discourse of race to differentiate 'self' from 'the other' have accepted it, which has been excluded as a legitimate discourse.

In so doing, the evaluative content has often been changed from a negative to a positive value. Furthermore, the racialisation of human beings entails the racialisation of the processes in which they participate and the structures and institutions that result. Thus, where human beings are identified as collectivities by reference to physical features the interrelations between those collectivities will be effected in part by means of, for example, extant political institutions and processes. This is dramatically evident where 'races' are defined in law as discrete collectivities and where the law actively structures the relations between those collectivities (as in South Africa) but it also occurs where somatic signification is effected and negotiated through less formal mechanisms (Milles, 1995:75-76).

The word 'race' continues to be used in at least three different discourses in the English-speaking world. Within the world of science, it appears in the discourse of the biological sciences, specifically genetics, as in the social sciences. Additionally, it is widely used in everyday (including political) discourse and constitutes a key element of common sense (the accumulated, taken-for-granted, and often contradictory set of assumptions and beliefs that are employed by people to impose an ideological structure upon the social world, within which they can then act) (Milles, 1995). In fact, it is very common in the 'democratic South Africa' to hear black Africans define themselves, using the powerful discourse of the past, which defined them as being inferior. Black South Africans experience a great contradiction between on the one hand, trying to create a black consciousness movement and restore its past in order to give the group an identity and establish pride in the boundaries of the group and, on the other, the long domination that they have been subjected to by Europeans through colonisation and apartheid.

Another point to consider in this chapter is the migration of other Black African ethnic groups from other countries of Africa and from the other provinces of South Africa to the Durban Metropolitan area. This has resulted in many inter-ethnic conflicts, owing to linguistic, cultural and ethnic divisions that are rarely transcended. In modern South Africa all these barriers are strengthened by the concept of 'tribe', 'nation', or 'race'. However, it is common to find in the city of Durban, members of four or five different linguistic groups living in the same area, working or studying, and enjoying everyday life. According to Du Toit (1978) urban black Africans deal on a daily basis with persons who speak different languages, differ culturally, eat other food, dress differently, and are not Zulu. Work is an important site for the formation of inter-ethnic, race and cultural relationships. Today, more urban black Africans will marry with someone from a different ethnic group. Although a large percent of urban Africans retain an active recognition of 'the ancestors', for many more the ancestor belief exists side by side, or in fact may be integrated, with various Christian or neo-Christian church practices. This research attempts to analyse black Africans, who do not only belong to the Zulu ethnic group, but might also belong to another black African groups who live in the urban areas of Durban, and perhaps share part of the cultural practices of the Zulu people. If we add

to the Black African cultural practices the western modernisation and industrialisation of the Durban's city we have a very complex scenario.

The association of industrialisation with the urban sectors of the community, and with modernity and economic progress, resulted in Zulu cultural practices being associated with the rural areas, poverty and backwardness, creating a rural-urban or modern backward dichotomy, which added complexity to an already diverse setting (Dlamini, 2001:198).

4) Why Zulu-English speakers?

The researcher has decided to work with Zulu-English speakers because Zulu is the language most spoken as a mother tongue in South Africa and in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, and because English has acquired the status of a national language and it is essential for everyday life survival. It is also important to know how and to what degree urban black Africans have been influenced since 1980 in their cultural practices and the symbolic and material representation of daily life through the use of at least two languages in what is a multicultural city, where the trends of globalisation and intercultural relationships are the common denominator. The 1991 census data provide the following statistics for the languages spoken as a mother tongue in KwaZulu-Natal province: Zulu 80%, English 16%, Afrikaans 2%, Xhosa 1%, and other 1%. It is clear that the majority language, in terms of first-language speaker numbers, is Zulu.

Statistically, it is the only language in all the districts of the former KZN homeland and in areas such as Ngotsha, Bergville, Weenen and Babanango. English-speakers are in the majority only in certain districts in the Newcastle and the Durban-Pietermaritzburg areas. English tends to dominate in the metropolitan areas. It is spoken by more than half of the population in Durban, Pinetown, Port Shepstone, Inanda, Pietermaritzburg and Umzinto (Maartens, 1998:24).

In the following census of 1996, the total population of South Africa was 40 583 573, of which 20.7% of the population lived in KwaZulu-Natal, meaning 8 417 021 people. There are in this province in urban areas 3 628 268 people (43.1%) and in the

non-urban 4 788 753 people (56.9%). From the total population, 81.7% (6 880 652) are Black African, and 79.8% of the population, 6 658 442 people, speak Zulu as a home language.

Thus, approximately 80% of the total population of KZN speak Zulu as a first language, 16% of these are first language speakers while less than 5% are first language speakers of other languages (Census, 1996). English was the ‘high’ variety used in most prestigious public domains and Zulu the ‘low’ variety used in less-prestigious local community and domestic domains. The population of KZN has grown since 1996 to 2001 from 8 417 021 to 9 426 017 people. In 1996 it represent 20.73% of the total South African population and in 2001 it represent 21.0% of the total population, which grew from 40 583 573 to 44.819 778 people. In this province 85% of the population are black Africans, around 8 002 407 people. Those who speak Zulu as a home language in KZN amount to 7 624 284 people (80.9%), and in South Africa they represent 30.1% of the total population, making Zulu the most spoken home language within the entire country. But, if Zulu is the most spoken home language in the province, why do urban black Africans speak English in their everyday life? Some research has measured the status and value of the Zulu and English language (Schuring, 1995; Chick, 1998, Zungu, 1998; Maartens, 1998). According to these scholars, Zulu has a relatively low status despite having the largest number of first language speakers (8.5 million) of all languages in South Africa as a whole and the greatest number of second language speakers of all indigenous languages. According to Schuring (1995) at least 35% of the total population of South Africa can speak Zulu, and even a higher percentage can understand it. *“Moreover, it is also an important lingua franca/medium of intercultural communication amongst the educated elite in KZN as elsewhere in South Africa”* (Chick, 1998:92).

In a questionnaire devised by K. Chick in 1996 and administrated to 636 black African students in KwaZulu-Natal, a question was asked about the symbolic value of the English language. The responses of the interviewees to this question showed that English has very positive symbolic value for them. 57.9% indicated that English is the language of international contact and 29.8% said that it is the language of national unity. Only

3.3% of the total responses were negative ones; very few indicated that English is the language of corruption, oppression or division. English is also the medium of national and (in the case of KZN) provincial political debate. It is significant that political leaders, whatever the first language of most of their supporters, use principally English in their political addresses, particularly when these are broadcast through the national media. In other words, what cannot be disputed is the strongly dominant role that English plays in present-day South Africa, despite the fact that in terms of mother tongue speakers it is very much a minority language. In government, in the media and in education, English is by far the most influential medium of communication in the country at present and in KwaZulu-Natal as a result.

South African research into language as from 1979, when black Africans were allowed to choose the language of learning and instruction after the fourth year of schooling, has indicated that the overwhelming choice of language was for English. English is particularly dominant in the tertiary education sector in KZN, English being the language of learning and instruction in all three universities. These studies also show us that although English is the dominant language of learning and instruction in the education domain, Zulu does not, as survey findings suggest, disappear after the fourth year of schooling.

They show that code-switching (the use of more than one language variety within the same conversation) and code-mixing (the use of morphemes from more than one language within the same word), though often stigmatised, are ubiquitous and this diversity is functional as the mixing and switching serve as a valuable communicative resource (Chick, 1998:95).

Zulu is almost non-existent in the domains of economy and trade and people who are not proficient in English have difficulty in securing access to educational and economic opportunities and social services in KZN. As a prominent commentator has observed: *“The prevailing attitude is reflected by the response of a retailer who, when it was suggested that her products would reach a wider market if the information leaflets were*

translated into Zulu, remarked that it was not her problem if Zulu's did not want to learn English" (Zungu, 1998:39).

Therefore, Zulu has failed to develop in step with the needs of its speakers, particularly those who live in urban areas. Many varieties of Zulu have developed that are not reflected in the rather archaic standard spoken and written form of the language. In townships, the young people speak standard Zulu depending very much on who the addressee is and on the situation. Youngsters speak standard or traditional Zulu with elderly and respected people and with people coming from rural areas. However, a township male youth normally speaks *isilovas* (a Zulu term alluding to 'tsotsi-taal'¹ in KZN) with his peers especially when they are in a relaxed atmosphere. It is not surprising that although Zulu now has the same official status as Afrikaans or English in terms of the constitution, it is not functioning effectively as an official language like the other indigenous official languages. Currently, in everyday life an urban Zulu try to speak English because it is used as a status symbol, it is the language of the successful, it is used to attain social and economic recognition; and finally, because it is often the unique way to express the meaning of a concept for which there is no existing reciprocal Zulu term. The majority of black Africans who live in urban areas feel that to speak only Zulu is a serious disadvantage, but for economic reasons – they do not want to be unemployed – not because they do not like their mother tongue. Nowadays, it is easier to get a job if one has a good command of English. The everyday growing necessity to speak the English language increases the risk of people losing their mother tongue. Thus, it could happen that one day Zulu will be incapable of fully appreciating their own history, culture, literature and environment.

5) Whats about gender and age?

Gender refers to the roles and practices attributed to men and women through socialisation, and the relationship that exist between them. In this case, for example, the

¹ Tsotsi-taal is a slang used by the most marginalised – the criminal and the artists – developed in response to the innate hunger that all people have to express themselves, and to do so in the language that most reflected themselves and their environment.

role attributed to the Zulu male and female is based on the myth of the 'warrior' or the 'mother of the nation' respectively. The ideologies of femininity and masculinity are represented as a collection of essentially different qualities inherent in women and men, from which conclusions are then drawn about their respective, differential participation in economic and political relations. "*Gender is therefore a social construction by which men and women are represented as naturally different categories of person*" (Milles, 1995:88). The concepts of black masculinity and black femininity in KwaZulu-Natal are historically differentiated, on the one hand through the role's assignment, obligation, and right of being part of an ethnic group, and on the other by the different impositions, geographical segregation, social exclusion and political and economic exploitation as a consequence of the colonisation and the unfair policies of the apartheid power.

The narratives about black masculine status said that it could be achieved through the loyalty to cultural traditions. Being an ideal man meant deriving one's masculinity from the dictates of ethnic heritage.

The conditions of exploitation, poverty, and humiliation that African men were subjected to daily in the era of apartheid were conceptualised in Buthelezi's² speeches as representing a loss of a particular kind of past. The golden age that was described was an era during which Zulu men could claim a privileged position in relation to other men, as well as enjoy the patriarchal hierarchies that placed them as heads of their households (Waetjen and Maré, 2003:201).

² Chief **Mangosuthu ("Gatsha") Buthelezi** is a South African Zulu leader, and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which he formed in 1975. He was born on August 27, 1928, in Mahlabathini, KwaZulu-Natal. He inherited the chieftainship of the large Buthelezi tribe in 1953 - a position he still holds today. He was viewed by many as a collaborator with the Apartheid regime as he tried to work with it through the IFP. He was leader of the now defunct semi-independent Bantustan of KwaZulu. While he was the leader of the KwaZulu territorial Authority in 1982, Buthelezi opposed the apartheid government's plan to cede the Ingwavuma region in northern Natal to the Swaziland government. The courts decided in his favour on the grounds that the government had not followed its own black constitution act of 1972 which required consultation with the people of the region. Jealous of the role given to the African National Congress in negotiations about post-Apartheid South Africa's constitutional structure, Buthelezi at first refused to participate in the first democratic South African elections in 1994. However the violence caused by this decision turned opinion inside the IFP around and they registered to participate in the election at the last minute. In May, 1994 Buthelezi was appointed Minister of Home Affairs in the first post-Apartheid government, a position he continued to hold following the 1999 elections. He was appointed acting president a number of times during this period. Buthelezi fell out with the ANC prior to the 2004 elections, and lost his position as Minister of Home Affairs.

The model of Zulu manhood was related to famous chiefs, heroes, kings and so on. Shaka, the first king of the Zulu state, was the most appropriate model, whose special qualities demonstrated the ideal Zulu masculinity. Shaka was the greatest military leader, and his intelligence and capabilities were to be claimed an ethnic characteristic. Actually, the image of the proud Zulu warrior was and is important as a trope, which can appeal to men searching for dignity within the context of their continual subjugation. Zulu valour and dignity was and is linked to hard work and the earning of wages. This, of course, has important contradictions; on the one hand this idea of masculinity is perfectly used by the capitalist system to exploit and take advantage of millions of black African people; and on the other it brings lots of frustration and class differentiation through the system of wage earning and job opportunities within the black African men.

In the case of femininity, black women even more oppressed in South Africa, as blacks, as workers and as women. Colonisation, capitalism and apartheid are some of the circumstances that make such oppression possible. The interaction between race, class and gender implied different dimensions of oppression, but are constitutive of a single identity. For instance, in the Durban's townships, many families continue according to the old-fashioned, patriarchal ideology, which views the father as head of the family, responsible for meeting all the family's needs, with women playing an important but subordinate role. *"Township family ideology still holds fast the notion that men should take the lead in family affairs on two fronts – firstly they should play the major role in the economic support of their families, and secondly they should take the lead in family decision-making"* (Campbell, 1989:16).

However, today many families do not have male heads; and a range of structural factors prevent existing male heads from carrying out what they would see as their traditionally defined roles. Thus, structural conditions often make it impossible for family relations to conform to the ideologically defined roles of dominant breadwinner father, housewife mother and so on (e.g. often the women supports entire families due to structural crises, death of the breadwinner or many other different reasons such as

migrant labour system). Therefore, the respect and authority a woman is accorded comes to her by virtue of her role as a wife and mother – and falls strictly within the sphere of the household. Men speak admiringly of the role that their mothers play in their lives, but the praises of their mothers fall strictly within the boundaries of traditionally defined ‘women’s’ roles. Women have power within the domestic sphere but there is little respect for women’s powers outside of this sphere. It is the right and role of men to provide economically for the wife and family. Given the job situation in South Africa, not always men could earn enough money to maintain the family. Also, education and educational status is an important factor in the search for job opportunities. Women with a higher education could have more possibilities of a high-paying job than those older or more traditional men, who uphold Zulu pride and the Zulu nation. This situation has created conflicts and a very complex panorama around gender issues within Zulu society.

In the research conducted by Du Toit (1978) who analysed the social distance between men and women of KwaZulu-Natal, many of the males in his sample were either polygamists or openly kept girlfriends. This again is in keeping with the traditional expectations for a man, particularly a man of achievement.

As Du Toit (1978:164) put it: *“The Zulu Don Juan was not left behind in the rural area; he now finds expression through new avenues. Rather than the great warrior, the agile dancer, or the accurate hunter, he now frequently is in the high income bracket, dresses well, and knows his way about the city, geographically and administratively”*.

On the whole, social distance has diminished as people rose in the educational and income hierarchy. They also discovered that the middle-age group responded most favourably to inter-ethnic contact. Women in the better-educated and higher income category responded less negatively than their male counterparts to contact with other ethnic groups. This example can be used to explain the current lifestyle of the urban African, which is quite different from the traditional cultural practices of the Zulu. While the conservative persons are still present and while there are particular groups who are

more likely to act in a conservative or traditional fashion, education, income, and job opportunities are producing a more urban African – who speaks Zulu.

Age is a strong determinant in the link between gender and tradition. Different cultural practices and social roles define each age generation. For instance, specific meanings are assigned to items of clothing and adornment in men and women according with their age. Married and older women use different clothing than younger ones (e.g. cover head). The respect to older people is one of the most important cultural indicators, which is achieved through the loyalty to the codes and principles of the Zulu tradition. Gender (masculinity versus femininity) and age (18-29, 30-39, 40-49); traditional cultural practices versus new cultural practices; belief in ancestors versus western religion, Zulu language versus English language; illiteracy versus communication and education; rural versus urban, migrant versus resident; black versus white; local versus global; national production versus global production; material consumption versus symbolic consumption - these are some of the dimensions that result in a complex cultural process of change for the black African within the Durban Metropolitan area. Black Africans are influenced daily by all these variables, and their cultural beliefs have been transformed symbolically according to their own practical experiences.

6) How do urban black Africans live in the Durban Metropolitan area?

Durban in 1996 was a city of about two and a half million people. Their homes, their neighbourhoods and their life circumstances all differ. The four race groups in the city have been affected in very different ways by the colonisation and the apartheid system. The total number of black Africans living in Durban were 1 523 000 people, or 61% of the total population. Of the total population, 58% were born in the DMA. The other 42% were born outside Durban and moved to the area, (2% correspond to coloured, 11% Indians, 18% whites and 69% black). This 69% of African people who have moved into the Metro area amounts to approximately 700 000 people. Beyond the fact that black Africans are the largest population group, they were the most affected by the inequality, poverty and misery brought about by apartheid one of the main reasons for high

dissatisfaction amongst this population group is the dwelling in where they live, and the lack of basic services such as electricity, piped water and refuse removal. It is clearly linked to the apartheid system that discriminated in the way that housing and services were supplied to the different race groups. As you can see, the largest race group in the city is also the least satisfied.

In terms of different income levels per household in Durban according to the different race groups, in general the lowest levels correspond to the black population group.

To work this out, all the incomes of the people in each household have been added together. 7% of households have no income, 49% of households have income of less than R1500 per month, 15% of households have incomes of between R1500 and R2499 per month, 10% of households have incomes of between R2500 and R3499 per month, and 19% of households have an income of over R3500 per month (Urban Strategy, 2003: 46)

In addition, and according to Urban Strategy (2000), electricity is not equally available to all groups in the Durban area. For example 100% of the white population has electricity, while 76% of African households and 50% of informal households have electricity. With respect to water, 99% of white households have access of piped water, while 54% black households and 11% of informal households have access to piped water in Durban homes. People who do not have water inside their homes have to get it from tanks beside a house or from a street tap, a borehole, a dam or river, making their life very difficult and increasing the risk of serious and potentially life-threatening diseases.

Of course, the lack of water and electricity also bring, some other problems to Durban's population with respect to the refuse and sanitation, the 97% of the white households have their refuse removed, but the African households and the informal households have only a 78% and 61% rate of removal, respectively. However, on average, seven out of ten residents have access to some type of sanitation. It is in the

informal areas³ where this drops to as low as 15%, while in the African households the percentage reaches a high of 54%, and in the white households it reaches 99%.

The geographical location of where the majority of urban blacks African were forced to live made difficult the rapid access from their houses to the city. Transport is very important for the majority of people, because it is the link with their places of work, and with commercial and recreation areas. Of the total population, “about three-quarters (77%) of Durban’s people use public transport and about one quarter (23%) use private transport. Minibus taxis are used by 49% of the people, bus 44% and train 7%” (Urban Strategy, 2000). Considering that the black Africans are the people that use public transport more, it is essential for them to get the service when is required. But unfortunately, only 70% are satisfied with taxi service, 69% with bus service and 43% with train service. Some of the reason for their dissatisfaction is the frequency of the service, and the lack of reliability because of the big percentage of accidents and deaths in minibuses (Urban Strategy, 2000).

When interviewed regarding the kinds of leisure activities that they engaged in, Durban residents responded in the following way: 79% of those who interviewed indicated that they engaged in what is termed ‘passive leisure’, including activities such as watching TV, reading magazines and newspapers, and listening to the radio and to music. The survey also indicated that 29% of those interviewed engaged in what is termed ‘home leisure’, which includes cooking, gardening, cleaning and baking and a slightly lower figure of 28% indicated that they were involved in active and passive sport, which includes fishing, hiking, enjoying the beach, playing football, and so on. Quite lower percentages were recorded for social leisure (13%) which includes visiting friends and relatives, and spends time with the family and entertainment (11%) which includes going to movies or nightclubs, eating out, etc (Urban Strategy, 2000:43-44). According to the census 1996, only 26.9% of the dwelling of KZN (447 048) has telephone facilities or

³ “An informal urban area is found within a proclaimed urban area (city/town) but consists mainly of informal dwellings. These are the so-called squatter areas.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

cellular phones. Unfortunately, the census did not desegregate information within the province by race. Therefore, one can only assume that the majority of black Africans do not have telephone facilities, one of the most important mediums of communication across distances.

From other reports of Urban Strategy (Jan. 2003) - that shows us the trends in the quality of life of Durban's People between 1998-2002 - the latest estimates indicate that actually nearly three million people live in the eThekwi Municipality. The racial composition of the municipality is 63% black, 22% Asian, 11% white, 3% coloured and 1% unknown. The four race groups have in the past had very different levels of participation in the economy. The work-force comprises 44% of the population, students, scholars and children 45%, pensioners 7% and housewives 4%. Of the total number of people in the workforce only 53% were employed in 2002. Most of the unemployed workers were African 54%, Asian 35%, Coloured 32%, and Whites 12%. Several strategies are used for the unemployed Black African population to contribute within the household, namely: growing their own food, selling goods or services and collecting scrap metal and paper.

The municipal boundary was expanded during the Local Government Elections of 2000 and this meant that many more traditional households became part of the municipality. The traditional households increased from 1% to 7% of the city's total housing mix. Most people lived in formal housing (57%), while 22% lived in informal housing and 14% lived in flats. The majority of black Africans are living in townships and informal settlements, and they express a high level of dissatisfaction with their dwellings (63%), while the people living in traditional dwellings are more satisfied (57%), because at least they feel that culturally they are closer to their ancestors and heritage. Some residents have moved from one part of the municipality to another. The areas with the greatest population increase are the townships. More people have left the peri-urban rural areas resulting in a decline in the rural population. Some of this movement had resulted in the racial integration of a few suburbs that were zoned White residential areas during the apartheid era. The level of employment is greater in these

rainbow suburbs than the municipal average. African women residents in rainbow suburbs had much higher than average employment rates than black African women elsewhere in the municipality.

With respect to transport, most at the present inhabitants use the mini-bus taxi to get to work (38%). The car is the second most used (24%) and then the bus (16%). Africans use the mini-bus taxi more than any other type of transport for both work and study (47%), and 68% of African walks to school or study. Black Africans spend the longest time commuting, with 43% of Africans travelling longer than 30 minutes. In fact, this shows that black Africans still live further from the city than the other population groups, one of many legacies of apartheid. Of the 100% of Durban's residents, 24% said that they do not have any spare time. The most important leisure time is passive leisure with 36%; home activities with 30%; active and passive sport with 14%; social 12% and entertainment 7%. The organisations, clubs and societies with the highest membership were: religious 41%, burial society 19%, book club 14%, sports clubs 12% and savings clubs 11%. The most important concerns of Durban's residents were unemployment, crime, poverty, HIV/AIDS, the cost of living and rape. These problems persist until today, and some of the cases such as HIV are occurring without precedents within the black African population which, translates into a higher rate of mortality, poverty and hopelessness.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the choice of this analysis unit took place in the context of the Municipality's population and other dynamics. The complexity of KwaZulu-Natal's history has made this a unique and interesting cultural environment, where one finds intercultural and ethnic relationships linking with global financial, economic and cultural trends, and advances in communication, production, and consumption of the people in this society. Colonisation and apartheid were two of the most important events in South African history, which impacted to a high degree - positively or negatively - on the everyday life of the entire population. The inter-ethnic and inter-racial population groups

of Durban Metropolitan were subject to different policies during these long processes until the beginning of the post-apartheid period, marked by the arrival of democracy. Since the 1980s a time of change was and is being established by the increased mobilisation, consciousness and struggle of the oppressed population groups, especially by the black Africans.

Black Africans in DMA are identified with the Zulu ethnic group, who are the majority in the province. This ethnic group had and still has their own cultural symbols and practices that during the last century were also influenced by foreign cultures. The European cultures, symbols and practices have created new significations, style of life and domination through new concepts, related to ethnicity, racialism, removal and geographical segregation. Today, it is slowly changing, and black Africans are again moving to the urban areas closer to the city of Durban.

Durban is a multi-cultural city, where a confluence of people meet, resulting in inter-cultural relationships, and the clash of different languages, lifestyles, religions and habits. If we add to this the influences of globalisation, we have a very complex society comprised of inter-cultural relationships and the creation of new necessities and desires. The ideas of returning to a glorious past are anachronistic. It is necessary go beyond trying to understand how historical and contemporary processes have resulted in the symbolic and material transformation of the everyday life of the black African group. Symbols such as language, gender differences and age generations are essential tools when we attempt to give an insight into the changing clothing practices, as symptomatic of transformation and re-elaboration of the Western Culture within the daily practices of black African Zulu-English speakers. Today Zulu speakers are obligated to speak English in order to have the possibility of working, studying, recreation, and access to the modern and urban world, in the participation of the production and consumption of global goods. In addition, to learn the English language allows Zulu speakers the acquisition of global knowledge, reduce the social, spatial and geographical distances of the world. Although Zulu is the most spoken mother tongue language in South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal and

Durban, English is a international language that allows participation beyond local and national boundaries.

Finally, gender and age are important when defining the changing construction of habits and taste in the every life, in particular the changing clothing practices, – with the linking of western fashion clothing and traditional cultural dress. The differences between male and female and the generations, correspond firstly with cultural habits, role assignation, and the history of the Zulu people; and secondly, to the particular history of colonialism and apartheid policies. In sum, the analysis unit refers to black Africans Zulu-English speakers who live in the urban areas of the Durban Metropolitan areas; of both genders; between 18 to 49 years old. The analysis unit will be used in the following chapters to explain and give answers to the assumptions and hypotheses of this study.

RETHINKING MARXISTS CONCEPTS

INTRODUCTION

To previous chapters have indicated already how trends of cultural globalisation have affected the world. In particular, the socio-political, economic and cultural history of multi-cultural South Africa's Durban Metropolitan area has been shown to influence transformation of such perceptions and vision in relation to these global trends. After defining the analysis unit, it is clear that the central focus of this study is the analysis of the social practices and social transformations of Zulu-English speakers through their material and symbolic consumption of goods in everyday life. However, this is a very complex theme, because the localised society is modified through the global trend not only through the production of goods, but also through continuous consumption, mediations, and the creation of 'necessities'. Therefore, in order to explain the material and symbolic consumption of a specific group within this complex society, it is essential to develop some analysis of concepts such as ideology, class and culture. It is through the concepts of ideology and culture; and its different social powers – dominant and dominated; that one can start to explain the classification of classes and their differential economic, political and social power.

IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

Following the theoretical approach of Marx one can discover that there is a Marxist theory of culture, but it was not created by Marx himself. Hence it is not Marx's theory on culture, as Marx never developed a theory of culture. He developed a critique of ideology, social class differentiation, etc. (i.e. a socio-economic and political theory) but he did not make the connection with culture, which has been the task of contemporary deconstructions of knowledge. One of the "radical" Italian Marxists, A. Gramsci is considered one of the fathers of studies on culture, (he was the first Marxist to work through the cultural question with some autonomy, without reducing it to economy or politics) He analysed the concept of culture in relation to the concept of ideology. Ideology is essential to distinguish between reality and representation, between social

structure and the procedures of uncovering or denaturalising this structure. It was Gramsci who initiated within Marxism a renewed perspective to include – as part of the ideological – the institutions, and material organisation that make possible the production and circulation of ideology: the schools, the media, etc. (Gramsci, 1985).

NEW CONTRIBUTIONS

In studies of Cultural Sociology (Bourdieu, 1994; Williams, 1989), and in works by anthropologists (Cirese and Lombard Sartriani, 1979), the concept of ideology and its interaction with classes and social group has been examined. According to Cirese (1979) neither the culture of the hegemonic sectors nor of the subaltern sectors can define themselves by intrinsic properties, for a series of characteristics that would belong to that culture (for example, traditions in the popular ideology), but only through opposition to the culture of the social classes by which it is confronted. In addition in his *The Cheese and the Worms* Ginsburg (1992) says that culture is built through a circular relationship between the hegemonic and subaltern classes. Along these lines, it is further claimed that the ideological phenomenon is not derived only from the classes; but also as a result of other modes of social differentiation; such as ethnic groups, fractions within classes, professional groups, etc. Cultural differences between such groups are constituted not only in the process of production but also in the process of consumption.

Godelier in his book *The Mental and the Material* (1988) says that every practice is simultaneously economic and symbolic; at the same time that we actuate through it, we represent ourselves by attributing to it a meaning. For example, a socio-economic use value: they also signify our belonging to a social class according to the material and design of the clothes, what brand we wear, etc. The characteristics of clothes communicate something of our social interaction, or the place to which we aspire to belong, what we want to say to the outside world when we wear them. According to Godelier (1988) abstract thoughts and materialism are not simple reflexes of the productive forces; these are from the beginning an inner condition of the appearance of the materialisation of these products. Clothing, a computer, a car, etc – signify materials actions that originated important changes in the productive forces and in the productive

relationship – that clothes, cars, computers, before to take material form, have been conceived by professionals. In other words, it is not that these have been intellectual constructions, that the creation of products in the mind generates the material base, because at the same time, it is necessary to have an initial material base, of the social forces, to stimulate further ideals about future commodities. This ideal part, present in all material development, is not originated in the conscience; it exists at the same time in the social relationships that also are relations of signification.

To place the concept of ideology in the theories of social reproduction and hegemony is reducing it to the simplified concept that has occupied a frontal position with the social sciences. The ideology – understood more as culture, not as mere distortion of the real – is seen today as an indispensable component to the material and symbolic reproduction of societies, necessary, as it is to build consensus and social cohesion. It is thus important to clarify the difference between ideology and culture. Perhaps the first thing that it is necessary to say is that any of the distinctions that are made are conventions, relatively arbitrary, with the result that no one can pretend an epistemological justification. We recognise that the theory of culture is similar in part with the theory of ideology, because the first, which is developed mainly outside of Marxism, relies on the second to link cultural processes with the social conditions of production. However, not all cultural phenomena are ideological, if we understand that ideology is characterised by the distortion of the real in serving class interests.

One can conserve the term 'culture' and replace it with ideology precisely to explain the events in another sense. All significant production is susceptible to being explained in relation to their social determinants. This explanation does not exhaust the phenomenon. Culture not only represents society; it not only refers to production. It not only has the function of re-elaborating the social structures and imagining new ones. As well as representing the relations of production, it contributes to the reproduction and transformation of it, and the invention of others (García Canclini, 2001). Culture is not reducible to ideology.

THE MATERIAL AND THE CULTURAL

The Marxist theoretical approach of ideology and culture has been briefly spelt out. It leads to the affirmation of the link between the economic and the symbolic, the material and the cultural. However the relationship between ideology and culture lead to two problems. The first one is how to effectuate the measurement between structure and super-structure. In other words, how the economic determinations are affected in the symbolic field. The second question is the relation between individual and society, and how the social structures are interiorised in the individual and collective agents. To approach these questions, a turn to Pierre Bourdieu is inevitable. In *Distinction* (1994), he studies the symbolic differentiation between social classes through mainly areas of aesthetic selection. In all these areas of everyday life (taste and habitus on food, clothes, furniture, house style, holidays, leisure activities, etc.) it is essential to see how material and symbolic consumption function in differentiation and distinction between classes. Bourdieu has developed firstly, a theory of cultural fields or symbolic fields, as the places where the mediation between structure and super-structure is carried out. Secondly, he has developed a theory of what he has called 'habitus' that attempts to answer the question of how social structures are interiorised in the people. Finally, he provides a theory of symbolic power.

THEORY OF FIELDS

Essentially, Bourdieu believed in the interconnectedness of the material and the cultural. His theory of society is not organised on the basis of the classical division between structure and super-structure. The structure and super-structure, the economic and the symbolic should be studied in connection between one another. He orders society through the schemata of the 'theory of the fields'. Why is the concept of a field useful as an alternative to the division between structure and super-structure? One can start formulating the problem of the relationship between structure and super-structure in a classical mode.

In his early work *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu (1988) explains that in terms of the sociology of the intellectual creation, it is necessary to locate the artist and his art in the system of relationships between the social agents linked to the production and communication of his work. This system of relations includes, in the case of the artist, the producer, the artist, the editors, the merchants, the critics, the public, etc. From the relationships between all of them emerge the determinations that will configure one mode or other to communicate the literature, the art, the fashion, etc. These agents organise and constitute a cultural field. In fact, if one wanted to draw a picture of the social system, one should draw a big circle. The problem is how to link that macro-social determination, that big circle, with a very small point – the micro-social determinations – that is the artistic work, the literary work, and the fashion work. What Bourdieu is telling us is that between that big circle and these particular works it is necessary to make an intermediate circle that will be around to each one of these works. This intermediate territory is what it is called an artistic field, a literary field, a fashion field or a scientific field. That field – constituted for the social agents, which are part of this space and that influenced the kind of productions that are made, circulated, and consumed in the society – has its own laws, necessary for participation in the totality of the social structure but, at the same time, necessary for its specific operation.

What legitimates, justifies, and gives autonomy to each one of these fields in the analysis? Firstly, the history of these fields lies in modernity, in the capitalist development, the capitalist mode of production (Bourdieu, 1994). The onset of modernity brought about a new criterion of proving scientific knowledge. That validation of knowledge is not derived from an agreement with a true prescript authority, but from an agreement with the actions of empirical verification. In essence, each field is independent of this patron of authority and goes on to create its own version of the truth in an autonomous form. Therefore, of significance are the particular instances of legitimisation and consecration within each field. Given that in modern societies social life is reproduced in a number of differentiated fields – an economic field different from the political, scientific and artistic – the sociological analysis should study the internal dynamic of each field. Instead of deducing from the general character of the class

struggle or the social structure, the particular sense of the political, scientific or artistic confrontation will inquire how those that intervene in this field are struggling for the appropriation of cultural or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1994).

How is a field constituted? In his book *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1994) says that it is constituted by two elements: the existence of common symbolic capital and the struggle for the appropriation of this capital. The metaphorical transposition of the concept of capital from the economy to the cultural field, then to the field of the symbolic, can be seen as a reformulation of the cultural patrimony concept. It means that each field – the scientific, the artistic, the fashion, etc – accumulates through its history a capital of knowledge, abilities and beliefs. This capital can be viewed from two positions: those who have this capital and those who aspire to have it. A field exists in so much as one does not achieve understanding of a work without knowing the history of the field in which this work was produced. For example, it would be difficult to understand Zulu traditional dresses and accessories without knowledge of Zulu customs, beliefs and culture; to understand the pictures of Van Gogh without knowing anything about impressionism; to understand the Tango without knowing the historical context in which this musical-style appears in Buenos Aires; or to understand the book *The Miserables* by Victor Hugo without knowing the history of France and the context in which the novel was written. In other words, in order to understand science, literature, fashion, and the arts we need to know the history of that particular field.

Of course, this is related to the development of the global society. One can do a comparison between the dirty desperate face of a poorly dressed urban child of a 'favela' in Rio de Janeiro and the picture by an urban artist showing poverty, misery dirtiness through the urban scraps and the child wearing pieces of material found on the rubbish. However, one cannot understand it in a mechanistic way because the collage exists since long time ago. It has a correlation with the formal break within the history of representation in art, fashion and the consequences of urbanity. If one does not understand this internal logic of the tendencies of struggle with others inside a field through, one is not to notice what is happening when an artist use scraps of the industrial

society to represent a kind of latter and differed consumption that have these marginal or popular sectors with the industrial society.

Something similar occurred in the 1970s and 1980s in Argentina with 'national rock'. National rock is linked to the Argentinean history, during some of its cruellest periods, where the military government was in power. On the one hand, this music was used as an instrument of struggle by the population in protest against the unfair policies of the government, and also against the elitism of art, fashion, etc. On the other, some other sectors have seen art, music, literature, and fashion as a place of spiritual consecration, the liberation of the reality of the most immediate material and mercantile component. Some musicians have attempted to talk in their own language, breaking with the idea that the aesthetic of the 'beautiful is only the aesthetic of the elitist arts'. Of course, when these tendencies appeared, people said: 'this is not art'. How can something so noble as art (for instance classic music, fashion art, etc.) referred to the highest value of the spirit, be compared with rock and pop, or the scraps of the industrial society? How can the images from the media appear in art? These artists struggled to reorganise the cultural capital of art and fashion to link these with other forms, and allow them to represent other sectors of the society. Therefore, to understand the logic of the fashion field is necessary to establish the relationship between the developments of fashion with social history external to the fashion field, but also to understand the internal logic that works in an autonomous way within each field. In fact, a designer that would like to enter the market does not have to take into account only what it is necessary to represent in the society, but which are the aesthetic patrons, of those who give value, that works within the shows, and the fashion world.

For instance, if someone is working in the scientific field, he or she takes into consideration, which are the themes that give prestige or that can currently 'sell', in the field of social research. What are the subjects that within the university's subjects are more fashionable or attract people; what is being published in magazines; what is more likely to sell, not in the sense of the capitalist logic of society but according with its own logic of intellectual prestige. Bourdieu (1994:227) says that "*those who participate in*

each field - such as those who are in the dominant position as well as those who are in the subaltern position - struggle for the appropriation of the capital, and they have a set of common interests; a common language – the language of science, of arts, of fashion, etc – which gives them a subjective complicity that is beyond all of the antagonisms”.

Bourdieu (1994) has made some interesting extensions to this concept of the “field”. He has not only carried out particular research in the artistic and scientific fields, but he has also researched other fields that one would assume are more conditioned for the social history external to those fields. For example, in the fashion field, how does the field of ‘high sewing’ work in France? Bourdieu (1994) has undertaken empirical research on this field, among many others. The fashion field is dominated by those who have the power of constituting the value of clothing accessory objects for their *rareté* or for their shortage. The way in which those who dominate the fashion field establish the value of these objects through, for example, the creation of ‘brand names’. This is the way that Bourdieu is explored the changes of fashion and their contribution to the distinctions made through signification (Bourdieu, 1994).

The explanation has two dimensions. On the one hand, fashion is understood through the global structure of society. It was this that Bourdieu (1994:67) called “the dialectic between spreading and distinction”. The necessity for the constant expansion of capital forces to reach in each times the maximum number of consumers and to sell more. Thus, it is necessary to extend the fashion market to new social sectors, to achieve a ‘democratisation’ of fashion. The entire population has to use jeans, for example, but at the same time, when it is homogenised through expansion into the market, the use of certain clothing as elements of social distinction, as sign of prestige is annulled. Then, it becomes necessary for fashion creators and marketers to create small signs of distinction that change according to the season, or from time to time. The material of the jeans can be light or heavy, the patterns different, with low or high waist, elastic material or not, tight fitting or loose fitting, etc. Also, we can all wear jeans, but one thing is to buy jeans from an upmarket chainstore like Truworths and like other to buy jeans from the more affordable Mr. Price. Not only the prices are different, but also brands, quality, patterns,

material, and so on. It is telling that the place where people buy clothing – through choice or lack of an option - is related to the place they occupy in the social space and the different access they have to achieve social distinction and diversity within this capitalist dominated world.

This dialectic between spreading and distinction, that makes it possible to recuperate the elitist use of the same objects through small signs, small symbolic elements, is what organises the consumption in society and the differentiation between classes. This can be observed in the different sub-fields within the cultural field. Therefore, brands and other signs exist to establish social differentiation and social distinction between social classes. But also, said Bourdieu (1994), it has to do with the internal structure of the field, and the struggle between the designers. For instance and according to García Canclini (1997: 36, *own translation from the Spanish text*),

Dior and Balmain have influenced across several decades the lifestyles of the highest classes, which have been able to maintain the social distinction. Their changes were not produced as functional adaptations destined to better equip the objects to their use, but for alterations in the social and symbolic character of the objects to maintaining the monopoly of the last legitimate difference and criteria of distinction.

Thus, the central idea is that in each field of social life there are social struggles for distinction. It is necessary, on the one hand, to analyse the struggle between dominants and aspirants in each field, and the character of that internal struggle. On the other, to better situate these fields within the social history.

Courreges – a very well known designer – has been seeking for legitimacy within the fashion field but also, when he uses the expressions such as “the practical and active life of the actual women”, “the necessity of showing the body” he is suggested a series of relationships between fashion and society, between fashion and work that are determined beyond of the internal structure of the field (García Canclini, 1997: 37, *own translation from the Spanish text*).

In South Africa the struggle for the appropriation of the retail clothing space can be observed between student designers and Durban's established fashion designers at the department of fashion at the Technikon and the biggest chain stores – such as Woolworths, Truworths, Edgar, and so on – in Durban. How would they have first found a way to be part of the fashion field and to be competitive within it? They used different strategies. Firstly, they may have used the complex history of Africa and South Africa to convert clothing into a form of art transmitting a cultural ethnic message; Secondly, in trying to separate mass industrial production from their own more exclusive production, they may have some distinct patterns or elements into the final product. And finally, by creating and inventing new forms, new styles, and by mixing western and indigenous ideas.

In October 2002, the researcher had the opportunity to watch 20 fashions show videos. The head of the department of fashion design at the Technikon kindly lent me these documentaries related to the history of fashion in Durban since 1980. There are some issues that were drawn to my attention after watching them. In the early 80s in Durban, and according with the history of discrimination and social exclusion, the fashion showed denoted that 100% of the models and designers were white as was the public. There was a mixing between European modern clothing, music and also fashion style from the north of Africa and an Arab/Muslim trend.

From the middle and late 80's, there was a mixing between western fashion, especially Cowboys and imitations of Apache Indians, with leather material and mainly Arab music. The access to the rest of the world through globalisation, plus the struggle history pre- and post apartheid are also reflected in the fashion shows and in the public towards whom they were directed. More of the designers, models and public in general were black Africans and the media and producers were looking not only to the white population as possible consumers of commodities. More trends of the western capitalist fashion were denoted in the shows, but at the same time the African renaissance and rainbow nation discourses were reflected by the local and national designers within the styles of the clothing.

The nature of the struggle within the fashion field in Durban is quite complex. Local and national designers attempt to gain, on the one hand, support from public who were and are in part captured by the international designers, and on the other, a public who are still conservative in the way in which they dress in their everyday life. In this sense, they were trying to use the particular history of South Africa, and the linking of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural customs and habits to accommodate the taste and necessities of these diverse populations. They have found a form that makes them competitive within the field. The struggle between those who have the capital and power and those who aspire to have it within the fashion field determines the tendencies and the symbolic consumption of such production. They suggested a series of relationships between fashion and society, fashion and work, fashion and the 'educated and civilised people' beyond of the internal structure of the field and the character of such social distinctions.

The location of each field in the totality of the social structure again brings us to the classes. The social classes are not differentiated only by their participation in the production process, but also for their differences in consumption, and the modes in which they participate in the different fields of social life. Different forms of educational, artistic, scientific, and fashion goods appropriation, and the role of the symbolic differences in this appropriation, contribute to the differences between classes. Bourdieu (1994:7) maintains, that "*the differences and inequalities are duplicated always for symbolic distinctions. And these symbolic distinctions have as function euphemised and legitimated the economic inequality*". The analysis of the form in which members of each class or group reproduces social structure through the social practices of everyday life leads one to a second problem. How are these symbolic differences interiorised in the social structures? These differences are interiorised as differences in 'taste', but it is not purely the result of free choice of each other, we are conditioned to choose this or the other according to our class location or social group in society. How does such symbolic interiorisation according to social structure occur in subjects? It is explained through macro-social determinants. They are not reproduced automatically in the practices of

each individual, necessarily. In fact, one should explain the polemic with reference to the two approaches that have attempted to explain the process.

The Marxist theory of the conscience as reflex is the answer to the above. The other is the behaviourist conception of the relationship between conscience and reality or between stimulus and response. In general, we can say that Marxism has been characterised by overestimating the macro-social pole of this relationship between individual and society. This macro-social pole refers to the mode of production, structure, class or ideological apparatus, and has been reinterpreted through the theory of reflex. The theory of reflex has deduced from these global determinations what is happening in reception, in the conscience of the individual subject. Lefebvre (1959) in his book *La Somme et le Reste*, where he explored why he left the French Communist Party, he explained how the theory of reflex forced scholars to think of the conscience in relation to material reality. The conscience reflects changes that occur in material reality. When we want to explain why the social conscience experiences some transformation, one needs to examine the material reality that is evident before, determining this change. But then, Lefebvre said, there never could be revolutionary transformation, because the conscience would always be behind with respect to the material reality. Such solutions generate bad political and gnoseological understanding. This relationship between reality and conscience does not take into what is truly happening. If it is true that there is a social determinism on the subjects, on the conscience, would be necessary to explain better what 'mediations' exist between social determinism and conscience (García Canclini, 2001)

The other simplification is to approach this relationship as a mechanistic stimulus-response. García Canclini (1997) explained that almost all market research and public opinion is based on such a behaviourist perspective, starting from the assumption that all ideological actions are performed directly onto the addressees and generate immediate effects. When an advert is made public it is supposed that the public will go and buy the product. In election times, political parties 'advertise' themselves and it is supposed that the people will then vote for the party. However, the reality is that people are not

motivated as a mechanical effect of a publicity campaign. I remember once, nearly 6 years ago. I implemented a post-test publicity to measure the impact of the advertising campaign of a new flavour of Quilmes' Beer on the consumer. The questionnaire had a rating scale (spontaneous, semi-guided, guided and induced). The majority of the participants of the test did not remember the publicity spontaneously, some of them remembered through the semi-guide and guide help of the publicity part of the campaign, and only when watched the advertising again did they remember it. This shows that when people are subjected to a determined stimulus such as publicity, it will not necessary generate immediate practices or answers related to the stimulus.

THEORY OF HABITUS

According to Bourdieu (1994), if there is some homology between social order and practices of the agents, it is not related to the immediate influence of publicity, or of political messages, but for those ideological actions, and social determinations that are inserted more than in the conscience – understanding as set of ideas – in systems of habits, constituted in their majority from childhood. Canclini wrote that: *“The ideological action more decisive to constituting the symbolic power is not effectuated in the struggle for the ideas – as generally one believe – but in those relations of sense, in great part no aware, that is organised in the habitus and that only we can know through these”* (García Canclini, 1997:40, own translation from the Spanish text).

Bourdieu uses the Latin expression ‘habitus’ to differentiate it from the field of social psychology where this word is used with another meaning. Bourdieu’s (1994) concept of habitus refers to a complex system of dispositions, of basic schemas of perceptions, thoughts and actions. More specifically *“the habitus is a system of durable and transposable dispositions to new situations, structured structures, predisposed to work as structuring structures”* (Bourdieu, 1994:170). These structures are considered ‘structured’ because the habitus of the individual has been structured by society. When we acquire language, the language pre-exists, it structures us in certain ways, to think and perceive the reality in the patterns that the language allows. However, simultaneously,

those structured structures are predisposed to work as structuring structures, in the sense that they are structures that can organise our practices, the form in which we function in the society. Therefore, the habitus systematises the set of the practices of each person and each group, guaranteeing his coherence with the social development. The habitus programmes consumption in the individual and classes, and determines which things they are to feel as necessary. In one of his analyses on statistics, Bourdieu (1994:103) says: *“Those that the statistics register in the form of systems of necessities, it is not other thing that the coherence of habitus elections”*.

Even more so is the manifestation apparently more free of such determining agents; ‘the taste’ is adapted to the stylistic possibilities offered for his/her condition of class. In September 2000, I had the opportunity to join with ten other international students in doing research for the English Institute where I studied when I first came to Durban. The objective of the questionnaire was to capture the perceptions and thoughts on lifestyle of each person with respect to the rest of the group. The questionnaire included questions such as: If she/he (name of the students) needs to buy a car, what model will she/he choose? If she/he needs to choose some flowers, which flowers would she/he prefer? What animals does she/he prefer? What political preferences does she/he have? What kind of music do you think she/he prefers? What kind of clothing does she/he prefer to buy? If she /he is going on a holiday, what place would she/he choose? The results of this questionnaire were quite interesting because beyond of the little knowledge that the rest of the students had about me, the answers were quite close to my actual taste.

According to Bourdieu (1994), what is happening is that even when we do not know exactly the intimate everyday life of someone, we can have a general intuition about his or her lifestyle. For instance, with very few elements, one can infer some characteristics of that style, which is relatively determined by the social denominators. In other words, the tastes of the social classes are programmed according to the position that they occupy in the social space and the aesthetic dispositions that are built historically.

Bourdieu (1994:468-469) wrote that the classes appear as subjects, but not as subjects in the idealistic sense that build and choose their own fate, but as “classifiers classified for their classifications”. To belong to a class is to belong to a system of social classification. At the same time that society organises the distribution of material and symbolic goods, they are distributed in a certain way, in some neighbourhoods and not in others. Society organises in-groups and in individuals the result is a subjective relationship with these goods, with aspirations, and a consciousness of the things that one can appropriate and the things that one has the right to appropriate. It is within this structure of everyday life that hegemony has taken root. It is not in a set of alienated ideas on the dependency or the inferiority of the popular sectors, but as an interiorisation of the social inequality, in the form of unconscious dispositions, registered within the physical body, in the form of being, in the experience of time and space, in the conscience of what is possible and what is out of reach. However, daily practices are not mere executions of the habitus. Between the habitus that we have formed from our infancy and the practices we carry out, can exist differences. Why do these differences exist? To Bourdieu (1994), in a sociological vein, these differences exist not as a result of free election, which allows us to modify our habitus, to select or choose those things that nobody taught us, but more as a result of a change in social conditions.

For example, a Zulu man who comes from a rural area – where he has learned a habitus, a mode of organising his time, of spending his money, wearing a specific kind of clothing, etc. - to the urban area, will acquire other habitus: other mode of working, going to the factory, travelling in other kind of transport or travelling in transport, using time and money differently, wearing other kind of clothing, etc. It is possible that certain habitus of his origin are reproduced in the urban areas, for example, in squatter-camps or informal settlements, perhaps there is a planted tree; perhaps they harvest beans and other vegetables, rear animals such as chicken, pork, etc. These elements could remain to recreate the old scenario or as a way of subsistence. But this does not eliminate the difference, between the migrant rural Zulu people and those who were born in the city of Durban. It is perceptible in people that live in squatters or informal settlements the difference of appropriation of the urban goods by those that are non-migrant, who have

always lived in the city and from children have received the inculcation of dispositions that predisposed them to use the urban. The difference between the new conditions and the conditions of origin can create a distance between the habitus and the practice. But also, the difference between them can be indicative of the character of class or of the group membership of origin being a different group.

THEORY OF SYMBOLIC POWER

To understand the differentiation between classes, it is necessary to explain Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power (1977). He studied the system of symbols as "structuring structures", as instruments of knowledge and construction of the real. The origin of this tendency started in Neo-Kantianism (Humboldt, Cassirer), and continued through the American culturalism. It ended with Emile Durkheim. Bourdieu (1977:407) said about Durkheim that for him the forms of classification are not universals and transcendental, but are converted in "social forms", and are "socially determined". On the opposite side, Lévi-Strauss is not worried about the production of Myth, the social use of symbolic objects, where the symbolic is reduced to "unconscious activity of the spirit". But Bourdieu (1977:407) linked both theories and analysed the symbolic power as a "*power of construction of the reality, which has the tendency to establish a gnoseological order*".

Marxism privileges the political functions of the symbolic systems. There are three functions: firstly, the real integration of the dominant class, making possible communication between all their members, and distinguishing them from the other classes; secondly, the fictive interpretation of the entire society, and finally, the legitimisation of the established order for the establishment of distinctions or hierarchies and for the legitimating of these distinctions or hierarchies (García Canclini, 2001).

Bourdieu (1992:167) says that: The dominant cultures produce these ideological effects by concealing the function of division beneath the function of communication: the culture which unifies (the medium of communication) is also the culture which separates the instrument of distinction by forcing all other cultures (designated as sub-cultures) to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture.

He continued: *"It is as structured and structuring instruments of communication and knowledge that 'symbolic systems' fulfil their political functions, as instruments which help to ensure that one class dominates another (symbolic violence) by bringing their own distinctive power to bear on the relations of power"* (Bourdieu, 1992:167). The culture of 'symbolic violence' in all societies is where class or groups' differentiation exists. All relations of communication or knowledge are at the same time relationships of power. The cultural relationships can operate as relations of power because through these is effectuated the communications between members of the society and the knowledge of the real. In this way, Bourdieu establishes a link between Marxism, Structuralism and Durkheim in terms of symbolism. In *Homo Academicus* (1990) Bourdieu says that the autonomy of the cultural field is never total. There exists a homology between each cultural field and the field of class struggle. It is within the cultural field that classificatory systems are accepted as 'natural', that the intellectual constructions seem proper to the social structures. The ideological actions of the culture are fulfilled through the impositions of political taxonomies that appear under the aspect of own axioms of each field. In the symbolic power is revealed the basic need for power to be legitimate. These taxonomies are not only intellectual systems of classifications but that are deep-rooted to the habitus in the form of concrete behaviour.

He wrote that: *"Symbolic power does not reside in symbolic systems in the form of an illocutionary force but that it is defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it"* (Bourdieu, 1992:170). The symbols of power (clothes, pictures, food, and furniture) are merely objectified symbolic capital and their efficacy is subject to the same conditions. What creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of the words and those who utter them. And words alone can create this belief.

As Bourdieu (1992:170) notes: Symbolic power, a subordinate power, is a transformed, i.e. misrecognisable, transfigured and legitimated form of the other forms of power. One transcends the alternative of energetic models, which describe social relations as relations of force, and cybernetic models, which turn them into relations of communication, only by describing the law of transformation which govern the transmutation of the different kind of capital into symbolic capital, and in particular the labour of dissimulation and transfiguration (in a word, of euphemisation) which secures a real transubstantiation of the relations of power by rendering recognisable and misrecognisable the violence they objectively contain and thus by transforming them into symbolic power, capable of producing real effects without any apparent expenditure of energy.

SOCIAL CLASS'S DIFFERENTIATION

So, Bourdieu (1994) explains through his theoretical approach cultural practices, describes the structure of fields, and analyses classes and groups operating between and within fields. In addition, he speaks about three cultural levels of denominated 'taste'¹. This refers to the subjective aspect of the behaviour: bourgeois or 'legitimate' taste, medium taste, and popular taste. These identify modes of cultural production and consumption by their class character. The market of symbolic goods includes, three modes of production: bourgeois, medium and popular. These modes of cultural production are differentiated by the composition of their public (bourgeois class, medium class, and popular class), by the nature of their produced works (work of art, fashion, literature goods and messages of mass consumption), and by the political-aesthetic ideologies they express. But these three systems coexist within the same capitalist society, because it has organised the unequal distribution of all material and symbolic goods. The unity is manifested in the way that different social classes consume some of the same goods. The difference is established not only in terms of the kind of goods that are appropriated by each class, but also by the mode in which each class uses and consumes those goods. Bourdieu (1994: 571) says that

¹ "Taste in the sense of the 'faculty of immediately and intuitively judging aesthetic values' is inseparable from the taste in the sense of the capacity to discern the flavours of foods which implies a preference for some of them" (Bourdieu, 1994:99)

One must therefore construct the objective class, the set of agents who are placed in homogeneous conditions of existence imposing homogeneous conditioning and producing homogeneous systems of dispositions capable of generating similar practices: and who possess a set of common properties, objectified properties sometimes legally guaranteed (as possession of goods and power) or properties embodied as class habitus (and, in particular, systems of classificatory schemes)². All individuals (agents) grouped in class bring with them not only pertinent properties by which they are classified, but also, secondary properties. A class or class fraction is defined not only by its position in the relation of production, as identified through indices such as occupation, income, and/or educational level. In addition, it is defined by a certain sex ratio, a certain distribution in geographical space (which is socio-economically determined) and by a whole set of subsidiary characteristics, which may function as real principles of selection or exclusion.

For instance, the variable occupation serves in the majority of the cases as a mask for hidden criteria, like when someone with Masters or Doctoral studies did not find job in his profession. Some preferences in taste of x goods (dependent variable) crossed with the common independent variables as occupation, sex, age, education, income, religion, and so on, tend to mask the complete system of relationships.

Social class is not defined by a property (not even the most determinant one, such as the volume and composition of capital) nor by a collection of properties (of sex, age, social origin, ethnic origin – proportion of blacks and whites, for example, or natives and immigrants – income educational level, etc), nor even by a chain of properties strung out from a fundamental property (position in the relations of productions) in a relation of cause and effect, conditioner and conditioned; but by the structure of relations between all the pertinent properties, which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practices (Bourdieu, 1994:106).

In other words, to build social classes and to interpret the variations of distributions of properties and practices in relation to these classes, one must take into account the network of secondary characteristics. To analyse the unit of the research, the

² The objective class must not be confused with the mobilised class, the set of individuals brought together, on the basis of the homogeneity of the objectified or embodied properties which define the objective class, for the purpose of the struggle to preserve or modify the structure of the distribution of objectified properties” (Bourdieu, 1994:571)

location and social class differentiation, one needs to analyse not only variables such as occupation, gender, age, education, and income. It is essential to analyse the rest of variables used within the questionnaire such as habitus and preference of purchase, consumption habitus on clothing, language, 'taste' in terms of fashion, aspirations, mediations, how they appropriate material goods and how each class or class fraction uses its goods.

By way of an example let us explain a cross-tabulation that later, in Chapter seven is analysed in depth. Being married is not the opposite of being unmarried. The correlation one could make between married people and the ability to bring up children, and the economic and social support of a spouse is definitely not the same for a woman that needs to bring up the children alone, her social status, and the weight of the patriarchal society in these kinds of families makes a big difference in defining transformation of social class. The common goods, especially when they are of some economic and social importance, such as the dwelling in which they live, the geographical location, or even personal goods such as clothing are the outcome of these denied power relations, which define the domestic unit. The relation between the different degrees of institutional education, inherited cultural capital and educational capital, the division of labour between the sexes, and the access to communication gives us very different situations when analysing the weight of women and men's taste in choosing her/his clothes and the degree to which his/her clothes express his/her taste.

Therefore, the production and consumption of material and symbolic goods and the unequal distribution and appropriation of them in everyday life is defined by the class struggle. There are those who have access to economic and cultural capital and those who aspire to have it. The three modes of production: bourgeois, medium and popular are directly related to the possibility of consumption and the modes of using these goods within the social classes. Bourdieu (1994) identifies three different aesthetics:

1) **The bourgeois aesthetic**

Social classes are not uniquely distinguished by their difference in economic capital. The cultural practices of the bourgeoisie attempt to suggest that something nobler justifies their privilege of material accumulation. The bourgeoisie move to a conceptual system of differentiation and classification is the origin of the distance between classes. They put the emphasis of social differentiation outside the realm of everyday life, in the symbolic and not only in the economic, in consumption and not only in production. They create the illusion that inequalities are not due to what people having, but in who people are. The culture, the art and the capacity to enjoy these appear as a natural quality, and not as a result of an unequal learning resulting from the historic division of classes.³

2) **The medium aesthetic**

This aesthetic is constituted on two forms: for the cultural industry and for certain practices such as the photography,⁴ which is the characteristic of the 'medium' taste. The system of 'great production' is differentiated from the artistic field of the elite for the lack of autonomy, subjection to an external demand, principally to the competition for the market conquest. A typical feature of the medium aesthetic is adaptation: movies inspired by theatre works, classical music transformed into something popular or fashionable, etc. Neither elitist nor absolutely popular, photography is used for the middle classes to differentiate themselves from the working class by a process of self-consecration, in which they exhibited and photographed themselves near to "consecrated places" such as monuments and similar scenarios, of the kind the popular classes would not be able to access, thus reaffirming their sense of class exclusivity. This registering of the exceptional and the frequent enjoyment of expensive trips provides an alienating substitute for the artistic and cultural practices enjoyed by the elite bourgeoisie, who

³ To know more about the bourgeois aesthetic and the research on the museum going public see: Bourdieu (1994) *Distinction*; (1969) *L'amour de L'art - Les musées d'art européens et leur public*.

⁴ To know more about his research about photography see: Bourdieu's book (1979) *La fotografía, un arte intermedio*.

established aesthetic norms and standards, and were able to determine the legitimacy of cultural practices and experiences.

3) **The Popular Aesthetic**

While the bourgeois aesthetic based on economic power, is characterised by the power of putting any economical necessity at a distance, the popular classes are ruled by a pragmatic and functionalist aesthetic. The artistic preferences as well as the aesthetic selections for clothes, accessories, shoes, food, are subjected to the principle of the functional and necessary. Necessary because given financial constraints they are looking for things, which are practical; practical things *“are imposed for an economical and social necessity that condemn to simple and modest people to simple and modest taste”* (Bourdieu, 1994:441). They refuse the ostentation, due to their shortages of economic resources, but also due to the unequal distribution of symbolic resources: a formation that excludes them from sophistication in the habitus of consumption, and at the same time, they recognise with resignation that there is a lack of these commodities, which made ‘superior’ over others, and that they cannot attain these commodities.

APPROACHING THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

According to Bourdieu (1994) the popular aesthetic is defined in relation to the hegemonic, because the popular attempt to imitate the bourgeois habits and taste, and because they admit the bourgeois superiority although cannot practice their actions. Bourdieu refers to the popular class as always subordinated to the dominant class. However, in instance, he admits that the popular sectors have some form of proto-resistance; germinal manifestations of autonomous conscience, as for example when it comes to food or drink. The subordination of the popular classes to the dominant culture corresponds, until a certain point, to the western, capitalist European countries, where there is a relatively unified symbolic market. In the Third world, developing countries, the mode of capitalist production includes diverse types of economic and symbolic production.

There does not exist “a structure of the unified class and a hegemonic class (local equivalent to the bourgeoisie) in conditions of impose to the entire system their own matrix of signification” (Miceli, 1979:43). One found instead a fragmented symbolic field that implies even major cultural heterogeneity in a multiethnic society such as we have in South Africa, although the economic, educational, and communicative modernisation has achieved a certain homogenisation – mainly since the arrival of democracy, where diverse cultural capital coexists. In addition, these diverse forms of cultural capital are not constituted alternatives development only for the inertia of their reproduction. They have also given cultural support to political national, regional, ethnic or class movements – such as the anti-apartheid movement and struggle – that confront the hegemonic power and look for other modes of social organisation. Even more, it is impossible in a society like South Africa, which has 11 official languages, many indigenous ethnic groups, and so on, to reduce the various linguistic, artistic, and handicrafts systems, beliefs and medical practices, to the version of the dominant cultures or those subordinated to them.

And finally it is necessary to look at the radical excision between the pragmatic and functional aesthetic of the popular classes and the capacity to inaugurate an autonomous field capable of symbolic power and beauty. In terms of the criteria of the hegemonic aesthetic, it is difficult to recognise ‘the intention of harmony or beauty’ when a worker family buys a pot or decorate the kitchen. However, the observation of their own models of symbolic elaboration show us that they have particular manners of producing and consuming the aesthetic, which is neither reducible to the relation with the hegemonic models nor to the utilitarian preoccupation. It is essential to overcome the bourgeois or legitimate perspective that defines the popular culture exclusively by reference to the dominant taste, and so negatively in terms of disadvantages, limitations, exclusions, privations and to develop a more nuanced understanding of the social space of the popular taste through the multiples variations and oppositions. One can concur with Bourdieu in that the capitalist development made possible a strong autonomisation of the artistic field and of the aesthetic signs in everyday life, and that the bourgeoisie are

privileged in the appropriation of these signs, isolated from the economic basis, a mode of euphemised and legitimated domination. However, we cannot deny that in the popular cultures exist in autonomous symbolic and aesthetic manifestations whose sense sometimes moves beyond daily pragmatism (e.g. article in today's Guardian (web) about rural people decorating their outside latrines).

CONCLUSION

Marxist theory has changed along with history, according to the economic, political, cultural and social variables that explain society and social life. Classic Marxism has suffered several incorporations, integrations, and developments since the original theory of Karl Marx, through the growing of different Marxist lines of understanding and thoughts. Neo-Marxists such as Gramsci, Althusser, Hoggart, Micceli, Godelier, Lefebvre, and others have been involve in in-depth theoretical analyses of concepts such as ideology and culture, social class distribution, hegemonic and popular classes, and cultures, mediations and so on. The results of such a large body of theory enforce has taken fruit in the Bourdieu's theoretical approach. He rethinks some of the main Marxist concepts, and develops the theory of fields, habitus and symbolic power, with which he explains social classifications and social differentiation; taste, habitus and social practices; and how society can be understand through the aesthetic elections and social dispositions. These theoretical concepts are developed and applied mainly in the first world countries such as France. This study aspires to examine how these concepts can be applied within the South African context, taking into account the different historical processes of a third world country, the ethnic and language diversity, the complex multicultural society, and the different ways of understanding power, materiality, and symbolisation according to the aesthetic of the different social sectors.

POPULAR CULTURE AND CONSUMPTION

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars have brought insight to theories on culture and consumption. The objective here is not to discuss the differences and antagonisms developed from these diverse theories and literature, but to underline in a simple way the definitions of such concepts following a Marxist perspective. As Bourdieu (1977:406) notes "*Culture is a production of phenomena that contribute, through the representation or symbolic re-preparation of the material structure, to understand, reproduce or transform the social system*". Therefore, he attributes to culture a function of understanding, knowledge of the social system; a place where society is represented, and also as instrument for the reproduction of the social system.

If the individual does not internalise 'the social order', through a system of habitus, dispositions, schemas of perceptions, understanding and action, the system cannot produce itself only through objectivity. The social order needs to reproduce itself within subjects. This symbolic dimension, both objective and subjective at the same time, is situated centrally within the culture nexus. But as the subjects, through culture, understand, know and reproduce the social system, they also prepare alternatives, and look for transformations. If culture is not only a system of ideas and images, if it also has this transformative function, then culture is also all those practices and institutions dedicated to the administration, renovation and re-structuration of the sense of a society.

Until now, the concept of culture has been examined but what is popular culture? It has been said that: "*Popular cultures are configured by a process of unequal appropriation of the economical and cultural commodities of a nation or a determined social group by part of the subaltern sectors, and for the understanding, reproduction and transformation of their own and general conditions of work and life*" (Barbero, 1993:74). In other words, popular cultures are the result of an unequal appropriation, where some sectors are hegemonic, and others, the popular, are subaltern with respect to

the economic and cultural commodities of a given social organisation, nation, ethnic or social group. The first necessary condition for understanding why popular cultures exist is recognising that they are the result of the unequal appropriation of the symbolic and economic commodities of a society. But popular cultures are not only the result of this unequal appropriation of cultural capital. Furthermore, they derive as a way of coping with life's conditions, and as a result of the conflictive interaction with the hegemonic sectors.

Therefore there are three necessary elements to defining popular culture. Firstly, the unequal appropriation of cultural capital within society (inequality in the access to school, culture, etc); secondly, popular culture responds to daily life conditions (different sectors give a specific and different sense to the form of life within social relationships, and this gives them their own cultural sense), and finally, there is confrontation and conflictive interaction with the hegemonic sectors (García Canclini, 1997:62, *own translation from the Spanish text*).

On the one hand, social classes relations and the existence of a popular culture needs to be understood, according to Gramsci (1985:67), “as result of the social polarisation, of a confrontation between subaltern and hegemonic groups”¹. Thus, there is an unequal participation in the educational capital and as a result in the cultural capital. But, on the other hand, the particularities of the popular cultures do not emanate only from the unequal and different appropriation of what the society owns or earns. They also result from what the population produces in their own work and life – specific forms of symbolic representation, reproduction and re-preparation of the social relationship. Popular cultures are constituted in two spaces, sometime complementary and sometime separated. García Canclini (1997) states that popular culture is constituted, on the one hand, in the labour, familiar and communication practices of everyday life, which has been organised according to the capitalist system in every sector. And, on the other, in the practices and forms of thought that the popular sectors create for themselves, to conceive and manifest their reality, their subordinate place in production, circulation and consumption.

¹ For more information, read Antonio Gramsci *Selections from Cultural Writings*, 1985.

There are different scientific and political interpretations and understandings of what popular cultures are. One of them is 'romantic populism'. It has its origins in the romantic idealism of the German philosophy that conceives of 'the people' as an entire homogeneous and autonomous entity. In other words, the popular culture is the accumulation of all traditions, the pure essence of the national. The over-valorisation of these biologic, telluric and teleological components – important characteristics of the right wing thoughts - allows proponents of a nationalist populism to identify their class interest, as a bourgeoisie, with the nations interest, which their tendency towards some type of imperialism and hides the class conflicts that threaten their privileges. In reality, there is not an ahistorical identity of people and nation. There is a social dynamic to this history, one cannot neutralise this conflictive history under abstractions such as "tradition" or "national tradition" or some kind of fossilised, archived identity.

But how can one work from a scientific perspective, through these types of problematic? On the one hand, it is believed that it is necessary to utilise neo-Gramscian theories in this instance. The Italians Cirese and Sartriani are two of those who are working in this direction. As Cirese (1980:35, *own translation from the Spanish text*) notes in his book *Ensayos sobre las culturas subalternas*: "*It cannot define the popular culture as a set of internal characteristics that will be their own. It is important to define the popular sectors relationally, in other words, within a system of classes, of social, ethnic or group's differentiation*". In order to localise the popular in confrontation with the hegemonic, it is necessary to see how the popular is constituted and transformed by two basic processes of the society: social reproduction-transformation and social differentiation. What is the role of the symbolic in these processes of social reproduction-transformation and social differentiation? The social reproduction and differentiation is carried out through the structured participation of the different social sectors in the relationships of production and consumption. How are classes reproduced and differentiated through processes of production? The Classic Marxist theory defines classes according to those who are owners of the capital and those who are only the labour force in the productive process. According to these different locations, classes are

organised in different positions and from this place occur differences in lifestyles include the culture.²

However, to return to the focus of this chapter, we are confronting the problem of the unequal appropriation of symbolic and material commodities. The reproduction of both types of commodities is indispensable to the reproduction of the entire society.³ In what sense is it indispensable? What is the role that the symbolic play in reproduction? If we analyse Marx or Althusser's texts, we find that all social formations should reproduce their productive conditions of subsisting. What are those conditions of production that should be reproduced? Firstly, the labour-force through wages; secondly, it is necessary to reproduce the qualifications of this labour force through education; and finally, it is necessary to engineer the adaptation of the worker to the social order, through cultural policy. It is also necessary to reproduce the systems of hierarchy, and the consensus of the workers through the order in which they participate. In other words, and according to Bourdieu (1994), in this continuous adaptation of the worker to the social order it is not only important to impose the cultural norms that adapt the members of society to an unfair and arbitrary economic structure (Bourdieu says: "arbitrary", because there is not a "natural" reason that shows it is the normal order). But also, it makes us feel these norms to be natural, legitimate and convincing – principally to the subaltern sectors – and that this social organisation is the most convenient for everybody (Martín-Barbero, 1993).

Therefore, the question to be asked is what happens in the actual structure of the capitalist productive process? In what sense is it transformed? It is useful to outline an element that can help to explain the importance of the cultural and symbolic aspect. The capitalist system is transformed toward a tertiarisation of the productive process. We can observe carefully and by the day how production lines replace labour force, who replaces manual work by computerised forms of material realisation, of control and gestation of this production. Thus, it becomes important to have access to symbolic systems not only

² See, Karl Marx (1959) *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1970

³ See, Karl Mark, 1970; Marx and Engels, 1985; and Althusser, 1971.

through work but also through participating, and consuming in society. All these processes of production and consumption are developed within the material production that through technology has changed the conception of the Taylorian factory or the traditional use of free time. The material production is everyday more a process symbolically made and controlled, in non-material forms, by computation and cybernetic technology. These changes modified the traditional form of conceiving the opposition and distance between symbolic and material. Symbolic is something that is inserted, as a necessary part, in the development of the actual material product.

Canclini pointed out that: “*Social reproduction is the reproduction of a material and symbolic order usually involving a set of material and symbolic commodities that constitute the social structure. From this perspective social differentiation is the condition for and the result of the different participation in this material-symbolic production in the society*” (Canclini, 1997:70, own translation from the Spanish text). It is important to understand the reproduction and social differentiation as a material and symbolic phenomena, even from the point of view of the structure of the productive process, and how the social reproduction generates inequality and differences between classes. It is also necessary to study how the social differentiation and reproduction is achieved through consumption.

Classes and social groups are differentiated by their unequal appropriation of the material and symbolic commodities in the sphere of production. However the key question remains: what about the unequal appropriation of commodities in consumption? What is the relationship between consumption and hegemony and in what form does consumption contributes towards maintaining the hegemony? To explain this it is first necessary to make the differentiation, between hegemony and domination. “*Domination is based in direct coercion, in violence; and hegemony is a process of political and ideological direction in which a class or sector achieve a preferential appropriation of power, in alliance with other classes, although admittedly there are spaces where the subaltern groups develop independent practices and not always functional for the reproduction of the system*” (Canclini, 1997:71, own translation from the Spanish text).

By independent practices is meant the reproduction of forms of life, food, clothing, art, etc. What role does consumption play in the construction of hegemony? It is essential to explain what society understands by 'consumption'. The habitual use of the word 'consumption' is associated with the expression 'consuming society'. Generally, in the imaginary of the people a consuming society is a species associated with biological tropes and a short-sighted nihilism and, as such, it is regarded with something akin to contempt. This apocalyptic vision is used by hegemonic sectors to exclaim that '*the people of the poorest sectors buy a television but do not have enough money to feed and dress their children*'. This is the system of prejudice, which has stigmatised the popular sectors.³

According to Bourdieu (1994), consumption is defined as the final point of all reproduction circles of capital. If there was no consumption, the reproduction of capital would be impossible. Consumption includes social processes of products appropriation, and therefore of struggle to participate in the distribution of products and their necessity in the social planning. In this sense, consumption is much more than the repository of categorisations, attitudes and tastes for market research, consumption is much more than simply the completion of the productive processes.⁴ Consumption is the place where the conflicts and struggle between classes, originated by the unequal participation in the productive structure.

What is a necessity and what is a commodity? To respond to this question it is important to formulate a solid critique. The first deals with the naturalist conception of necessities. Necessities are not attributes of an immutable human nature. There are not natural necessities, not even in the case of how we satisfied these basic necessities that seem universals: to eat, drink, to have sexual relationships, sleep and so on. We can satisfy these in very different forms, with diverse cultural resources, systems of behaviours – mainly symbolic – over and above this biological necessity. Necessity also

³ We can misunderstand the real concept of consumption through the reading of some post-modern theories and also through the misunderstanding of the complex ideas of the Frankfurt School.

⁴ Marx, (1972) *The Capital*

arises as the interiorisation of structural determinations and psychosocial elaborations of the desires. Necessity arises because the social structures steer us towards needing in certain forms (eat, drink, dress) and in certain circumstances. Therefore, there is not natural necessity; necessity is a social process.

The second one is the instrumentalist conception of commodities. This refers to the idea that commodities should be basically produced for the 'value of use' ("use value"). It should seem that there is a 'natural' organisation of the production of commodities in society. According to Marx, commodities are not produced solely for their use value but also by the 'value of exchange'.⁵ A distinction made by Baudrillard, who identified also sign value and symbolic value. Is also important in this sense⁶ The instrumentalist conception of goods collapses when we realise that commodities are organized in the capitalist society, they exist as much in abundance as in shortage, depending on the objectives of widening the reproduction of capital, or on the decrease of profit and the division of classes. Commodities are not organised according to their utility, but according to the necessities of capital's reproduction.

If we discard the naturalist conception of necessities and the instrumentalist conception of commodities we need to re-define the concept of consumption. We cannot think of consumption as a process in which sets of commodities satisfy a set of necessities, as a stimuli-answer relationship. There does not exist any mechanical, natural correspondence between necessities and the objects designed to switch these necessities off. So what, then, is 'consumption'? Firstly, consumption enables the reproduction of the labour force and expansion of capital. Eating, enjoying, resting, are ways to renew the labour force of workers. It is necessary to increase consumption, to reach more consumers, to expand capital. There are no individual and collective necessities, which determine the production of commodities and their distribution. It is not the demand, which generates the supply. The necessities and consumption of and by workers – their food, leisure, and forms of consumption – are organised according to the mercantile

⁵ To understand the differences between value of use and value of change, see Karl Marx *Capital* (1972)

⁶ You can see, Jean Baudrillard *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, 1981.

strategy of the hegemonic class, in accordance with the necessity of market expansion. This allows us to explain why there exists a system of public appeals to consume, why this form of periodically declaring objects as obsolete and renewing them, according to new functions. In sum, 'things' need to be explained in the sentence: consumption is the site of reproduction of the labour force and of expansion of capital.

Castells has asked himself why consumption increases constantly, why there are everyday more and more objects, more diversification of these objects, and a renewed purchasing of them. According to him (Castells 2000), this occurs because of capital needs to find new areas of invasion and profit. However, from the class perspective there is also a political sense of consumption.⁷ Consumption is the place where classes fight for appropriation of products and, in fact, it is the space of struggle, which concretises and continues in the relations of distribution, the conflict that confronts to the classes in the production relationship. From this point of view, the growth of consumption is not only the result of the necessity of capital expansion, but also a consequence of the demands of the popular classes, which require participation in education, in the appropriation of commodities as well as culture. In addition, following Castells (2000), consumption is an ideological space, a central place for the reproduction of the dominant ideology and building of social differentiation between classes, through symbolic distinctions.⁸

Secondly, consumption is the place of social differentiation and symbolic distinction between classes (Bourdieu, 1994). In a society with pretensions of being "democratic", and therefore based on the premise that all human beings were born equal, where there is no superiority of blood, colour, and nobility titles, consumption is the fundamental way to communicate the differences that do exist between social groups. In front of this relative democratisation that supposes massive contemporary consumption – generalised access to the same commodities, because of it everybody reaches education, nearly everybody should enjoy fashion, holidays, etc. Thus, consumption of the same

⁷ To know more about class perception about consumption sees Manuel Castells *The Information Age*, Vol. I and II, 2000

⁸ Manuel Castells gives valuable information about consumption in his book *Informational City*, 1995.

commodities apparently lessens the possibility of social differentiation. In essence the differentiation must be moved to the form in which we consume these commodities, the form in which people appropriate and make use of them. The differences are defined not only by the necessity of consuming such commodities, but for the need to appropriate it in a certain way – wear clothing in certain ways, listen to certain kinds of music, go to certain events and interpret it in different ways, go to schools and acquire in certain ways that cultural capital which is transmitted in a ‘democratic way’ by public educational institutions. In this space of consumption the social differences are built and the different social classes are distinguished in a symbolic way.

Thirdly, consumption is a system of integration and communication. It is essential that consumption builds a system of communication, which is widely understood, a system of cultural and social integration. So in this form, and as Bourdieu (1994) notes, consumption can be an instrument of differentiation between social groups. If members of a society do not share the meaning attributed to the commodity’s consumption, their possession will not constitute an element of social differentiation. In addition, if the subaltern sectors will not be convinced that they will never have such possession that distinguishes symbolically one class from another. Thus, such a possession will not have any value, will not distinguishing those who possess it. In this sense, to consume is to exchange cultural and social meanings.

Through objects, relationships between people are created, which give a sense and an order to the environment in which we live. Eating, dressing, living in a house is also a social action of communication. From this perspective, consumption is quite different from what one thinks in everyday life. Consumption does not have as an objective only the possession of an object or the satisfaction of a material necessity, but also it defines or reconfirms meaning and common values, to create and maintain a collective identity. In the same vein, consumption is the key site for the confrontation of social identity. Hence, the importance of the ‘things’ to configure the identity of groups implies the acquisition of a certain psychological dependence, or affective attachment, with respect to these

things. Therefore the loss of an object is sometimes more significant from the affective aspect than from the economic. (Bourdieu, 1994)

Therefore and in short, consumption is:

- 1) A system of integration and communication;
- 2) A place for the differentiation and symbolic distinction between classes;
- 3) A site for the reproduction of the labour force and the expansion of capital.

Finally, consumption will be also a place for the objectification of desires; human beings do not only have needs requiring basic necessities that have a biological appearance. In addition, one has desires that from an anthropological and psychological sense are different from necessity. From Hegel to Lacan, desire is differentiated from necessity because the first one does not have an object. According to Baudrillard (1981), desire is erratic, insatiable, and non-included for the institutions that aspire to content it. What should be a basic desire, according to Hegel, is the desire to be recognised and loved.⁹ That desire is the base of all desires. Hence, one cannot understand what happens in consumption if one does not consider this aspect of desire, present as an elementary motivator, organiser and disorganiser of consumption.

The theoretical analysis undertaken will be concluded with an examination of the importance of an analysis of consumption in relation to social classes, in order to understand how hegemony is constituted. Hegemony is constituted by a certain dialectic relationship between homogeneity and social differentiation. We live in a mass society, but at the same time people create different forms of differentiation. But how can a dominant class become hegemonic, in other words, more legitimate? How can it obtain consensus from the other classes? Consensus requires at least four elements. Firstly, the social ambit defined for the hegemonic class – the production, circulation and consumption – will be accepted by the subaltern class as a field of struggle. If this acceptance that it is necessary to fight to participate in this field of production, consumption does not exist – there is no hegemony. Secondly, that the logic of this

⁹ For more information see, Hegel *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, (1977)

struggle will be the differential appropriation – different by each class – of what the fields produce as material and symbolic capital. Thirdly, that in this struggle the subaltern classes leave with an “insurmountable handicap”; to use the terms of Bourdieu (1984), they leave without the cultural capital that puts the hegemonic class at an advantage. In this sense, the organisation of familiar and scholarly education is fundamental for the reproduction of social inequality. The fourth and final condition is that this handicap, this disadvantage, should be hidden.

THE CONCEPT OF COMMON SENSE

Until now, a general picture of the concept of popular culture and consumption has been drawn from a theoretical point of view. But, how does one analyse this abstraction in practice? In other words, how can these concepts be applied to the South African everyday life? How do Zulu-English speakers perceive the ‘popular’ in general? What are the elements that have built the imaginary of the popular, and how can one read these elements? The ‘symbolic consumption of the popular’ will be examined through the concept of common sense, because such an analysis can provide a general understanding of the perceptions and thoughts of urban black African Zulu-English speakers.

Common sense is a very controversial concept. There are many scholars who have worked and are still working in the attempt to define it, but it is not my intention here to discuss the different theories and interpretation of the concept. This will be explained only according to the theoretical line followed in this research. As Bourdieu (1991) notes, common sense includes those things commonly known or even tacitly accepted within a collectivity; it also includes the consensus of the community as articulated through a variety of public discourses; and finally, it includes the sense of community that a commonly shared sense of the world provides. Taste and habitus are quite related to the concept of common sense. ‘Taste’ seems to be in some aspects related to fundamental understanding of the world through taste, smell, sight, and so on. These ‘tastes’ are “*structured or even produced to some degree by something like common sense, in that one’s very perception of the world is profoundly socially structured*”.

(Bourdieu, 1977:79) “*One of the fundamental effects of the orchestration of habitus*” writes Bourdieu, “*is the production of a common sense world endowed with the objectivity secured by consensus on the meaning of practices and the world*” (Bourdieu, 1977:80).

Common sense, as Bourdieu describes it, is not as monolithic as it sometimes seems, it has more than a single modality of existence and is related to Bourdieu’s tripartite model of social discourse (1977).

The first category is ‘*doxa*’, which includes unexamined and unspoken presuppositions about the world. Contrasted to the realm of ‘*doxa*’ is the realm of opinion, the speakable, and this is divided into two: ‘*orthodoxy*’ is conservative and looks backward to the reestablishment of previous ‘*doxa*’ and its tacit beliefs and naturalised conventions – in short, a nostalgia for some version of ‘the good old days’. ‘*Heterodoxy*’ pulls in the other direction, contesting not only the conservatism of orthodoxy but also presenting the possibility of drawing more doxic foundations into the realm of discourse and opinion, the realm of the speakable. Heterodoxy implies a crisis in the common sense of the world and in the community that has been constituted by that common sense (Bourdieu, 1977:164-169).

For Bakhtin as for Bourdieu (particularly in *Language and Symbolic Power*, 1992) language is immediately related to common sense and social power. “*We are taking language not as a system of abstract grammatical categories*”, writes Bakhtin cited in García Canclini, 1977, *own translation from the Spanish text*), “*but rather language conceived as ideologically saturated language as world view*”. While Bourdieu’s model does emphasise the processes of social reproduction more than Bakhtin’s, this ought not to obscure their shared concern with the dynamics of cultural struggle and historical change. For Bourdieu, as for Bakhtin, there is the possibility – even the historical necessity – of a constant destabilisation and a constant modification of common sense. The world’s meaning must continually be reaffirmed and/or reconstructed as common sense, precisely because it is a historical world, constantly open to challenge and to struggle, because the possibility continues to exist that its meaning

may slip away, because it is in the interest of some that certain aspects of its meaning should slip away and be replaced with other meaning.

In various attempts to clarify the concept of the habitus as a historical product, Bourdieu says that it is “*an open system of disposition that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal*” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:133). As long as history and personal experience continue, and as long as a multiplicity of fields exists, each field providing a variety of positions, new possibilities and creative adjustment of the *sensus communis*. Each of the fields is in themselves demanded by the very complex and dynamic structure of his determined system. In addition, Bourdieu uses the concept of common sense to refer to the sense of reality of specific communities. “*He sees the limits of the term, not as Gadamer, who sees the positive way in which common sense is constitutive of the community’s tradition and way of life, and values it as a balance to the excesses of scientific methodology. Bourdieu sees it as an obstacle to be overcome, and values scientific methodologies precisely for their ability to break down common sense*” (Holton, in Brown and Szeman, 2000:95).

- **The ‘Popular’**

After analysing the concepts of popular culture, consumption and common sense from a theoretical point of view it is essential to explain how people perceive ‘the popular’ from a common sense perspective in everyday life, and what are some of the most common elements that are built in the collective imaginary to reproduce beliefs, myths, thoughts and actions. The concept of ‘popular’ has been defined in different ways. The concept of ‘popular’ as Bourdieu observed is always ambiguous because it comes to us inscribed with the history of political and cultural struggles (Bourdieu, 1983). Also, to be popular can be seen as to be low-class and to be low-class is not considered a good thing. In the twentieth century, the pejorative thrust has been renewed by the conflation of the idea of popular associated with mass culture; seen by many cultural critics (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1986) as mechanically produced garbage controlled by a manipulative state

to brainwash its passive citizens. But popular has also long been a focus for approbation and championship, to the point where anything produced by 'the people' is automatically valued.

Popular culture in many discourses occupies a self-evidently positive position, and the task then becomes one of distinguishing between what is truly popular and what is contaminated by hegemonic ideological infiltration from above. The term 'popular', beyond differences in discourses and theories, is associated with 'the people'. But who are 'the people'? Can this refer to all the people, the whole nation, or only part of the nation (those who are not the state, the dominant classes, the bourgeoisie)? 'The people' then corresponds to a class though the boundaries are not usually clearly specified, and the people's culture can be seen as engaged in contests over those boundaries (Hall, 1982). Hall and Whannel (1964) draw a distinction between three kinds of common culture: the folk, the popular related to the working-class society, and the mass-culture. The community as a whole created folk culture –typified by folk-song, festivals and tales as well as by ballads and broadsheets. Individual, professional, entertainers, etc produced popular culture, and it articulated collective values and sentiments, which the artist gave back, and confirmed, to the popular audience. Finally, mass-culture – typified by commercial television entertainment – is produced by technocrats and aimed at public consumers.

The circulation of cultural objects across social boundaries was not just a case of the elite culture diffusing down from top to bottom; it results rather, both from the elite and common people constantly imitating and appropriating elements of each other's cultural forms. The different and various cultures in a given society are not pure or homogeneous and therefore they are not very clear identifiable as distinct culture. So when one wants to apply the concept of popular culture to South Africa, the concept brings with it a history of conflicts, struggle, assumptions and problems. Here the 'high', if it exists at all, is not the prerogative of an ancient ruling class but of fragmented, precarious, conflicted new elite, defined by its proximity to an outside power, but nonetheless bound up with the local population by innumerable ties of kinship, language,

community membership and patronage (Barber, 1997). The people are not the rural, idyllically remembered neither 'folk' nor the urban industrial proletariat of the western developed countries. The people are differentiated in defined groups, linguistic, ethnic, occupational, and religious, and are in the great majority excluded from the political, military and business elite.

New kinds of association, forms of identity, and new publics have been forged in South Africa in the colonial and neo-colonial eras. The press, the church, the education system and more recently the electronic media addressed new categories of listeners, interpellating and thus calling into being new collectivities. New forms of entertainment – sport, cinema, television, radio, and theatre – have brought large numbers of people together in new ways. But we cannot assume that these crowds are masses in the same way as the vast, anonymous and atomised audiences that are postulated in studies of 'mass culture' in the west. More important is the fact that in Southern African countries, the electronic media exists as a vulnerable island washed over by a much bigger sea of live popular genres produced by small-scale, localised methods, and disseminated on a face-to-face basis such as popular painting, popular theatre, concert parties, the traditional African dresses, the protest songs of liberation movements, palm-wine guitar bands, etc.

South Africans consume and produce many of the commodities, according to the small-scale methods of the modern informal sector. In some ways, the people, the masses and the grassroots are phrases lavishly used by the press and by the politicians. As Barber wrote: "*The long experience of resistance to apartheid combined with a high degree of industrialisation have sharpened the outlines of classes which are described in the literature as, for instance, the unionised workforce, the township population, the black middle class, the rural poor*" (Barber, 1997:4).

The literature suggests that each has to some extent evolved its own cultural means for dealing with discrimination and immiseration. Charter argues that there is no one-to-one correspondence between class and culture. "*You cannot deduce some individual's position in the social process, his or her class position, from the musical*

forms, styles and genres he or she performs, listens to or patronises" (Charter, 1991 :4). He suggests that performance genre, rather than reflecting the already-constituted consciousness of a distinct social class, might 'mediate' between disparate social realities and "...provide for symbolic spaces in which disjointed social relations were reconstructed" (Charter, 1991: xix). Distinction between the high elite and the popular is defined through an aesthetic. For example, we have interpretation, production and consumption to literature according to whether it is written from the elite or from the popular sectors and the same are true with the arts, theatre, fashion clothing and so on.

- How is popular culture manifested through common sense in South Africa?

The common sense of 'the people' builds an intricate and continuous relationship between the different institutions of society and according to a specific historical moment. South Africa since the middle of twentieth century was subject to apartheid. The government based their policies on urban segregation, political and social exclusion and the discrimination of many ethnic groups within the society. Durban was not exempt and mainly the black African groups suffered the cruelest consequences at an extreme level. In chapter four the explanation was advanced as to why this specific group was chosen as a unit of analysis. Several examples will be cited that can provide an insight into the forms in which urban blacks African in general, and urban blacks African Zulu-English speakers in urban DMA in particular, interpret popular culture and through what elements do they interpret, produce and consume 'the popular'.

Music, art, literature, dance, and sport are some of the ways in which people choose to communicate their differences. They express, represent, teach and transmit the symbolic meaning of the reality within a specific group or society. Following this, I can take examples of these elements such as the case of the Drum magazine, Pula (a theatrical performance), Reggae and Hip-Hop music styles, the Red dance ceremony, the Shembe religion and football. My intention is to describe shortly all these kinds of communication in a historical context and establish the relationship between the practice and the symbolic representation of the real, through the struggle of meaning.

DRUM MAGAZINE is a magazine that came into existence in Cape Town in March 1951 initially with the name *The African Drum*. At first the magazine sold slowly but after it moved to Johannesburg and changed its name to *Drum* it became a winner and within a few years it was circulated throughout southern Africa. Drum quickly gained a tremendous and unprecedented readership among the newly literate strata of urban blacks. Originally the content was tribalistic and conservative in tone, but that changed when Editor Anthony Sampson realised that jazz, sport, girls, violence, and politics were of far more interest than Basuto blankets and outdated rituals (Addison: 1978:6). The essence of Drum was to be found in its relative isolation from the battles that were fought in the street, the courts, and the political columns of newspapers like the Communist party's *Inkululeko*. Being part of the pattern of township life and giving its attention as much to boxing and gangland crime as to the Defiance campaign, Drum was no-one's servant yet everyone's friend, a guardian of the poor which was ever ready to turn confidential adviser to the State in its perplexities over blacks. (Addison: 1978:7) The magazine became a vehicle of interpretation of black history in the form of tributes to the history-makers. Drum exposed brutality and injustices in prisons, and the authorities responded by improving conditions in some, though not all, jails. Addison (1978:8) wrote succinctly that: "*The writers during the 60's, 70's and 80's were busy with the imaginative reconstruction of a ruined or depleted world, a world of degraded values in which they were searching for authentic values like love and compassion in the dungheaps of Vrededorp and on the terrifying Orlando train*".

Drum expressed a lively response to the realities of its day, its scope being greater than that of the political protest papers because it opened new avenues of perception and self-realisation to the black community. A documentary about Drum magazine, produced by Jim Bailey, shows how black journalism in South Africa worked at the time. The work done by this journalist was quite impressive if one considers the harsh conditions under which some of the writing was done. For instance, Henry Kumalo was writing in his dwelling in the township without electricity, under candlelight. Some of the objectives of the Drum magazine were related to the description of the township life, its crime and

sport such as football, boxing, its politics, and so on. In addition, they wrote about black music and dance, which reflected the spirit of survival in spite of the discrimination and brutality experienced in the black township communities. Life in townships was quite rough but also to some extent quite fun, through some events as weddings, jazz, protest music, sport and comradeship. Those were days of prohibition, of strong politics and opinion, days where people were fighting for the land and days where millions of barbarians blacks South African struggled against the white supremacy.

Through Drum and the other media of the time the black masses became aware of themselves, their predicaments, their needs, and this began a process of consciousness rising. As Addison wrote: "*The journalists who described with such flair and confidence the stirring days of the anti-pass demonstration, the conventions and the marches, the political splits and the new affirmations of Pan-Africanism, were the men who lost their sense of purpose in foreign capital; Nakasa, for instance, commit suicide in New York*" (Addison, 1978:9). Drum did not aim to mobilise these masses but it did educate and inform them, perhaps better than any other medium. Popular mass literature has never been accorded a place in our understanding of the dynamic of political change. But at least, Drum was during the apartheid period a magazine that struggled for the formation of the black consciousness.

PULA (rain) is a popular African theatre production. "*Popular theatre implies performance in which a member of the oppressed majority presents to a cross-section of that minority a theatrical demystification of events in relation to a broad vision of structural change*" (Kidd, 1981 in Steadman, 1986:3). In the 1970s the interest of the theatre public in the notion of 'popular' performance was both aesthetic and political. The aesthetic reason for the renewed vigour of interest in popular culture was that it signified a rejection of the hegemony of Anglo-American artistic norms and values. This aesthetic reason was directly related to a political position. "*Quite simply, the notion of a popular cultural tradition legitimised the movement towards national liberation, which intensified during the 1970's and 1980's*" (Steadman, 1986:2).

Popular culture is therefore defined in a continuing dialectical relationship with the cultural forms of the dominant group, class or classes. What defines popular culture is its relation to a hegemonic culture. The relevance of symbolic discourses to political relations is shown when looking at how local plays and performances signified political consciousness. The political performance of black theatre is manifested in the spectacular work of Pula. Matsemela Manaka (writer and director) was born in the township of Alexandra but in the 1980's he lived in Soweto. He was a leading figure in the black theatre movement in the Witwatersrand (Steadman, 1986).

Before describing Pula it is necessary to understand what took place during 1981 and 1982 in South Africa. The rural areas were devastated by the lack of seasonal rains. Economic and social dislocation intensified in the 'homelands' of the rural periphery. Meanwhile, on the political front, there occurred a fragmentation of black political unity. These issues would provide the thematic substance for Pula. Also, changing relations between labour and production in the gold mining industry throughout the 1970's provided another important background. What Manaka wanted to show was the connections between the economic devastation of the rural areas, the incorporation of blacks in the urban areas, and the 'drought' facing the cause of black unity. Various tensions, which existed in black politics in the townships, are established in the play. Militant political groups, bourgeois entrepreneurs who exploit poorer blacks, and the naïve rural migrant, are represented in various relations of exploitation and conflict. In broad outline, therefore, the play depicts a movement from an idyllic African communality, through urbanisation and social dislocation, to a vision of fragmentation. A superficial reading of the text could quite easily produce criticisms of the play as a sentimentalised vision of a lost African Utopia. For Manaka himself, there were two important stimuli. On the one hand he was functioning as an artist and theatre practitioner trying to create innovative performance. On the other he functioned as a concerned and committed black cultural worker expressing a vision of South African society (Steadman, 1986). Manaka has commented elsewhere:

... Black theatre should be created with and for black people by black people. It is a sort of theatre, which should not be imported from town, but must be produced and found

where people live. The squatters, slums and ghettos should be its stage. Mampara bricks, corrugated zinc, the mud and stench in the streets should be its costume. Seqamtho, 'tsotsitaal', sepantsola not sehippie should be its language. Black theatre should be creating its mode of expression (Manaka, 1981 in Steadman, 1986:12-13)

Manaka in this work Pula described the corruption of black unity through alcoholism, exploitation and crime. Also, he discusses the fragmentation of black unity through class, status, and ideological differences, which frustrated the cause of black resistance. At the conclusion of the monologues, the actors return to centrestage and sing a song of praise to Shaka, the Zulu king who symbolises a vision of African unity.

REGGAE, the music of black Jamaica, is the condensed musical outcome of the experience of slavery, plantation life, racism and imperialism, and also has a mixture of the cultures of the Mandingo, Spanish, Yoruba, English, Hausa, Scottish and Akan people. "*Christianity was fused with African-derived elements, Methodist hymns with African rhythm. The forbidden 'myal' and 'obeah' cults (the 'obeah' controlled the 'duppies' – the spirits of the dead) reappeared in thin disguise*" (Chambers, 1985:152). The doctrinal flexibility of the Baptist and Wesleyan missions, and particularly the Pentecostal church with its insistence on supernatural interventions ('possession', 'talking in tongues'), encouraged the volatile adaptation of official religion, language and music to the former slaves' culture. Following the ending of slavery in 1834, the cultural identity of black Jamaicans and the sense of 'Jamaica' were deeply fused with these black populist currents.

Their vision of Africa as the symbol of mental and spiritual emancipation for black people – forced to carry white European structures and traditions on their shoulders and in their heads – was subsequently transformed into a more concrete message by later followers, among who was the Ras Tafari movement. The Rastas preached a concrete realism, unwilling to defer black salvation to another world they came to public notice following inevitable conflict with the authorities in the late 1940's (Chambers, 1985:165).

The Rastafarian movement provides the initial and creative drive for these developments in Jamaican popular music and dance.

The history of the 'past' colonisation, discrimination, exclusion and segregation from the apartheid era in South Africa have created a perfect backdrop for the adoption of this life philosophy for the rural-urban black community. Reggae has been formed and sustained through the interlocking themes of race and racism. Therefore, it has been used for many blacks African (especially urban English speakers) as a form of struggle against colonization and apartheid. For instance, if we look at the music of Bob Marley, the songs refer to very controversial issues and give support to the weak and dominated people, such as....

*"...All I ever had, is songs of freedom
Won't you help to sing, these songs of freedom
Cause all I ever had, redemption songs
Redemption songs
Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery
None but ourselves can free our mind..."*

*"...Africa, Unite
'Cause we' re moving right out of Babylon
And we' re going to our father's land
How good and how pleasant it would be
Before God and man, yeah*

*To see the unification of all Africans, yeah
As it's been said already let it be done, yeah
We are the children of the Rastaman
We are the children of the higher man..."*

It can be seen that the meaning of these words is not only applicable to the Jamaican reality. South Africans adopted this music and songs, but not for the music and songs only, but for the creation of a forgotten identity with black Africa, for a different style of life, consciousness and struggle against oppression and discrimination of race

during a time in which people were subject to apartheid. The inevitable tension that arises between Jamaican reggae, the 'roots', and its gradual immersion in international commercial structure after Marley's success, is neatly complemented by the mixture of 'natural' and 'artificial' sounds that echo one another in the dub process.

HIP HOP MUSIC has created a sub-culture in many places around the world. Hip-hop has become one of the most influential U.S. cultural exports. The hip-hop communities have adopted the percussion-heavy music, spoken-word vocals and have also appropriated the attitudinal style of the black and Latino youth that created the genre. The music has a growing chorus of critics who charge that its glorification of the 'Thug Life' promotes misogyny, violence and crime. This is not a new position; since its emergence from the ghettos of New York City in the late 1970's many mainstream critics have deemed hip-hop a dysfunctional element of pop culture. Most famously, many attribute the unsolved 1996 murders of two of hip-hop's most iconic rappers, Tupac Shakur and Christopher. (Muwakkil, 2003)

Some 25 years after its birth, the genre has become a \$5 billion industry but remains steeped in controversy. Eminem rumoured to be a choice for Time's 'man of the Year' has also been acclaimed for his movie 8 Mile. Eminem also remains respectful to the African-American culture that inspired him and has devoted considerable resources in assisting the black rappers who supported him during leaner times in his Detroit hometown. This music genre dreamed up on the streets of New York has become one of the planet's most powerful forces of globalisation and cultural homogenisation. Hip-hop is much more than a style of music; it is also a lifestyle, as is reggae. Many industries have been favoured through the rise of the style, for example, the clothing industry, jewellery industry and so on, there are many new articles that were born with this fashion. In the following photograph we can see a very particular type of fashion that if you want to belong to this group you are expected to wear. It has been said that: "*If hip-hop's originators can harness just a portion of the genre's creative power to address the issues that uniquely beset them, hip-hop can redeem its promise of create a better and free society*" (Muwakkil, 2003:27).

Since the 1980's many events have been shaping the South African context. Different styles of music have played a very important role in the development of consciousness, support for the struggle and identification as a group with the same ideals and fight. In an article in the *Sunday Tribune Magazine*, March 14, 2004 Therese Owen wrote "At hip-hop events at the Bat Centre in Durban, or Carfax in Johannesburg, the audience is filled with fans indifferent to the fact that they come from different cultural, racial and economic backgrounds". This is the first generation of music consumers that grew up in a post-apartheid society. Hip-hop in South Africa is performed in Zulu and in English, but the biggest factor in its popularity is that it is considered 'cool'. For instance, Durban is known as a very divided city, but even here mixed crowds are sharing the music. "This generation is very interesting," says Maas. "They understand the duality of who they are – growing up white in Africa; or being black and westernised. But it is not a conscious thing with them, because to come up with a statement like that you would have had to have grown up in the apartheid era. And they did not" (Owen, March 14, 2004:6).

SHEMBE Another very important part of popular cultural beliefs and customs is religion. In South Africa, many religions appear in the arena. Christians, Muslims, Hindus, and African form part of this wide spectrum. The intention is not to analyse every religion, but to give an example of how black Africans in KwaZulu-Natal are living it. The Shembe religion it is one of the most 'traditional' but it also has some linking with the western religions. On the one hand, believers maintain their beliefs in the ancestors, but, on the other, foreign western beliefs are also part of the Shembe religion. The Shembe Church was formed in 1913, founded by the Prophet Isaiah Shembe, and every year, as an annual pilgrimage thousands walk up a mountain to the holy plateau. Today, the church is one of the fastest growing in the country with more than two million followers. Most of its members come from KwaZulu-Natal, but it also has branches in Swaziland and Mozambique. The aged, lame and sick flock to the mountain every year for miracle cures, which, according to the devotees, have seen even the lame begin to walk, and entrepreneurs have their businesses flourish.

This is one of the unique religions that still maintains strong beliefs in their ancestors and respects the traditional costumes and form of attires. In the *Sunday Tribune News* on January 19, 2003, there was an article on the Shembe religion that shared the pilgrimage and showed how followers are not worried to walk many kilometres into the plains of Nhlankazi Mountain in Ndwedwe, west of Tongaat, to ponder and pray about their lives. This was the description of the pilgrimage: “*The trek started a fortnight ago when about 10 000 Shembe followers left their Inanda headquarters to head for the mountains where they have been sitting with Indunas, Amakhosis, and other learned ones trying to find the solutions to the ills of poverty, Aids, and guidance for the remainder of their time on earth*” (Bongani Mthembu, January 19 2003: 17).

The annual **REED CEREMONY (Umhlanga)** is a significant part of the Zulu cultural heritage. Many rituals have been preserved over the years, and the reed ceremony is still close to the hearts and minds of many traditional leaders and citizens. This annual celebration is held each September, which is when the Zulu ritual has been tirelessly celebrated by countless generations. King Zwelithini KaBhekuzulu opens this two days event. (Nyathikazi cited in *Metro Beat*, 15-12-2002/15-01-2003). Thousands of maidens converge at the King’s palace to dance to the delight of the King, loyal subjects and guests. As part of the tradition, only virgins are allowed to take part in this ritual. Each maiden has to carry a reed stick from the river and present it to the king in a spectacular procession. This usually happens at Enyokeni Palace – and it is during this festival that the King chooses his youngest wife. This activity promotes purity among the virgin girls and respect for young women. In essence, the reed ceremony is a key element in the Zulu society of preserving the custom of keeping young girls virgins until they are ready to get married. The important thing with the reed ceremony is that it is culturally educational experience and an opportunity for the young maidens to learn how to behave in front of the king.

An African journalist and commentator had this to say: “*This is done whilst delivering reed sticks and dancing. The maidens usually wear ‘izigege’ and ‘izinculuba’ (traditional garments that show their bottoms). Traditional attire includes beadwork to*

symbolize African beauty at its best. At this stage, the maidens are taught by senior females how to behave themselves and be proud of their virginity and naked bodies” (Nyathikazi in Metro Beat, 15-12-2002/15-01-2003).

The last September 2003 was holding the reed ceremony with thousand of people in KwaZulu-Natal. History was made “on Friday night” when maiden Makhosi Gabela was crowned in a beauty contest honouring the first female long-serving regent in the Zulu Kingdom, Queen Nozidiya. Gabela will be the cultural ambassador at all Zulu traditional occasion such as Umkhosi Welembu, the commemoration of King Shaka held at KwaDukuza each year; and Nomkhubulwane, the celebration of the queen of rain, to preserve a good image of ‘Zulu culture’. “*We, as amakhosi, have the responsibility of preserving our culture. We are the custodians of this nation, so we therefore have to encourage such gatherings”*, the King said, (Ncalane in *Sunday Tribune*, 2003). In the ceremony which attracts international attention as it coincides with South African Tourism Month, thousand of virgins carry reeds and present them to the monarch, and virginity testing is conducted to ensure every girl who will carry a reed is a virgin.

FOOTBALL is the most practiced sport among black Africans in South Africa. It was used in the 1980’s as a political tool to secure the recognition of non-White sportsmen. Many Africans in South Africa and in particular in Durban support and enjoy football, not only through the Bafana-Bafana games, but also through local players practising this sport in their own living-places, townships and so on. South African football gained international recognition from the International Football Association (F.I.F.A). The majority racial composition of the game and its supporters show clearly those who are involved and feel a passion for it. Currently, this situation has not changed too much and the perception from the general public is that football is still preferred by blacks, while rugby is preferred by the white group of population, as rugby was chiefly part of Afrikaaner culture, cricket part of English culture, and soccer part of black culture during apartheid.

Football is more and more part of the black African's everyday life. During weekends men are go to 'the ground' and play or watch how their neighbour plays. Also, people travel some distances to follow and watch they preferred club. For instance, there are stadiums in many places around DMA, such as the club of Umlazi, Kwa-Mashu or Chatsworth. It is also quite common that during games many people find themselves grouped in front of the TV in the local cafeteria or shop at the township sharing the same passion and discuss and enjoying in a loud voice the success and event of the game. Football is used as a form of group identification. Also, it is used as a form of de stressing from the hard work and exploitative work-life of the popular class. Newspapers, film, radio and television broadcasting have all had a profound effect on shaping the popular and political culture. (Boyle and Haynes, 2000:1) Football became a vehicle of social control, which is used to maintain the mass happy and occupied. Media, television and the press in particular, are playing a central role in producing, reproducing and amplifying many of the discourses associated with football in the current time in South Africa.

SHORT ANALYSIS OF THE CASES

To analyse the different cases, I would like to again refer to Bourdieu's theory of the field. Each time we study a new field such as fashion, literature, theatre, religion, music, politic, economy and so on, we discover specific properties, of this particular field. Each field is a site of struggle between those who have a place within the field and those who want to be part of it. It is condition for the existence of the field that there was something in play and people in a good disposition to play. They would have the habitus that implies the knowledge and recognition of immanent laws to the game, what it is in the game, etc. The structure of the field is a state of the relationship of forces between agents and institutions that intervene in the struggle. The struggle is for the distribution of specific capital that has been accumulated during anterior struggles and that motivates the ulterior strategies. That is what happens with the struggle for the meaning of the apartheid discourse associated with the policies and direct actions. The different forces, each one with different discourses, would struggle for the possession of the capital. The struggles

that happen in the field place in action the monopoly of the legitimated violence, I mean the conservation or subversion of the structure of the distribution of the specific capital.

Another property of the field is that all the people within a field have a certain amount of common interests. In other words, all those are linked with the same existence within the field. The struggle presupposes an agreement between the antagonists about those things over which they struggle, and this agreement is based in the ordinary, in a state of doxa. In the production field of cultural goods such as music, dance, religion and so on, the subversion can be the return to the origin, to the true essence of the game. Another important property is the history of the field. It is impossible to understand the Pula performance, the red ceremony, the Shembe religion, reggae and hip-hop, the adhesion to the football as a popular game, without understanding the history of each field and the context in which they are made. For instance the National Party and capital between 1948 and the mid-1970s embraced the word 'apartheid'. This sign legitimated to whites that their brutal domination of blacks was both biblically and socially accepted. As black resistance to apartheid emerged and attained legitimacy, the meaning of apartheid was politically, economically and socially contested.

Each of these examples has something in common, and it is the 'struggle'. Drum magazine was during the apartheid era a cultural commodity which created identification for a specific group, and contributed to the rise of black consciousness. Simultaneously they participated in the struggle for the production of the literature field. The public consumption was achieved through the circulation of popular themes, and the publication of the magazine was done in English only. This denotes that a huge black African public group was excluded from the select consumers. It was definitely a magazine for urban modernised black Africans who struggled for meaning and space in a particular field.

In the case of Pula, it was characterised as a popular performance of black African theatre. Here too, the same as in the case above, the performance was in English, with the added difficulty of having to pay for the ticket, with drastically reduced the black African public to some intellectuals and people with economic power. We find in this

work both sides; on the one hand, political motivations and cultural and academic knowledge in the production, and on the other, the consumption interest was based on the representation of the historical and oppressed time, creating identity and using general codes within the participants.

Reggae and hip-hop music have two main interests: the utopia and ideology based in the mixtures of cultures and symbolic representations of history, and on the other, the capitalist industry created through the material goods, such as a specific kind of clothing, CDs, etc. This mixture has created a western-African fusion fashion in South Africa, established through the struggle of religion, meanings, music, style of life, words, and appearance. And the most important of this is that it has created a new symbolic imaginary and style of life between the different groups of society who identify with it.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter some of the most important concepts of the study were defined. The transformation and reformulation of popular culture in South Africa can be linked to material and symbolic consumption and the ways in which people appropriate goods. Popular culture has been defined through three necessary elements.

- The first one is the unequal appropriation of cultural capital in a society (inequality in the access to school, culture, etc).
- The second is the different personalised representations of the life conditions (different sectors give a specific and different sense to their form of life, the social relationships, and this gives them their own cultural sense).
- And finally, there is confrontation and conflictive interaction with the hegemonic sectors. It means that the concept of popular culture can be changed through historical moments and through the given socio-economical conditions of society.

Popular sectors perceive and transform their own spaces through negotiation, confrontation and consensus with hegemonic sectors in everyday life.

Appropriation of material and symbol capital by the different social sectors in everyday life is done through consumption. It is a system of integration and communication; a place of differentiation and symbolic distinction between classes; a place for the reproduction of the labour force and the expansion of capital. Here is the place in which the popular sectors struggle for appropriation of the symbolic and material capital. But the acquisition or not of material and symbolic capital is related to the social positions that people occupy within the social space. The different social positions of people or groups of people are to some extent determined by the possibilities to interact in the social space and for the struggle of those who have the capital and for those who do not have it. Therefore, those who do not have capital are in a disadvantage position to acquire material and symbolic capital. On the one hand, they have to confront and negotiate with the hegemonic sectors and on the other; they (popular culture) transform the vision of the world and change the sense of life, re-transforming the cultural sense of them through the different mediation that they are object.

Finally, some examples have been provided in order to illustrate how popular culture is perceived and constructed by the popular social sectors. Popular theatre (Pula), Drum magazine and black African literature, Football and the social imaginary, Shembe religion and the indigenous beliefs, dance and the Red ceremony, Reggae and Hip Hop are some of the ways in which these sectors have expressed they own beliefs and thoughts. These examples show us the reach and understanding of everyday social practices and the differentiation on habitus and taste that society establishes among the different social classes within society.

EVERYDAY PRACTICES AND PERCEPTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, an exploration of how everyday life practices are perceived by urban black Africans Zulu-English speakers within the Durban Metropolitan area since the 1980s will be undertaken. To illustrate the perceptions, reference will be made to general thoughts, ideas and habitus through in-depth interviews and focus groups conducted with black Africans Zulu English speakers. Several perceptions and beliefs that gathered from interviews with Nise Malange (Bat Centre), Heinrich Bomke (Cosatu lawyer) and Kwanele Sosibo (Independent Newspaper journalist) will be also analysed and interpreted. The concept of everyday life will be related to everyday consumption of symbolic and material goods and the different ways in which the group in question struggle for the appropriation of cultural and economic capital. In this regard secondary data from 'Income and Expenditure of black African Household in KZN' 1995, 2000 will be used. Finally, the transformation of the daily practices of the black African population in KZN will be analysed through the mediated role of television, cinema, radio audience and of daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and magazine reading from AMPS 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, and 2002.

Reproduction and everyday life

Self-reproduction has been and is the main common denominator in giving continuity to natural and social life within the history of human being Heller (1984:3) notes that "*no society can exist without self-reproduction. Everyday life exists, then, in every society; indeed, every human being, whatever his place in the social division of labour, has his own everyday life*". In other words, an important consideration is not what is the class position that people occupy in society before they have an 'everyday life'. Everybody has an 'everyday life'.

It is necessary for self-reproduction to live a daily life among other human beings, this creates a set of singularities that can be used to identify and differentiate one another and generates similar meanings of material objects and understandings of the common signs of the 'real world'. 'Everyday life' is a necessary concept to explain how people build their thoughts, perceptions, experiences and practices. "*It is the aggregate of activities belonging to the self-reproduction of the person – the human being born into the given conditions of a given world; and we also seen that, in history up to the present, particularity has been the subject of everyday life in the great majority of social orders and social relations*" (Heller, 1984: 27).

The particularities of South African history have been reflected in the everyday life of Zulu English speakers within Durban's Metropolitan area, and their own customs have been transformed and mixed with others through the processes of globalisation and westernisation. However, their daily life has been built and developed through struggle and continuous transformation, due to multiple factors such as for example the rural migration into the urban Durban area and the implicit consequences and changes to the everyday way of life. In this process, many forms of being, thoughts, practices and so on have been changed. For modern Zulu-English speaking people, every new situation, every change of job, new educational systems, new kinds of food, clothing, even admission to a new social set presents them with new problems of acculturation. They must learn to utilise new instruments, customs and proprieties.

Everyday life always takes place in and relates to the immediate environment of a person or group. All objectifications, which do not relate to the person or to his/her immediate environment, go beyond the threshold of the everyday life. This is not to say that the effective radius of the objectification of everyday life stops short at the person and his/her immediate environment: on the contrary, it extends to the highest reaches of objectification, if only because all the basic skills, the fundamental affects and attitudes by means of which as Heller put it "*I transcend my environment and which I correlate with the total world accessible to me, and with the aid of which I objectify myself, are appropriated by me in my everyday life*" (Heller, 1984:6-7).

The world in which Zulu-English speakers live is not a local world, one with closed boundaries. It is a global world in where the growth information that is received continuously transforms the vision and the multiples social divisions of the world. The beliefs and thoughts of the Zulu ethnic group play a primary role in the formation of the person's everyday life, insofar as it is in the group that the person appropriates his/her sociality. However, it is far from accurate to imagine that the group produces normative customs that are the norms and customs of the society. The true situation is rather the reverse. The ethnic group, which indeed plays a primary part in daily life, is not primary insofar as the creation of norms and customs is concerned. In this respect, Heller (1984:30) says that, "*the group plays no more than an intermediate function, the appropriation of the group norms and customs falls short of preparing the person for the organisation of his daily life in general*".

The fact that one goes to school to learn a language is a necessary consequence deriving from a given social structure ('compulsory primary education', 'language institutional power'); and exactly what sort of school or language you learn is a function of the social, cultural, and economic position of the parent. But exactly what type of concrete school do I go to, and into which concrete class I am put. In this respect, in a focus group set up in February 2004 with a group of urban black African Zulu –English speakers¹, two participants expressed the following with regards to education and language:

I speak English because it is a common language and it is a communicative language, everybody must know English. Every person, white, coloured, blacks, and Indians have to learn two languages at school. Most Zulu people learn three languages at school: Zulu, English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans is very difficult but the other two languages are much easier. I can hear a person who is talking Afrikaans but I cannot speak or answer to him/her. If she/he is an Afrikaner I do not want to listen. If people talk in the parliament and they uses to speak Afrikaans I saw them as they are making noise. I keep on doing other things because I do not want to listen what she/he is saying, but is he/she is saying

something in English I will keep on concentrated and interested on him because I understand English. I would have to tell you that some of the biggest clash is here, because our parents do not know English because they did not go to school. The only people who know English are those who went to school and those who did not; have to talk Cisifanakalo – the commercial language used mostly by the Indians to communicate with Zulu people in industries. They try to talk English, mixing English with Zulu; that is the only language I hate. Usually the Indians come across a person, they talk – isifanakalo, not knowing that you know English or not because they have the idea that we have not gone to school, even the white, they undermine us they used to talk to other people, who would tell you what is she/he saying. I do not know – not that they are just undermining us, I think they are just stereotyping. You know they are just taking it for granted that old lady does not know English (Patience 37 years old, February 2004).

Our generation have gone to school, even some of them have not finished the school, but they try to communicate; black people who want to greeting whites or Indians they greet in Zulu and say 'Sawubona', but if he/she does not knows Zulu and we must continue in English. It is like we have the obligation to know the language of colonisation, but they never have been worried to learn Zulu or our different African languages. For example, my daughter is schooling in Glenmore primary but when she is at home she spoke Zulu because I am training her to speak much of Zulu, she must not lost that. I am Zulu; my children have to know Zulu even if they do not know to write it. I can speak in English very well, but I am very proud to be a Zulu and when I come across Zulu speakers, I have to talk Zulu (Nozipho 48 years old, February 2004).

As we can observe, some of the most common practices of everyday, such as communication and education, have a serious impact on the behaviour of urban black African Zulu-English speakers. To them, the representation of the world is mediated through different variables. The English language is one of them, but it is a foreign, strange language imposed through the historical processes of colonisation and apartheid in South Africa.

According to Bourdieu (1992:241) language and education are based in the value of the qualification.

¹ This was the 2nd Focus Group, which was done with people from different urban areas of Durban Metropolitan area, such as the City centre, Glenmore, Berea, Umbilo, and Musgrave.

The qualification is in itself an *institution* that is more durable than the intrinsic characteristics of the work, and so the rewards associated with the qualification can be maintained despite changes in the work and its relative value: it is not the relative value of the work which determines the value of the name, but the institutionalised value of the title which acts as an instrument serving to defend and maintain the value of the work.

This means that one cannot establish a “*science of classifications without establishing a science of the struggle over classifications and without taking into account the position occupied, in this struggle for the power of knowledge, for the power through knowledge, for the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence....*” (Bourdieu, 1992: 242).

Black Africans have had to incorporate into their everyday life all kinds of unfamiliar elements, learning in the process of socialisation how to deal with these objects and subjects. In this process of maturation, the individual has to learn how to use tools, materialisation, symbolisms, institutions and representation of the world, which goes beyond the private world. Men and women find themselves in a biographically determined situation, that is, in a physical and socio-cultural ambit in which they have their position, not only in the physical space and exterior time, or their status and role within the social system, but also, their moral and ideological position (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974).

The world is a world inter-subjective of culture. It is inter-subjective because we live in it as people among people, linked to them through common work, the need to understand everybody and be understood by them. It is a world of culture, because from the beginning the world of everyday life is for us a universe of signification, this is, a texture of meaning which we have to interpret to locate within it and to have agreement with it (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974). Therefore, Zulu-English speakers have had to learn and accept to live among other ethnic groups, acquiring experience and knowledge with respect to the other's lives, thoughts and practices.

They have assimilated that to be educated is not about how much they know about their own culture but it is to attend school and be educated into western knowledge and cultures. Patience (February, 2004) in our conversation stated *“Zulus are associated as Amabhinca, uncivilised and uneducated people. If you are still wearing traditional clothing, if you still believe in your ancestors, and you are not going to the school, you are classified as Amanhinca, and in definitely you are not civilised, religious, modern and fashionable”*. Institutions in South Africa have a strong role in how people live in society and in how they are perceived.

Education and Christian religions are ‘essential’ to cultural and economic transformation within the Zulu-English ethnic group. Through these concepts it has been and is easier to introduce material globalisation and the symbolic representation of meaning. We can see to some extent, the role these institutions have played in the construction of the imaginary world representation of this group. At the same time that these institutions produce a different vision and transform the life of Zulu-English speakers, it works as a form of development and reproduction of their own life conditions, which are necessary conditions of their own existence, and necessary for the reproduction of this capitalist mode of production.

Social Space and Social Distances

To understand the everyday life and practices of this specific ethnic group located in the Durban Metropolitan area, it is necessary to give an insight into how their social world is structured. As Bourdieu put it:

The social field can be described as a multi-dimensional space of positions such that each actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of co-ordinates whose values correspond to the values of the different pertinent variables. Agents are thus distributed, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of the capital they possess and, in the second dimension, according to the composition of their capital – in other words, according to the relative weight of the different kinds of capital in the total set of their assets” (Bourdieu, 1992:231).

The social world can be constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active in the social universe under consideration (Bourdieu, 1992:229). This idea of difference is at the basis of the very notion of *space*, that is, a set of distinct and coexisting positions which are exterior to one another and are defined in relation to one another through their *mutual exteriority* and their relations of proximity, vicinity, or distance, as well as through relations of order, such as above, below, and in between. In addition, the space can also be described as a field of forces; in other words, “*of objective power relations imposed on all those who enter this field, relations which are not reducible to the intentions of individual agents or even to direct interactions between agents*” (Bourdieu, 1992:230). Thus, social space is a place of power. Power is not homogeneous; it is translated in different heterogeneous visions, which creates division within the space. In addition, it creates social differences, not only among different sectors or groups but also within the same group.

Social space in the Durban Metropolitan area is based in social differences between groups. As has been already mentioned, Durban is a place that has been subjected to multiple variants through the historical process. Colonisation, migration and the processes of apartheid have resulted in social, cultural, political and economic diversity. In 1994, with the welcoming of democracy, the black African community in South Africa thought that the time of domination was finished. However, reality shows that the valuable freedom is not something that can be attained overnight, and the field of power can be a significant concept at the moment to understand how in the social space exist social differences within a specific group or ethnic groups. According to participant Sosibo (26 years old, journalist, January 2003)

“After apartheid people felt very insecure, because in the beginning they did not know what can expect, but if you look carefully, black economical power do not happen in the ground levels. Respect to democracy, is very difficult, because the majority of them do not know what they can do with the power, with the freedom of democracy, we do not know what is the relationship between democracy and legal issues, what is the limit of this freedom. Other problem is the psychological apartheid, the terror to the unfair

situation. The black African are still being afraid, especially the poorest classes, from the popular classes, which they are the majority."

Exploring democracy as a form of possibility for the consumption of goods in everyday life and as a way of free expression of social differences, some of people's comments from the first focus group (November 2003) will be transcribed for the benefit of the readers, namely:

- *Before we were not free to talk about ourselves, but now we are 'free' to talk (Pinky, 35).*
- *What I do not like in the democracy is freedom at school procedure. At school were punishment was banished/closed down. If the child has done something wrong would do nothing about that even if the child has not done his/her homework. Democracy is good but when do not understand, it is transformed in abuse (Jonathan, 39).*
- *Democracy is here, but we still have to learn. You know my Zulu culture means 'respect', so if you lost Zulu culture you have lost democracy (Apostle, 46).*
- *Before democracy, we were not allowed to buy in specific shops or areas, but now we can have more information when we buy a TV or other technical things. Also, before we were restricted to the school in where people accept black African, but now we can go to every school we want (Fernanda, 24 years old).*
- *Generally, people have more possibility to buy clothing and Zulu's buy the most beautiful and modern clothing of the Western culture, sometime they appear to be more that the other with poor clothing, but it is not democracy because is not respect for our culture (Thokozani, 47 years old).*
- *I am the one who are buying more because I would say that democracy allows me to do something never I do before, to buy in every clothing store. But with the democracy also come a lot many bad things. There are more rapes, and the people drinks a lot, because they feel frustration to not reach the economical and cultural status that other have (Thembisa, 28 years old).*
- *There are not change for good, I think it is wrong, because now is easy to recognise the student, the professional, the workers, etc. I see him/her she/he is rich or poor but in nowadays there are people who go with fashion. I do not like a fashion just because it identifies that he/she is rich or poor. E.g. If you wear shirt at school as uniform, everybody use the same and you do not know who is rich or poor, but with the different trends fashion some of them wear a shirt of R200 and others for R30 and these differences identify who you are (Sthembiso, 43years old).*

As can be observed, the concepts of democracy and consumption are linked together mainly in the last decade of the history of Zulu English speakers within the DMA. They do not talk only of democracy, but they are relating democracy with consumption. The question is, however, what kind of consumption are they talking about? They are talking about the consumption of freedom. To have freedom of decisions, of thought, action, opinion, consumption of material and symbolic goods is of importance. For example, consumption of knowledge through education, consumption of technical things through the possibility of work, and consumption of distinction through clothing fashions and other material properties are significant.

As Bourdieu (1998:6) put it: *“Social space is constructed in such way that agents or groups are distributed in it according to their position in statistical distributions based on the two principles of differentiation: economic capital and cultural capital”*

Some of the ways to explain the distribution of economic and cultural capital within this ethnic group is to use statistical information, such as Bourdieu states. The use of one of existing resources, information from the Income and Expenditure of Household in KwaZulu-Natal survey² was useful in helping the researcher build data that represents the expenditure of black African households within the province according to 21 items, placing them in rank of order which gives information about what items are more important than others at the moment to expend their salary. The rank order of the annual

² I am using Income and Expenditure of Household in KwaZulu-Natal 1995. I could build some interesting tables on expenditure (consumption) with the information that I received from Statistics S.A. 1995, putting emphasis on clothing consumption by gender and age. But unfortunately, it has been impossible to me do the same work with the information of 2000. The tables of 1995 were building on the criteria of race differentiation, so it was not difficult to build the required information. But the tables of 2000 were not built with the same criteria. In my search looking for the division on race, several people were visited, such as Danielle Casalle (from the Economic Department), Julian May (Development Studies) all of them from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, but not one of them had noted that the tables of 2000 did not have division of race. In addition, when I phoned Statistics South Africa, their answer was a firm ‘no’. We cannot give you this information, we do not have it. This was the answer not only in the offices of Durban but also, in the central office in Pretoria. It is well know in the university corridors all the polemic and controversies that the last census data bring together. I think that the information of the last researches serve to political purposes for the government.

average expenditure in the Durban Metropolitan area is analysed according to the different items consumed within the household.

We can observe the following results: the first item on which people expend their money is 'food', which represents 22% of the total. In second place, 'housing' with 15.60%; third was 'income tax' with 12.06%; fourth place was occupied by 'other' with 12.06%; fifth place was 'transport' with 8.11%; sixth place 'furniture and equipment' with 6.40%; seventh place was 'clothing' with 5.60%; eighth place was 'medical services and requirements' with 4.23%; ninth place 'education' with 2.74%; tenth place was personal care, with 2.34%.

After identifying all 10 preferable items, which are very important in everyday life, it can be seen that food, transport, clothing, education and personal care are the most general daily life necessities. From the 21 items, clothing occupies place number 7, but if we add footwear to clothing, which represents the number 13 in the rank with 1.90%, we find that 7.50% of expenditures belong to these items. And finally, if one adds personal care, we obtain 9.84%, which together represents the fifth place in the rank order. In fact, during the research undertaking clothing and footwear³ was considered to be one of the most important ways of non-verbal communication and expressions of changing habitus in everyday life. Clothing is considered in the everyday imaginary of urban black African Zulu English speakers to be a very important item, which signifies distinction, power and symbolic and economic differentiation. Later in this chapter, I will return to these items with some statistics and examples of consumption.

Perception of the Social World

Bourdieu (1998:13) has written perceptively that:

³ From now when I do mention clothing items, please, take into consideration that it will be referred to clothing and footwear items in general. Only in specific statistics of these items or in examples I will mention them per separate.

The social world embraces me like a point. But this point is a *point of view*, the principle of the view adopted from a point located in social space, a perspective which is defined, in its form and contents, by the objective position from which it is adopted. The social space is indeed the first and last reality, since it still commands the representations that the social agents can have of it

The social world can be perceived, uttered and constructed in accordance with different principles of vision and division (for instance, different divisions and vision within an ethnic group, between social classes or social sectors). Thus: *“It being understood that grouping founded in the struggle of the space constructed on the basis of the distribution of capital have a greater chance of being stable and durable and that other forms of grouping will always be threatened by splits and oppositions linked to distances in the social space”* (Bourdieu, 1992:232-233). He continues:

The perception of the social world is the product of a double social structuring: on the objective side, this perception socially structured because the properties attached to agents or institutions do not make themselves available to perception independently, but in combinations whose probability varies widely. On the subjective side, it is structured because the schemas of perception and evaluation susceptible of being brought into operation at a given moment, including all those which are laid down in language, are the product of previous symbolic struggles and express, in a more or less transformed form, the state of symbolic relations of power (Bourdieu, 1992:134).

The schema of perception varies according to the particular economic and cultural place where people or groups of people are located. From the many diverse conversations with Zulu-English speakers, it has been maintained that religion and culture are the two most important sources from where they perceive and build their vision of the world. They try in their daily life to mix the concept of religion with their own culture. Let me illustrate some of the different perceptions with two examples taken from my third focus group.

In fact, not only Zulu but also African in general believed and believe that there were/are something superior. Their main belief was in their ancestors, but they believed that there was a superior and is above powerful. They did not name/call it as ‘God’ but they say it

“Mkhulu – Mkhulu” – means God that is “NkuluNkulu” so the word “NkuluNkulu is originated from the word “Mkhulu – Mkhulu” that means God. So when the missionaries came as I said before that there is a sort of misled of people. Now they said those who are Christians must not believe in their ancestors. They are tempted to be hidden, and even they dress traditionally. Zulu’s cannot go with their skins to church because it is hidden dressing, so that is where the clash came but now the things have turned go in with skins. They understand that no you are misleading them. If you chose to go with traditional dress means they will loose church members, so it was not to me. By religion was not translated to the way would be because it is not much of the clash. I am personally a Christian in the Roman Catholic Church. We still believe there that there are ancestors. They are praying God, i.e. Jesus who died long time ago, we are waiting for him to rise them from death but our ancestors have seen from their graves and we pray and ask them do good things to us, so the way it was introduced was wrong (Ayanda 23 years old, July 2004).

I think that there are not link between culture and religion. Before the people use to respect the value, the value system, but now with the modernisation, the globalisation, they prefer go and change the value of Zulu for religion and belief value, that in a big part is commerce (John 42 years old, July 2004).

As can be seen, a perception of the world is not uniform, even though people might belong to the same ethnic group. Perceptions and visions are ever changing and transformed constantly, but according to a reference schema, which allows us to move in a horizon of familiarity. The adult men look at the inter-subjective everyday life. This world existed before our births, experimented and interpreted for others as an organised world. All interpretation of this world is based in an abundance of prior experiences taught and socialised from our parent, teachers and so on. These experiences, as our disposable knowledge, work as a reference schema. (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974) To this cumulus of disposable knowledge belongs our knowledge about the world. The world is a world of objects, with some defined qualities, objects between which we are moving, that offer resistance to us, and over which we can actuate. *“These objects are moved within a horizon of familiarity. The disposable knowledge about the objects is a cumulus non-questioned, although always questionable”* (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974:53).

In other words, our position in the social space and the acquired knowledge gained through lived experiences is reinforced through struggle for the appropriation of the material and symbolic meaning of the object that we can find within the world. The struggle for the meaning of religion and Christianity by urban black Africans Zulu-English speakers is still accurate, and the controversies within their own culture have and still produce transformation and change toward the core of Christian religions and beliefs. In fact, we know that transformation of the given society has taken place since the changing to the capitalist mode of production, but since the 1980's and with the huge advances in information technologies, the spread of production, circulation and consumption has accelerated strongly. Bourdieu (1992: 236-237) says that:

With the growing differentiation of the social world and the constitution of relatively autonomous fields, the labour of the production and imposition of meaning is performed in and through struggles in the field of cultural production (and especially in the political sub-field); it becomes the particular concern, the specific interest, of the professional producers of objectified representations of the social world, or, more precisely, of the methods of objectification.

It is impossible to deny that globalisation and democracy in South Africa in general, and among this ethnic group in particular, have produced a growing differentiation in the field of cultural production through political and cultural struggle. Here the objectification of the social relationships can be seen as a construction of the world of commodity fetishism.⁴ In this sense Heinrich Bomke, COSATU lawyer, (August, 2003) notes that:

In the 1980's South Africa was a closed economy because of the apartheid exemptions, it was open automatically, at the level of integration with the world, in the trade industry, there was a mass of changes. The internal bourgeoisie, the middle class was able to take the money out of the country. It is that the money that the people made can be expatriated out of the country to London, New York, etc. The past South Africa was a closed economy, also in the cultural levels. The National Party was in the power. From 1994 to

⁴ For more information about objectification and fetishism, see Marx (1972) *The Capital*.

1996, the golden period, people believed in democracy, the ANC believed in the freedom. Now in the cultural sphere, they are importing the lower crap from America, just taking what the market values in America, what is done here, the cheap cultural price. From 1994 to 1996 people was trying to make South African history, which contain social values, ideas about liberation, about transforming the world. It happened for about two years until financial constraint started to bite. And then relocating South African qualities economic policies, which is neo-liberal, is not impose by the west. It is ahead of what the WTO is demanding of South Africa. Globalisation of financial control, bringing the budget deficit within 3% of the GDP, basically a neo-liberal prescription. And opening the markets, the market now dictates how distribution occurs in society and the States. The opening of the market coincides with the opening of the political sphere. Initially for the period of 2 or 3 years it was wonderful, the opening of the market allows us to have more selection of products, and it was wonderful. Even more some people were not able to purchase some of these products, but the idea was that the apartheid was over, and black people could be rich. There was no longer barriers preventing them from getting work, they were not in townships any more and the idea was now the capitalist pies would be shared amongst everybody. Things will be equalising, because the white has lots of money and the blacks do not have anything. And now we can all part take in the economic and cultural fruits of the country.

The social world, particularly through properties and their distribution, attains, in the objective world itself, the status of a *symbolic system* which, like a system of phonemes, is organised in accordance with the logic of difference, of differential deviation, which is thus constituted as significant *distinction*. “*The social space, and the differences that ‘spontaneously’ emerge within it, tends to function symbolically as a space of life-styles, of groups characterised by different life-styles*” (Bourdieu, 1992:237). It means, that the education and knowledge about the world, where one obtains the experience and education, when, how and what, has influenced what kind of perceptions, thoughts, and actions the different groups or sectors have in the society.

Media, Communication and Audience

Every one has stereotypes through which he/she accepts and recognises the world. The non-questionable pre-experiences are disposable from the beginning as typical (Schutz

and Luckmann, 1974). In the technical language of Husserl (1969), a stereotype “*is transferred unperceptively to any other similar object, perceived merely according with his type*”. However, this texture of meaning has originated from human actions. All cultural objects owe their origin and meaning to the activities of human subject. Therefore, it is impossible to understand a cultural object without refer it to the human activity that has created it (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974).

One expects from the subject a known behaviour and response in the case of some specific typical event, but in this given historical moment, Zulu-English speakers are experiencing an unprecedented number of new objects, which have come from the exterior world. It is indispensable to learn the uses of such objects, appropriate them, and possibly transform them within the universe of known objects.

Sosibo (November 2002) explains how they perceive and feel with respect to the new cultural objects and information.

Before the 80s the radio, television, the media in general was quite close to the information about all over the world, but now the situation is changing. You could still listens conservative lines in the media, but also is more open to the reality, we receive information from everywhere, we are subjects of information. Our programmes are open to cultural diversity, but at the same time, there are lots more confusion because we do not know how we can use this information. With respect to the television channels, urban black African Zulu English speakers prefer to watch SABC1, it is more proper to rural-urban that live in urban areas. It uses similar codes. Disco radio for example, is a big radio for all South African; it is very behind in music respect that what African people want, but the same is very conservative and not critical. It is very sad because it is used for the economic capital. CNN is very uncritical; the information is very distorted. Television produces visual aspirations, what they look or whatever, radio produce a different form of thought through the message.

Therefore, one of the forms of mediation in this process of knowledge could be the new media through which the cultural objects are received, accepted, and in the process transform the perceptions and understanding of the symbolic world. It is in the

symbolic struggle for the production of common sense or, more precisely, for the monopoly of legitimate *naming* as the official imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, that agents bring into play the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles. As Bourdieu (1992:239) put it: “*In particular all the power that they possess over the instituted taxonomies, those inscribed in people’s minds or in the objective world, such as qualifications*”.

According to Bourdieu (1992:238),

The objective relations of power tend to reproduce themselves in symbolic relations of power, in visions of the social world, which contribute to ensuring the permanence of those relations of power. In the struggle for the imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, agents wield a power, which is proportional to their symbolic capital, that is, to the recognition they receive from a group.

It can be accepted then, through a careful reading of the previous pages, that the social world is a world of social differences, which is translated into different perception according to the place people occupy in the economic and cultural fields. A way to learn how the legitimate vision of the world is built and transmitted to people is through media and communication, through the struggle in the fields of cultural production and the role that different agents plays within the field for the appropriation of the means of production and the legitimate naming of the cultural objects.

The AMPS survey information produced provides a general knowledge of the media’s influence over the everyday life of black African in KwaZulu-Natal and in the Durban Metropolitan area⁵. It is essential to understand that the power of media is not ‘innocent’, and the information that people receive is crossed by the lines of political, economic and cultural power. It creates at the same time a different vision of the world according with the habitus of consumption and taste of cultural production, and the place that people occupy in the social space reflecting social distances.

⁵ I will only mention some of the most important data about media. To see all the result of the tables, please look at the appendix number 3. All the information is given in percentages.

The newspapers read the most by black African people in the province were as follows. In the 1980 the English daily newspaper mostly read in KwaZulu-Natal was the *Daily News* with 4.8%, followed by the *Natal Mercury* with 4.2% of the black African population. In 1985, however, both newspapers shared the same percentage of black African readers with 2.7%. In 1990, the *Daily News* was read by 2.8% of the African population, while in 1995 and 2002 this dropped first to 1.5% and later rose to 5.2%. With respect to the second most widely read English newspaper with more readers in 1990, the *Natal Mercury* reached 2.5%, in 1995 1.3% and in 2002 growth went up to 3.6% of the total population.

The Sunday and weekly newspaper with the most readers was *Ilanga*. *Ilanga* is an African newspaper written in the Zulu language newspaper and is divided into *Ilanga* weekend and *Ilanga* weekday. In 1980, 27.7% and 28.7% of blacks African read this newspaper in this respective order, while in 1985 the percentage grew to 33.3% and 35.6%. In 1990 the ciphers dropped to 19.0% and 20.7% respectively; and in 1995 they were 15.2% and 16.6% respectively. With respect to the English newspapers the *Sunday Tribune* and the *Sunday Times* had in 1980, 7.9% and 5.5% respectively; in 1985 5.4% and 6.2% respectively; in 1990 these figures dropped to 1.8% and 1.4% respectively, in 1995 1.1% for both of them and finally, in 2002 11% and 10.50% respectively⁶.

According to the ciphers obtained, one can observe that black Africans prefer to read Zulu newspapers such as *Ilanga*. It is very telling that people choose the newspaper prepared for black readers by black journalists. Definitely, language has a very important role in the symbolic vision of reality. The Zulu language has its own codes and signs, with culture specific forms of expression and communication, creating for readers a space in which black Africans can share objectification about the social world. In addition, it is interesting to note that since the 1980s a small group of black African Zulu English speakers are attracted to reading English newspapers, through which they learn the codes

⁶ It is important to mention that the information of AMPS 2002 is not categorised by race, for which it is impossible to obtain information of media use in the province by the black African population. All the information for 2002 represents the total population of the province.

and signs from other cultures, other perspectives and different visions of the similar environment, and knowledge from other distant worlds.

With regard to magazines, the main magazines read during this period are *Bona*, *Drum* and *Pace*, but other magazines were also read, such as *Family Radio and TV*, *Living and Loving*, *S.A. Soccer*, *Readers Digest*, *Sunday Times magazines*, *Scope*, *Hit*, *Sharpshoot Soccer*, *Sport Ace*, *Kickoff*, and *True Love*. The magazines more read by black Africans were in 1980, *Bona* with 19,2%, *Drum* with 9.6% and *Pace* with 8.7%; in 1985, *Bona* with 37.2%, *Drum* with 12.7%, and *Pace* with 16.0%. In 1990, *Bona* with 20.5%, *Drum* with 6.7 and *Pace* with 5.7%. In 1995, *Bona* with 12.6%, *Drum* with 4.2% and *Pace* with 2.5%, and finally, in 2002, *Bona* with 13.9%, *Drum* with 7.2% and *Pace* with 2.2%.

Therefore, magazines play with Black African taste, changing it through a complex process of symbolic representation. But what do magazines represent? They represent some of the aspirations of black African people because they cover different modes of information, which are vital for the satisfaction of their readers' desires and hopes. For instance, as mentioned in chapter 6, *Drum* magazine was used during apartheid as a form of expression, as a way to inform people about social processes, as a way to transmit music, poetry and literature to an avid public and give hope, and so on. *Bona* represents for example the image of success in the form of local businesswomen and businessmen, the image of people who are well built, modern, prepared, and educated. This exported image from the Western societies has had and has a big impact in the local culture, influencing it and transforming the way in which Zulu-English perceive success.

Cinema was a phenomenon that took off quite late in South Africa, not only for the black African population, but also for the total population. People with more economic acquisitive power begin to buy tickets for the functions with the illusion to reach social modernity, enjoying movies for instance. In the black African population living in Natal, the highest percentages of those who watch movies were centred among

those people that have been to the cinema at least once in the last 12 months. For example, in 1980, 8.1% of black African went to the cinema at least once in the year; in 1985 20%; in 1990 8.1%; in 1995 5.1%; and in 2002 15%.

With regard to television viewing, people gained access to television quite late in South Africa, considering that in other countries by 1970 the medium was a part of everyday life. The first television programme in South Africa was in the 1970s, and the owners of television sets were mainly whites. Television in the 1980s was nearly non-existent for the black population. I could not find information on Natal, but in the table on the Durban Metropolitan area we can get a general impression. It shows us that in 1980 only 2.8 % of the black population were watching TV, but at that stage the duration of the programming was from 18h00 to 20h00. If we carry on with the information on Durban Metro, in 1985 from the total, only 30.9% of the black African population were watching television. In 1990 31.60%, and in 2002 approximately 80%.

Cinema and television use was in the beginning of the 1980s nearly non-existent for the black African population. Diverse reasons can be given for this exclusion. Firstly, apartheid meant urban segregation for blacks African, who did not have authorisation to move freely in the urban space where cinemas were located. Secondly, the direct consequence of urban segregation was a scarcity of employment and economic possibilities, so large numbers of Africans did not have the possibility of gaining access to these technological advances. Thirdly, the majority of movies and programmes were in Afrikaans and English, and thus only a few privileged black Africans could understand those languages. Finally, the largest percentage of the African population lived in rural areas or peri-urban settlements, where the lack of electricity made it impossible to access these technological communication devices of modernity.

These reasons are obviously not an exhaustive explanation of such phenomena, but can help give an insight into the life conditions of black African Zulu-English speakers during that period. If one explores closely the current situation of this ethnic group one might find that some percentage of the population continues to live under these

conditions after 10 years of democracy. But the access to television and cinema has grown considerably. This growth is related to some extent to the global expansion of capital, the more globalised South African economy since 1994, and the political and cultural relationships between South Africa and the rest of the world.

Finally, one needs to examine the information on radio usage, which has had a great influence on the people of the Durban Metropolitan area. Radio Bantu was in the 1980s the main station as it was listened by 78.1% of people, while in 1985 the percentage was 67.6%. In 1990 the post popular radio changed to SABC/Nguni/Sotho with 70.4%, followed by Radio Metro with 10.8%.⁷ The role of radio in the urban black African population is fundamental. It is used as mediation in the relation between people and the symbolic perceptions on everyday life. One thing that is clear from the statistical information is the clear preference of black Africans for the ethnic radio stations, although a small percentage chooses other more westernised stations.

Related to these percentages and in terms of the media in general, Lucy (46 years old) and Tabo (33 years old) in the third focus groups said respectively that:

We used radios earlier on and I think it was 1982 that are where we started to get on TV. We had no electricity, many people used candles so after we started to get electricity that is when TV distributed to the older generation. We African people, there is only one newspaper that is famous, that is Ilanga newspaper that brings the news to all of us. The 'educated' people use Sunday Tribune. If we talk about magazines, there are some African magazines, but generally the people are not interested to read it. For example, sometimes domestic workers use to bring newspapers or magazines from their works but even for them sometimes are not much interested on the news, are more interested on the pictures (July 2004).

In fact, I started to watch TV before 80's. This happens at the same time in the whole country, but then I think it was 1979 when people started to carry TV, but it was few of them. And then only 30 minutes of Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho in one channel. Most of it was in English. Then it was improved until these days but to me watch TV it keep on changing

and seen to be very biased. I watch news and some movies but I have really got problem because majorities' movies are international from America. You can watch the soaps like the Bold and the Beautiful, Days of our Lives. There is also Isidingo – although it is African, the majority are in English. Then, my prefer radio station is Ukhozi FM and I listen to P4 for music and for nice things happening in town. For the newspaper I must use Isolezwe lie Zulu newspaper that is new one, Ilanga Newspaper, because the news that we get in Mercury, Daily News we find it twice a week in our newspaper. Sunday Tribune have whole worlds news, I also read Drum magazine, TrueLove. I also read Drum magazines; before they use to sell us Bona magazines. It was made especially for black because it was in Zulu but it is not popular anymore. Now Drum magazine is very popular (July, 2004).

To summarise, newspapers, magazines, cinema, television and radio play an essential role in the changing perception of the world of the urban black African Zulu English speakers, especially so since the advent of democracy. This mediation not only creates different visions of the social space but also contributes towards the development of social differences within the ethnic group. The discourses that the media circulate are translated into mass consumption by the population, who are in the continuous process of struggle for the properties of the economic and cultural field.

Perceptions of urban black African Zulu English speakers on clothing consumption

The social space is a multi-dimensional space, an open set of relatively autonomous fields that are more or less strongly and directly subordinate, in their functioning and their transformations, to the field of economic production. Within each of the sub-spaces, those who occupy dominant or dominated positions are constantly involved in a variety of struggles (without constituting themselves thereby as antagonistic groups) (Bourdieu, 1992).

The exploration of the fashion field is important in our research discourse, because it is a relatively autonomous field, but at the same time it is related to the cultural

⁷ Unfortunately, I do not have information regarding radio listeners in 1995, and the information I have for 2002 is general information for total population and is not defined by population group.

and economic fields, and various sub-fields. The fashion field has been chosen because it is one of the main fields in which the trend of globalisation advances in media and communication, cultural diversity, education, language and traditional clothing are linked to one another, revealing the transformation of the habitus and practices of everyday life of the group in question. In a conversation with African intellectual Nise Malange (manager of the BAT Centre) she stated:

Black South Africans are also representing television, what people watch in television is what they receive as impact in their lives, what they listen to, what is the colour of the skin. The skin colour is a determinant, if they see whites, what they wear, what they speak, what they use in the hair. For this the blacks start to put chemical in their hair, to wear clothing that never were used before. What is happens today is the realisation at the end to buy too much television, and magazines and western things with which we can feel identified. Black women find the answer to the contemporary problems in articles and not in the family, wherever happens to western countries come back to us, and we are informed on everything through television or other media. But it is a process that started around the 80's and now globalisation is part of our life, in language, in ideas, in form of being, in customs. But the problems that bring together with globalisation about language and culture is that it is a multi-linguistic country and supposedly language cause integration. Our children go to mixed schools, our children have the option to choose Zulu or Xhosa, or other language as a first language, and we are living in a country in where English is necessary, and at the present our younger generations can be integrated at the school with their own language and English (December 2002).

Theoretical books about globalisation mostly agree that this phenomenon produces homogenisation. However what was discovered in reality, at least in Durban Metropolitan areas, the process has produced heterogenization and differences, introducing new styles of clothing and lifestyles. Difference becomes a sign and a sign of distinction (or vulgarity) only if a principle of vision and division is applied to it, which is the product of the incorporation of the structure of objective differences. Bourdieu notes that, “*dominated lifestyles are almost always perceived, even by those who live them, from the destructive and reductive point of view of the dominant aesthetic*” (Bourdieu, 1998:9). People believe that the general aesthetic holds prime position in the social space of Durban Metro is that of the hegemonic sectors, translated in a westernized lifestyle.

Some interesting points were stated by the participants of the third focus group about clothing, and how it has slowly are transformed the vision of the social space in which they interact in everyday life. For instance:

- *I grew up in a Christian family so there is no change from the clothing I wear from the 80's until now. we use Western clothing unlike our culture where we use to wear traditional clothing like Isigege (traditional clothing); worn by girls to hide the girls private parts – i.e. forefront and other clothing that reveals our bodies (Nomathemba, 34 years old).*
- *Actually, there is not big change in our traditional clothing. In our culture like churches, we do not wear sleeveless or stomach out, something short, short trousers because church is a respectable place. We obey these rules it makes a form of respect. You must look nicely (Lucy, 46 years old).*
- *Let me talk about respect. First, you must have respect in yourself, and whatever dress you are dressing, should give you a respect. Also, we must not forget our parents and words that we take from them (Tabo, 33 years old).*
- *I think that clothing has changed since 1980'. You are now having people dressing of such form in where you are not identifying the way who are he or she. That is why I say since 80's dresses have changed. You are now finding a boy dressing likes a lady/girl and a girl dresses like a boy. From 80's and going back it was very rare to find a boy dressing like a lady, in this case was very easy to identify that is a boy or a lady, but today it is very difficult (John, 42 years old).*
- *Lets me come to the 'jeans', it was very rare to find a girl wearing a jeans and again that was very easy identify a girl from a boy, and also a behaviour at this present time we find a girl wearing jeans; very tight jeans. In addition, the boys wearing those tidy jeans, they are suffering a loss of behaviour. Furthermore, it is very difficult to identify that it is a married women, and that is not a married women, and also men, we cannot identify the married men from the unmarried men, because of this kind of clothing they wear. In dressing is that we get a respect, especially like a woman, the way she dress is absolutely having no respect. When you pass along to a married women you can see the form of her appearance, do not represent my culture, so my culture has gone (Thandabantu, 23 years old).*
- *On the past, we were wearing specific clothing and dresses, send through it specific messages, i.e. when you want to attract someone, or when you fall in love. But now, it is so difficult to get those clothing because most of the shops from the cities and towns are*

all selling the new trends and you can see from the 80's how the most of the shops sell transparent clothing, which does not bring our culture at all (Ayanda, 23 years old).

The incompatible opinions of people within a group discussion can be quite different according to their own experiences, knowledge and learning. In a more general sense, the space of social positions is retranslated into a space of positions taken through the mediation of the space of dispositions (or habitus). In other words, the system of differential deviations which defines the different positions in the two major dimensions of social space corresponds to the system of differential deviations in agents' properties (or in the properties of constructed classes of agents), that is, in their practices and in the goods they possess.

To each class position there corresponds a class of habitus (or taste) produced by the social conditioning associated with the corresponding condition and, through the mediation of the habitus and its generative capability, a systematic set of goods and properties, which are united by an affinity of style (Bourdieu, 1998). This explains how people who belong to the 'same culture' can have such different perceptions of the world. Some of them talk from the position of religion, while others relate clothing to the cultural position or their own signification.

In the same vein, other conversations with Zulu-English speakers elicited the tendency of talking about the relationship between western and traditional clothing. In this case people put more emphasis on the symbolic meaning of clothing and how through this new trend such cultural nuances of meaning are lost.⁸

- With the new South Africa, the President introduced the South African renaissance so that we must go back from where we belong. That is now; we can see that it is not the way that we are differentiated. So we must remember where we are coming from so we see the people in the parliament, they are dressing according to their cultures, so that is where now we realized that we were wrong before that we were Christians so we must wear/dress shoes and Isidwaba, Amahiya (traditional clothing) as we are pagans. It

come up out after this new South Africa, when we have to realise where we come from, and it is nice and people now in Towns are wearing Sotho skirts, towels, Zulu necklaces, attire, bangles. It is nice because they show us that it is our culture and not to be concentrated in what the white said that if you dress formally you are a Christian and modern but if you dress like the past you have not been to school (Sibongile 45 years old, February 2004)

- *I have not seen the question in this way. I saw people on the city with this kind of clothing (traditional clothing) and ask to the people, why are you using this? And they respond me, is fashion now, and now you can find it anywhere and are beautiful necklaces (Thulani, 39 years old, February 2004).*

- *To me is nothing about fashion, these colours tell us something, this colours stands for something, but people tend to not understand, only just buy. When you are wearing blue and white you are saying something. If you are a virgin you have to wear only white bit. I am a mother of two kids I cannot wear white because it is not of my stage, but people are just wearing without knowing. They just wear it for fashion, but not understanding that it was talking before. So now we are not following the correct way of using it. The virgins have to wear only white, not red, not blue, but now we find everybody wearing white, wearing red, there is no meaning no (Patience, 37 years old, February 2004).*

- *So this cultural mystification about that we wear are being corrupted by modernisation. Modernisation corrupted them so there is no longer bear a meaning (Thulisile, 22 years old, February 2004)*

- *It is a fact that South Africa is multicultural. I am a Zulu; clothing is a symbolic and a part of identity. Just by nearly looking a person, which is wearing traditional clothes, identifying that it is a Zulu person, or Sotho, Xhosa, Pedis and Ndebele's. Just the clothing tells who the person is. If you put red bit you are saying your heart is painful either because you love that person too much. You put on blue bits you mean to say you have got hope (Lindani, 28 years old, February 2004).*

- *Clothing is an expression, a form of non-verbal communication. If the person has lost somebody in the family husband, she has to wear different clothing to show that she is sad for her husband. There is different for child to mourn for a child. I am trying to explain the role-playing by clothing. If you have lost a child you wear in a different manner (Nozipho, 48 years old, February 2004).*

In these perceptions regarding the clothing habitus of the urban black Africans

⁸ The following sentences and opinions belong to the people of the second focus group made in February 2004.

one can discover two or three very significant aspects of everyday life thoughts and practices. First, people in power, in short the few people who represent the general voice of the population, are considered a strong example in representing and influencing the culture and bringing together the symbolic meaning of each kind of clothing. Secondly, and related to this point, the symbolic part that clothing plays is a form of group identification within Zulu culture. Clothing is an expression of non-verbal communication. This means that the real meaning of the clothing is or was subject to colours, patterns, forms and the particular occasion where people use it. Finally, clothing is a way of expressing identity and differentiation with respect to the others but not within the ethnic group.

Something else that appears in the discourse of the Zulu-English speakers is the notion of imitation and acceptance related to consumption, not only in the first conversation but also in the last one. In other words, the idea of cross symbolic boundaries and to be similar to the other product in this historical moment closeness, desires of belongings, and to experiment with the 'different' are important, and represent a way of feeling a sense of belonging through clothing and the imaginary appearance that it produces. As Bourdieu (1998:8) notes, "*the habitus is this generative and unifying principle, which retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle, that is, a unitary set of choices of persons, goods, and practices*".

This does not mean that all Zulu-English speakers are the same or actuate in the same form. The position and space in which they interact determines their vision of the social world. To put it simply, "*habitus are differentiated, but they are also differentiating. Being distinct and distinguished, they are also distinction operators, implementing different principles of differentiation or using differently the common principles of differentiation*" (Bourdieu, 1998: 8).

Habitus on clothing are generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices – what the black African chooses to wear, and especially the way he/she wears it, the sport he/she practises and the way he/she practises it, his/her political opinions and the way

he/she expresses them are systematically different from the white English corresponding activities. But habitus are also “*classificatory schemes, principles of classification, principles of vision and division, different tastes*” (Bourdieu, 1998:8).

The essential point is that, when perceived through these social categories of perception, these principles of vision and division, differences in practices, in goods possessed, or differences of opinion become symbolic differences, which constitute a veritable *language*. As Bourdieu (1998: 8-9) put it: “*Differences associated with the different positions, that is, goods, practices and especially manners, function in each society in the same way as differences which constitute symbolic systems, such as the set of phonemes of a language or the set of distinctive features and of differential “ecarts” that constitute a mythical system, that is, distinctive signs*” .

- **Statistical information about expenditures on clothing and footwear consumption of urban black African Zulu-English speakers**

Distinctions, as symbolic transformations of *de facto* differences, and, more generally, the ranks, orders, grades and all the other symbolic hierarchies, are the product of the application of schemas of construction which result from the incorporation of the very structures to which they are applied; and recognition of the most absolute legitimacy is nothing other than an apprehension which results from the almost perfect coincidence of objective structures and incorporated structures (Bourdieu, 1992:238).

Consumption recreates these differences in the social spaces through the material capabilities and limitations of the buyers and symbolic aspirations. The statistic analysis of clothing consumption of black Africans provides a way to explain these symbolic aspects that originate in social distinctions. According to the information on clothing expenditure in KwaZulu-Natal (1995),⁹ one can see comparatively that from the total clothing expenses per annum, only 16,24% corresponds to black Africans, while 34.13% and 28.57% belong to Indian and white groups respectively. From the total clothing

⁹ The most important percentages that denote the highest expenditures in clothing and footwear will be mentioned. Further information appears in the appendix with the tables related to expenditures on clothing and footwear in KwaZulu-Natal.

expenditures of black Africans, the expenses are distributed as follows: women's clothing 26.87%, men's clothing 26.15%, girls' clothing 22%, boys' clothing 21.42%, infants' clothing 2% and home clothing 1.56%.

Footwear as an important indicator of visual status and distinction within groups, shows us that from the total expenditures in the province, 20.38% corresponds to black Africans, 21.24% to coloured, 31.89% to Indians/Asians, and 26.49% to whites. At the same time, the distribution inside the black African group shows us that 28.80% was spent on women's footwear, 29.35% on men's footwear, 19.07% on girls' footwear, 21.86% on boys' footwear, and 0.92% on infants.

In both cases (clothing and footwear) the black African population have the smallest percentage of expenditures per year. Whites and Indians show clearly the highest expenditure on clothing and footwear. These statistics tell us that owing to the history of segregation of the black Africans, this group has always had fewer possibilities for economic development, therefore less disposable income to spend on items, which are not absolutely necessary for survival. However, across the total expenses in clothing and footwear, it can be seen that there is similar expenditure per gender in both goods categories.

With respect to clothing items, from the total expenditure on clothing, women spend 46.34% on dresses and skirts. This shows that clothing purchases are made to emphasise the symbolic concept of women as a 'lady', who in the Zulu culture is accustomed to use trousers or clothing that is revealing. With respect to girls, the percentage spent on dresses and skirts is lower, reaching 30.68%. Another important item in girls' clothing is schoolwear, with 29.71% of the total clothing expenditure.

In the case of men's clothing, their preferences are located in the trousers and jeans items (39.65%), followed by shirts with 16.11% and jackets and suits with 19.70%. It expresses clearly their aspiration to reach western culture and imitate the clothing that appears to be fashionable. In boys' clothing, the same as in girls, the emphasis is on

schoolwear, which represents 29.59% of the total clothing expenditures followed by 28.28% on trousers and jeans.

Footwear in general has a very essential role for this ethnic group. The material consumption of this commodity is not only related to the use and comfort it can provide for the users in everyday life, but it is also associated with class or group aspirations, social differentiation, status and distinction in the social space. Women, girls, men and boys share the taste on footwear material. Their preferences are centred on wearing shoes and sandals of 'genuine leather', expending 66.21%, 63.42%, 68.74% and 65.40% according to the categorisation of age and gender mentioned above.

The most common choice in the first instance is shoes and sandals. As a second important footwear item, preference is for boots and half-boots. Women showing a marked difference between the genders, produce 20.46% of the total footwear expenditure, girls 22.28%, men 14.79% and finally boys 16.25%. It is quite strange that the second choice should be boots and half boots, considering that in Durban the weather is hot or warm throughout the year. Cold weather is usually non-existent, and Durban winters are sunny and bright. Historically, the Zulus were accustomed to using sandals or nothing on their feet. However, the trends of globalisation and western influence, have forced people to purchase what they see as fashionable without necessarily considering whether the commodity is properly suited to the weather or customs.

Clothing and footwear represent much more than a statistic for the urban black African Zulu-English speakers. They are necessary items that cover and warm the body. They are also items that are used to express differences and make their owners feel part of a different social hierarchy, or at least closer to attaining a higher distinction and status, where no-one can exclude them as the other, the insignificant, the uncivilized.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt was made to show how the behaviour of urban black Africans Zulu-English speakers has been modified by the contact with different mediations since the 1980s. In this respect, the relationships between education and language in a culturally diverse space is essential to understanding the passage from the 'traditional' beliefs and customs to the very westernised ideas, norms and forms of being. The role of religion and especially Christianity in the everyday life of this ethnic group has created and still creates a deep transformation in the daily thoughts and practices.

The researcher explored the concept of everyday life as a social structure within which we learn how to exist in and manipulate the world. The idea of self-reproduction as a way in which one participates in the different processes of production, circulation and consumption, allowing for the reproduction of ourselves and at the same time, the reproduction of the world was examined.

The concept of social space shows how black Africans in the last 24 years have transformed their own vision of the space through the different positions and hierarchies that they occupy in the social world. These divisions influence the habitus and practices to which member are subject. All this is possible because the social space is a space of distances where the continuous struggle for the appropriation and production of the legitimate symbolic capital produces principles of differentiation and distribution within the field.

The analysis of this complex process, in which perceptions about the world are constructed by different positions and struggle, shows how media such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines and cinema, can distort and/or transform not only perceptions but also habitus, customs, and beliefs. In this respect, media audience statistics are an important indicator of how the exterior communication and information of the events and advances of the world can be integrated into a different vision of themselves and the other.

Finally, the very idea that consumption (what people choose to consume, in what rank order of priority, how they consume these items, where and when), is a determinant in building different positions; and from there, different perceptions of everyday life practices was interrogated. To choose clothing, as a form of non-verbal communication, that transmits differences and divisions within the group and outside of it, creates status and feelings of belongings, which can be out of the cultural group boundaries, and it is considered one of the most fundamental ways to see the impact of the outside world on the urban black African Zulu-English speakers.

Since the 1980's the behaviour and perception of the symbolic meanings of clothing have changed, and through statistics and interviews with the group under study the researcher has suggested how this process has been effectuated, taking into consideration the historical, economic and cultural dimensions of the social space of the Durban Metropolitan area..

SOCIAL CLASS AND MATERIAL CONSUMPTION

INTRODUCTION

*So close not matter how far
Couldn't be much more from the heart
Forever trusting who we are
And nothing else matters*

*Never cared for what they do
Never cared for what they know
But 'I know'*

METALLICA

The last two chapters of the dissertation will bring into consideration some of the main concepts that have been developed in previous chapters such as class and class aesthetics, hegemonic culture, popular culture, power, everyday life, and clothing consumption to explain the core hypothesis of this research. The aim has been to link the global with the local, economy and politics with cultural historical processes within South Africa since the 1980's, the traditional with the westernised lifestyle, the construction and representation of the meaning with the reality, as well as the symbolic with the material. Thus, through narration, metaphors, interviews and statistical analysis an attempt has been made to show how these processes and main categorisations are related to one another. However, the core hypotheses of this study need to be more deeply developed using current statistical data, theoretical approaches and historical analysis.

Therefore, I will explore the following items:

- Everyday life is the site where culture and power is reproduced and a site of struggle for signification. It is within daily life that different group's struggle according to their own position within the social space.
- Class and class struggle is about more than the differences between hegemonic and subaltern groups in the traditional Marxist concept, it is also the place where cultural interaction, consumption, communication and practices of power occur.
- Consumption can explain the everyday life habitus, tastes and practices of black African Zulu-English speakers, and the processes of change, which are determined by

the established relationship between power and resistance of the hegemonic and subaltern groups.

- Clothing consumption is not only about place satisfying material necessities, but it is also the way people communicate their own differences, define meaning and common values, and where the power of the hegemonic sectors to influence can be seen in reconfigured habits and taste.
- Urban black African Zulu-English speakers are influenced by western cultures, which are changing the meanings of the habitus, taste, and practices within their everyday life, including clothing consumption.

In this chapter statistical information will be used in order to explore how the everyday life the habitus of languages, religions and believes, media and communication and, clothing of black African Zulu-English speakers within the urban Durban Metropolitan area revolves. In terms of language, mainly Zulu and English habits and practices within urban blacks African will be explored. With regard to religion, not only western religions but also, beliefs in ancestors and the impact of such beliefs on their own lives will be interrogated. The taste and habitus of African people in regard to television, magazines, newspapers and radio will be investigated. Finally, clothing, clothing style, clothing brands and other variables related to attitudes, habitus and taste have been taken into consideration in this chapter.

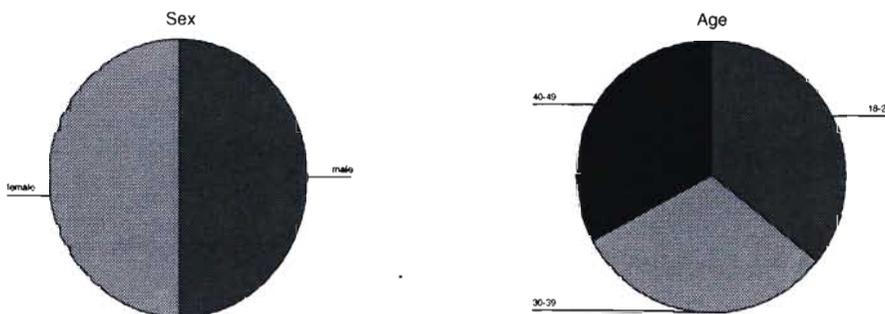
FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

To give some insight and understanding to how one can approach these research hypotheses, it is necessary to shortly review the research techniques that have been used in the past to explore the topic of interest. In the previous chapters, through the use of ethnographic and statistical methods, it has been shown how in-depth interviews, focus groups, secondary data, and newspaper articles allow us to establish a historical line since the 1980's which can trace the changing perception of black African Zulu-English speakers within Durban. These changing perceptions were analysed through different examples related to music taste, theatrical representation, and media mediations. In

addition, particular events of the South African history have been highlighted, such as the processes of colonisation and the impact of cultural diversity within the South African arena. Also, the apartheid period, which resulted in urban segregation, political and social exclusion, and with all the diverse implications for daily life survival, and finally, the post apartheid period since 1994, when ‘democracy’ took place, resulting in the opening of the doors of the country to the economic, political, social and cultural trends of globalisation were examined. Durban in particular, is a mixture of links to a very complicated history. Black Africans within Durban have been approached about these different categorisations of history, placing special accent on the relationship established with foreign and western languages and cultures. Clothing, as a form of symbolic communication is also an instrument used by the agents within the social space.

The next step is the results of a survey conducted during the first half of 2003 with 200 people who were chosen through a probability sampling frame within the DMA.¹ The size of the sample was defined with 95% confidence, 50-50 proportion and, $\pm 7\%$ margin of error and the 10 specific areas were chosen using a multi-stage technique. The analysis units were selected within each area in coincidental form, in public spaces – commercial areas or recreation spaces near to the commercial areas. The variables to determine the sample unit are: gender (both male and female) and age defined in three intervals (18-29, 30-39 and, 40-49). Also, 100% of the cases had to speak Zulu as a first language and at least understand English as a second communicative language. They also had to live within the Durban Metropolitan area, not necessarily within the 10 selected areas.

In sums, the sample was taken as follows:



¹ Refer to chapter two on the survey sample.

Sex

Black African	Frequency	Percent
male	100	50.0
female	100	50.0
Total	200	100.0

Age

Black African	Frequency	Percent
18-29	71	35.5
30-39	63	31.5
40-49	66	33.0
Total	200	100.0

The questionnaire was divided into several sub-topics. Firstly, questions were asked about the Zulu and English languages, and the perception of these languages and habitus related to where they are spoken. Secondly, questions about daily expenditure, items purchased in order of importance and reasons for choosing these items. Thirdly, habitus related specifically to clothing: frequency, quantity and quality of use and purchase; preferences, identifications, brand names, where they purchase, levels of satisfaction, mediating influences and feelings. Fourthly, some general questions about habits in terms of participation in events: frequency, religion, specific clothing worn to these events, activities and practices during leisure time and holidays. Fifthly, it included usage and perceptions on media and forms of communication - magazines, newspapers, television, cinema, music and radio.

Finally, demographic and classification information such as: sex, gender, marital status, place of residence, qualification and occupation of the respondent, household head and father, income, belongings and quality of life. The object in analysing all these topics is to attempt to define the material relation/s that participants establish with everyday life objects, and how material consumption creates different significations within the objective world. This continuous struggle for the legitimate signification of objects and

how different groups of agents establish different positions of power within the social world were also considered. These different visions produce different social classifications, translated into diverse tastes determined between those who have the possession of the material capital (economic and cultural) and those who have aspirations to have it.

SOCIAL SPACE AND CLASS CONSTRUCTION

As defined in Chapter five, class construction is based in the social classification of differences. Differences are related to the position one occupies within the social space. The position occupied is referred to the possession or dispossession of the material and cultural capital. Social class is defined not only by the position that agents occupy in the production and circulation of the social world but also in the agents' position regarding the consumption within the capitalist mode of production. The different categories that allow us to explain the classificatory position of the agents are not only occupation, education, place of residence, gender, age and, goods possessions but also how the secondary variables relate with the primary ones, which allows us to read not only the apparent, but also the hidden. It is the set of all variables together that allows us to understand the distinction between the different groups within the given population.

For instance, the educational system, an institutionalised classifier, is in itself an objectified system of classification reproducing the hierarchies of the social world in a transformed form, with its separations by 'level' corresponding to social strata and also its divisions into specialities and disciplines. Occupation and the different classifications according to the level of skills, knowledge and experience is important for expressing difference, but sometimes is liable to mask the effect of all the secondary properties. According to Bourdieu (1994:103) "*the particular relations between a dependent variable and so-called independent variables such as sex, age and religion, or even educational level, income and occupation tend to mask the complete system of relationships which constitute the true principle of the specific strength and form of the effects registered in any particular correlation*".

Therefore, instead of seeking the help of statistical technology to solve a problem, which it can only displace if it is taken in the wrong direction, it is necessary to analyse the divisions and variations that the different secondary variables bring into the class defined by the main variable. It is also necessary to consider everything which, though present in the real definition of class, is not consciously taken into account in the nominal definition, the one summed up in the name used to designate it, or therefore in interpreting the relationships in which it is placed. By way of illustration, let us examine the statistical result on education, occupation and place of residence of the 200 cases of black African Zulu English speakers living in the Durban Metropolitan area. This will then be linked as independent variables to the dependent ones, which can explain partially or totally some of the hypothesis of this research.

Respondent level of Education by Respondent Occupation

The level of education of the respondent in sample is as follows: 6.5% have not finished primary school; 5.5% have finished primary school; 28.5% have not finished secondary school; 27% have finished secondary school; 13% have not finished tertiary education; 11.5% have finished tertiary education; 3.5% have not finished university and 4% have finished university. Occupation² is as follows: 8% belong to the white-collar middle

² Each category of occupation is related to certain kinds of job. 'Middle class white-collar' are associated with teachers, pre-school teachers, rank manager, secretarial job, consultant, insurance brokers, part-time lecturer, administrative work, photographer, journalist, Instructor, project's trainer, floor assistant.

Middle class self-employee is associated with fashion designer, owner of shoe shop, supermarket owner, and shoemaker.

Formal permanent skill or semi-skilled worker is associated with technician, electrician, welder, fusion of metal, sales pharmacy, dressmaker, supervisor, policemen, bricklayer, blacksmith, merchandiser, book-blinder, security, cashier, driving tractor/taxi.

Formal permanent unskilled worker is associated with labour workers, cleaner, packing, construction worker, hardware, driver, and supermarket worker.

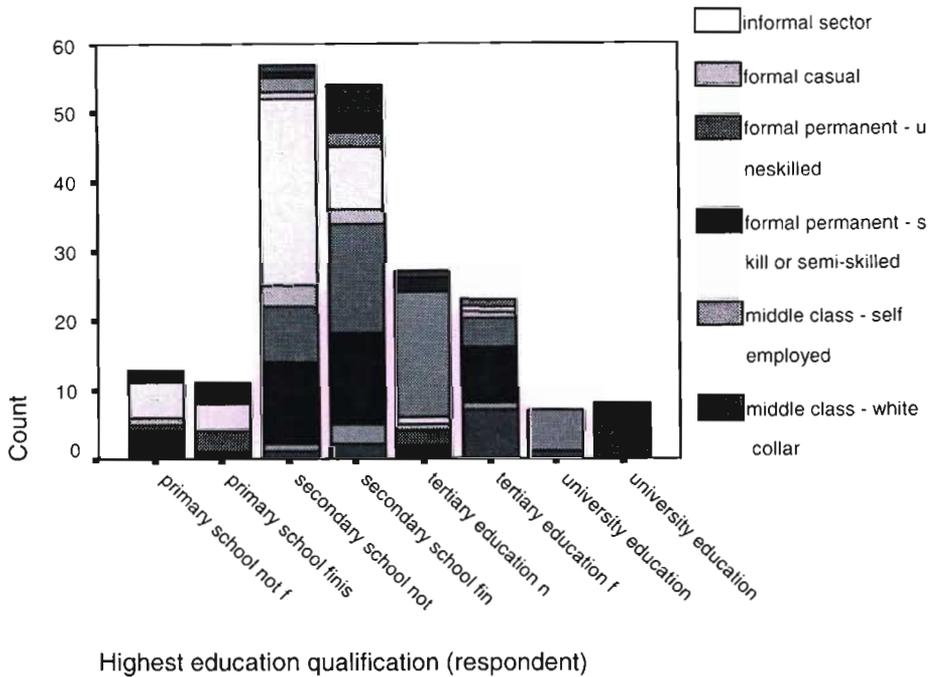
Formal casual worker is associated with cleaner garage, restaurant/hotel waiter, butchery worker, wholesales, messenger of lawyer, cleaning workers in general, and car-washer.

Informal worker is associated with selling fruit, sweets, chips, food on the street, cooking on the street, domestic workers, plastic bags sellers, babysitter, traditional herbalist, traditional healer, nurse at home, selling cool-drink at home, selling clothing on the street, spiritual healer, selling goats and sheep.

Pensioners are mainly domestic workers, workers at the railway, clothing industry, labour workers, butchery worker and few of them never work.

Deceased were domestic workers, gardener, taxi driver, post-mater, welder, mechanic, bakery worker, traditional herbalist, spiritual healer, municipal worker, clothing industry worker.

class; 2.5% are middle class and self-employed; 20.5% are working class in a permanent formal capacity as skilled or semi-skilled; 17% are part of formal permanent unskilled workforce; 4% are formal casual labourers; 23.5% are informal workers; 0.5% are pensioners; 14.5% are still studying; 6.5% are unemployed and; 3% have never worked.



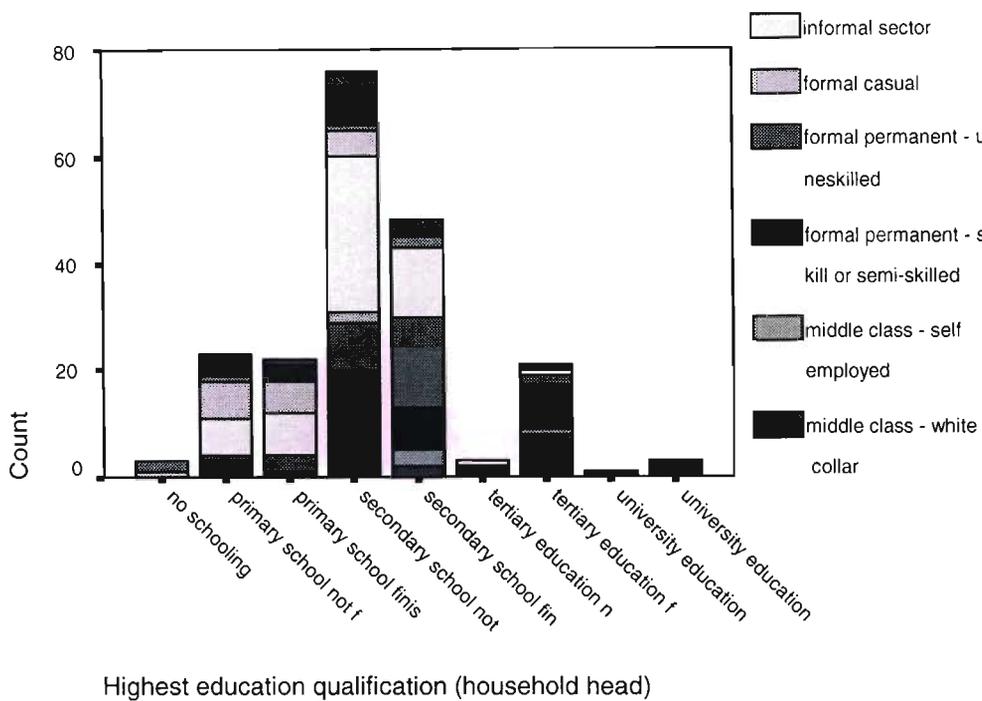
So the highest percentage of people have some level of high school education, followed by some level of tertiary education, and in terms of occupation the majority work in the formal working sector followed by people who work in the informal sector.

Household Head Education by Household Head Occupation

In terms of the household head situation the level of education was as follows: 1.5% have no schooling; 11.5% have not finished primary school; 11% have finished primary school; 38% have not finished secondary school; 24% have finished secondary school; 1.5% have not finished tertiary education; 10.5% have finished tertiary education; 0.5% have not finished university and 1.5% have finished university. The occupation levels

Unemployed are mainly textile industry workers, labour workers, plumbers and supermarket workers.

were: 9% middle class white-collar; 2% middle class self-employed; 19% working class permanent formal skill or semi-skilled; 16% formal permanent unskilled; 1% formal casual; 29.5% informal workers; 9.5% pensioner; 3% deceased; 7.5% unemployed and; 3.5% never worked. Thus the majority of people have reached some level of high school education, followed by those with some level of primary education. For occupation people are distributed by a similar percentage between those who work in the formal sector and those who work in the informal sector.



It was considered important to know about variables related to the father of the respondent, who was not always the head of the respondent’s household and in many instances he was already a pensioner or deceased. It is important because in analysing cultural beliefs and symbols, the positions and possibilities of the family (namely father) can provide useful data. The father’s level of education was: 7.5% had no schooling; 17% did not finish primary school; 20% finished primary school; 28.5% did not finish secondary school; 14.5% finished secondary school; 5.5% finished tertiary education; and 7% responded that they “do not know”. For the occupation: 4.5% are middle class white-collar; 2% middle class self-employed; 16.5% working class, permanent formal skill or

semi-skilled; 12% formal permanent unskilled; 2% formal casual; 7.5% informal workers; 12% pensioner; 23.5% deceased; 6% unemployed; 1% never worked, and 13% did not know.

In sum, the percentage of people with only some completed primary or some level of high school education increases in detriment to the higher levels of education, and in occupation, the percentage of people who belong to the formal sector increase in relation to informal sector, which is a minority. In general what the figures indicate is that the possibilities for education and occupation of this specific group have been historically changing, and generational differences have to be considered in the process of understanding social practices.

Finally, the place of residence expresses the 'real possibility' of people having "access" to places with higher or lower status or distinction. In this case, the residence of black Africans in the DMA is as follows: 67% of the population live in urban formal areas of which 56% are male and 44% female, with a quite similar proportion of age by interval. 27% live in urban informal areas, 38.3% are male and 61.1% female, of these 29.6% are between 18-29, 33.3% from 30-39, and 37% from 40-49. From the total population, 59.5% live in a formal dwelling, 27% in an informal dwelling, 11.5% live in flats, and 2% in traditional huts.

This clear material possession expresses some of the cultural symbolism, while the access to cultural capital is linked with the position one occupies in the social space and the possibilities to acquire material capital. The statistics show that those who live in formal areas are more male than female and the inverse occurs in the informal areas, where there are more females than males residing there. This can be deemed as very significant information because it reveals that gender and age differentiation and possibilities are yet far from equal, showing that those who are living in the worst conditions are female, in the oldest interval of age.

1. Social Space and Material Contradiction

It has been said that: To construct social space, this invisible reality that cannot be shown but which, organises agents' practices and representations, is at the same time to create the possibility of constructing *theoretical classes* that are as homogeneous as possible from the point of view of the two major determinants of practices and of all their attendant properties (Bourdieu, 1998:10).

Proximity in social space predisposes people to closer relations: people who are inscribed in a restricted sector of the space will be both closer (in their properties and in their dispositions, their tastes) and the same is true of the social distances or differentiation. Social distance is the result of different possibilities to acquire properties and the result of different taste construction. As stated, the social space can be represented in the form of a multi-dimensional space constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution. It is constituted by the set of active properties in the social universe under consideration that are able to confer force or power in their possessor in that universe. Usually it is the cultural and economic fields that define such spaces. For instance, one can consider the very close relationship linking cultural practices (opinions) to educational capital (qualifications), social origin (father's occupation) and the fact that, at equivalent level of educational capital, the weight of social origin in the practice and preference-explaining system increases as one moves away from the most 'legitimate' areas of culture.

One cannot in fact occupy two opposite regions of the space. Insofar as the properties chosen to construct this space are active properties, the space can also be described as a field of forces. In other words, "*as a set of objective power relations imposed on all those who enter this field, relations which are not reducible to the intentions of individual agents or even to direct interactions between agents*" (Bourdieu, 1992:230). As an example, let us establish the relationship between the kind of programme that black Africans choose to listen on the radio (a form of cultural practice), educational qualification and occupation. The main programmes that this group like to listen to are: news 41.5%, traditional Zulu music 22%, series 20.5%, sport 17.5%,

modern music 17.5%, cultural programmes 17%, classical music 16.5%, light music 15.5% and current affairs 15%.

This data provides important information of how the interviewees' own practices are influenced by their position in the social space. According to the criteria set in the beginning and the purpose of this research it is necessary to indicate whether the relationship is 'directly proportional' to the education and occupation or if the specific history of this group is affecting the result. Therefore, only light music, cultural programmes, classic music and traditional Zulu music will be used in this instance. From the total population that chose '*light music*', 68% were female, and 70% belong to the 18-29 interval of age. 74.2% listened to this music in the English language. The highest percentage of education is centred on people with some tertiary education or finished tertiary education with 51.7%, and 40% are part of the middle class white-collar occupation group. Regarding '*cultural programmes*', 91.2% of the population listened to those performed in the Zulu language. Female and male listened at the same level and 58.1% were between 40-49 years old. The highest percentage (64.7%), were people with some secondary or had completed secondary education, and they belonged mainly to the working class informal sector with 38.2%. '*Classic music*' is listened to mainly by females 66.7% and mostly in the age interval of 18-29 (71.4%). This kind of programme is centred on European music and 64% of people listen to it in English. People with some or completed tertiary education mostly listened to it (51.5%) and the social class that predominantly listen to this kind of music is the middle class white collar group with 29.3%. Finally, 97.8% of the '*traditional Zulu music*' is listened to in Zulu, with similar percentage by sex and 52.3% in the 40-49 interval of age. With regarded to education, 65.9% are people with some or completed secondary education, and 34% and 31.8% belong to the working class, informal sector and permanent formal skilled and semi-skilled workers respectively.

One can assess that the relationships between these variables are not unidirectional and with unified results, but different cultural patterns play a major role in linking these data. Firstly, popular culture and working class are not always synonymous;

secondly, popular culture is not homogeneous and people who are part of it could have quite different tastes from each other. Finally, global western trends, objects and ideas impact in diverse forms on the agents and their distribution, creating very different positions and classifications within the social space. To speak about black African Zulu-English speakers within DMA has many different connotations. This group has been defined as an ethnic group with a long trajectory of struggle, power, and its own identity'. Cultural practices, beliefs and thoughts have been built through a past of conquest and pride. But then a long period of white conquest, imperialism, western power and the apartheid system has changed their own perception of the reality and the group. One needs to have these memories in mind in order to understand and analyse the data beyond appearance. On the one hand, *light music and classic music* seems to be the taste of those who have more qualifications (some or completed tertiary education) and occupations classified mostly as white-collar middle class. On the other hand, people who prefer to listen to *cultural programmes and traditional Zulu music* have had less access to a higher qualification, namely some or completed secondary education, and less qualified jobs (mainly informal sector and some formal permanent skill or semi-skilled work).

Therefore, it seems to be that light and classic music are more related to people who have high social aspirations, identify to some extent with some kind of western culture and perhaps want to be assimilated to the "legitimate taste". A high percentage of them listen to these programmes in a western English language, which is associated with the international language and the "language of opportunities". On the other hand, in the case of the cultural programmes and traditional Zulu music the situation is the opposite. People prefer to be associated with 'Zulu beliefs', feeling pride and respect for their own customs and beliefs, and for those things that remind them of their glorious past. Zulu is the language that they prefer to listen to, which is associated with continuity of their own cultural practices and pride in their own ancestors, colour and codes. In this sense, one can observe a strong correlation between the kinds of taste this group has and the social practices built among the relation of habitus constructed by educational and cultural capital organised by the instituted power and the different politic-cultural discourses and influences within their own culture. Mixtures of very different cultural practices live

together in the social space and the taste results from this diversity and is in continuous transformation and movement. In direct relationship to this data one of the participants from the first focus group said that:

The people with less level of knowledge and without education [institutional educational system] are considered anhambica [non-educated in the western sense], they are still working in a very poor quality jobs and they are still strongly subjected to some of the traditional cultural practices and believes. (Patience, February 2004)

2. Fields and Capital within Social World

People and social groups can be linked to multiple fields in their everyday life, such as the field of fashion, arts, literature, religion, music, etc. All these fields are fields of struggle for the acquisition of economic and cultural capital.

Capital can exist in objectified form – in the form of material properties – or, in the case of cultural capital, in an incorporated form, one which can be legally guaranteed, represents power over the field (at a given moment) and, more precisely, over the accumulated product of past labour (and in particular over the set of instrument of production) and thereby over the mechanisms which tend to ensure the production of a particular category of goods and thus over a set of revenues and profits (Bourdieu, 1992:230).

With the growing differentiation of the social world, mainly influenced by the global trends and migration of people, ideas and knowledge, and the constitution of the relatively autonomous fields as a result of the capitalist mode of production, labour of production and imposition of meaning is performed in and through struggles in the field of cultural production (and especially in the political sub-field). As Bourdieu put it: “*It become the particular concern, the specific interest, of the professional producers of objectified representations of the social world, or, more precisely, of the methods of objectification*” (Bourdieu, 1992:236-237).

For instance, religion is one of the fields in which one can see how objectified representations are included in the everyday life of black African Zulu –English speakers and how agents through struggle, appropriated or not the cultural and economic capital. In response to the question ‘*are you religious*’, 93% of the people answered positively, of which 47.3% were male and 52.7% female. The category of age is quite equal across intervals and 67.2% are living in formal areas, 26.3% in urban informal and 4.3% in peri-urban settlements. According to the level of education, people with less education qualifications are less religious than people with high education. For example, 69.3% and 63.6% of people with primary not finished or finished are religious, while people with tertiary and university studies are religious in nearly 100% of participation. Something similar happens with occupation. Middle class people are 100% religious while working class varies from 87% to 94% depending on the job qualification. The unemployed are 84.6% religious, while people who never worked are 100% religious. In sum, what one reads from the data is that people with more education, skilled occupation and those who live in urban formal areas are more religious than those who are less educated, with less qualified jobs and living in urban informal areas or peri-urban settlements. Western Christian religions and beliefs were introduced in South Africa as a result of the colonisation processes and European missionaries, who wanted to introduce ‘salvation’ and knowledge to the uneducated ‘salvages’ of Africa. So, religion has been associated with knowledge and high culture, social aspirations, with living well in the modern world.

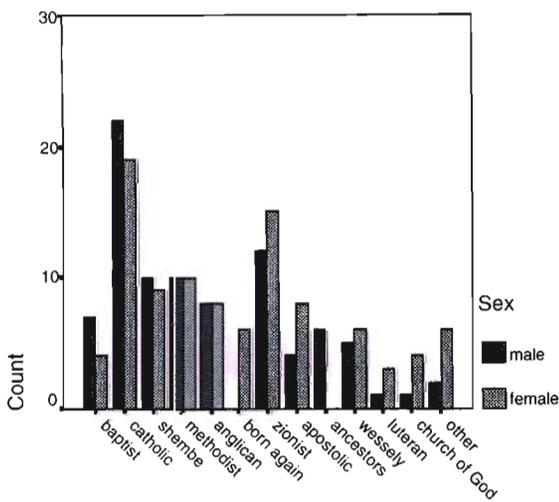
Symbolic capital – another name for distinction – is nothing but capital of another kind when it is perceived by an agent endowed with the categories of perception arising from the incorporation of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognised as self-evident. Distinctions, as symbolic transformations of *de facto* differences, and, more generally, the ranks, orders, grades and all the other symbolic hierarchies, are the product of the application of schemes of construction which – as in the case, for instance, in the pairs of adjectives used to express most social judgements – are the product of the incorporation of the very structures to which they are applied. And “*recognition of the most absolute legitimacy is nothing other than an apprehension of the*

everyday social world as taken for granted, an apprehension, which results from the almost perfect coincidence of objective structures and incorporated structures” (Bourdieu, 1992: 238).

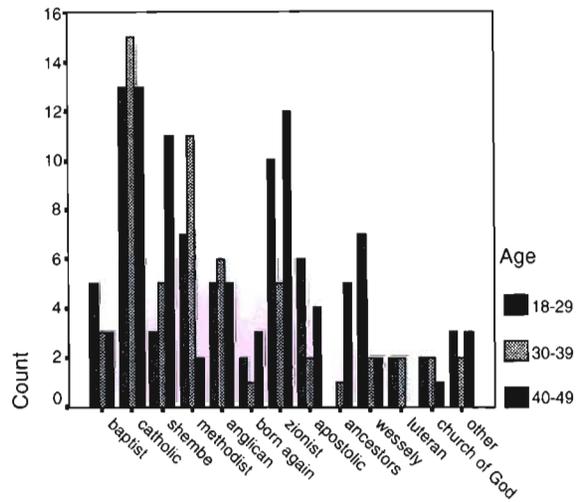
Apprehension of the everyday social world is not a very conscious process; it is created during socialisation as an unquestionable knowledge, which is also determined by the objective structures and institutions. Thus, returning to the field of religion, one can observe how religious institutions and organisations play a central role within this group in the process of socialisation. The different religious institutions in which they participate are:

- 5.9% of the population is *Baptist*. From this total, 63.6% are male, 45.5% are from 18-29 years old and those who live in urban formal areas number 63.6%.
- 22% are *Catholic*, 53.7% of these are male and 46.3% are female. The believers are distributed across all the ages, and 80.5% live in urban formal areas.
- 10.2% belong to the *Shembe religion*, equal across genders. The public are concentrated in the last interval of age (40-49) with 57.9% and, 47.6% of the population live in urban formal areas, 36.8% in urban informal areas and the rest 10.5%) in peri-urban settlements.
- 10.8% are *Methodist*, sharing the same percentage by gender. In terms of age, 55% are from the second interval of age (30-39), and 80% of them live in formal areas.
- 8.6% are *Anglican* and are homogeneous across age and gender. Of these, 75% live in urban formal areas.
- 3.2% are from the *Born-Again church*, all of these (100%) are female distributed by age as follows: 33.3% from 18-29; 16.7% from 30-39; and 50% from 40-49.
- 14.5% are *Zionist* with 10% more females than males. The interval of age with the most participants is the last one (40-49) with 44.4% and 59.3% of the people that belong to this religion live in urban areas while 33.3% live in urban informal areas.
- 6.5% are *Apostolic*, distributed with 66.7% for females and 33.3% for males. Also, 50% of the population are between 18-29, 33.3% in the interval 40-49, 58.3% are from urban areas and 25% from urban informal areas.

- 3.2% are believers of their *ancestors*. This group has made up of 100% males, majority falling in the last interval of age with 83.3%. 33.3% live in urban formal areas and 66.7% in the urban informal areas.
- 5.9% is *Wessely*, with 10% more females than males. 63.6% are between 18-29, and 63.6% are from urban formal areas while 36.4% from urban informal areas.
- 2.2% are *Lutheran*, of which 25% are male and 75% female. Age is the same by interval and 100% of the population live in urban formal areas.
- 2.7% of people belong to the *Church of God*. 80% are female, and the two first interval of age (18-29; 30-39) have 40% of population in each one. 60% belong to urban formal areas and 40% to informal areas.
- Finally, 4.3% belong to other religions, such as *Gospel, Assembly of God, American Faith, Christian, Universal Church and Muslim*.



To what religious group do you belong?



To what religious group do you belong?

A high percentage of people with some or completed primary education belong to the Shembe or Zionist churches, and believe in their ancestors. People with some or completed secondary education belongs in a high proportion to the Catholic, Zionist, Shembe and Anglican religions. Those with tertiary level or university not completed belong in a high proportion to the Methodist, Catholic, Zionist, Wessely, Baptist, and Apostolic faiths. Finally, people with completed tertiary or university belongs in higher

proportion to the Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, and Anglican churches and some of them belong to the Church of God. The same happens when we link religion with occupation. People that belong to the middle class tend to belong to the Baptist, Catholic, Methodist, Anglican churches, and Working class people in formal permanent skilled or semi-skilled worker are mainly Catholic or Zionist. Unskilled workers prefer to belong to Catholic, Shembe, Methodist and Zionist. Formal casual workers belong to the Catholic, Shembe, Zionist, Wessely and Lutheran churches. And finally, informal sector workers generally belong to the Catholic, Shembe, Methodist, Apostolic and Wesley.

Education and occupation are very important variables for understanding the relationship between individuals and objectified institutions (religious institutions). They tell us that the more education qualifications and higher occupation status that one possesses, the more the preference is close to those religious institutions that represent the western Christian beliefs and ideas. And inversely, if one is less educated and a less skilled occupation he/she are closer to those religious institutions that mix western and traditional beliefs and ideas. Some of the western religions do not accept traditional believes such as the belief in the ancestors, but the majority accept and mix it with the Christian beliefs. Finally, a look at the statistics reveals that only 3.2% of the population still believe in the ancestors about without having another belief system or being part of a western Christian religion. The profile of this population is mainly older males, living in urban informal areas, with a lack of education and occupational qualification. Education is used to support current social differences, since it claims to generate distinctions based on merit rather than birth or wealth, being itself the means through which differential ability is identified. The basis for education's ability to bring about this process of social reproduction lies in Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Cultural capital is based on time invested in obtaining certain kinds of knowledge. Bourdieu's main contribution to analyses of education is to distinguish between that which is directly inculcated in the education process and that which is indirectly absorbed.

In an attempt to establish a relationship between cultural and economic capital, between religion and clothing, the statistic shows that 44.1% of the total religious

population wear specific clothing when they go to worship. From this total, 31.7% are males and 68.3% females. The distribution according to age intervals is as follows: 19.5% are in the interval 18-29; 31.7% in the interval 30-39; and 48.8% in the interval 40-49. From the highest to the lowest percentage of people that wear specific clothing, the distribution by religion is as follows: Shembe and Zionist 22% each; Catholic 15.9%; Apostolic and Wessely 8.5% each one respectively; Methodist and Anglican 6.1% each one; Other 3.7%; Lutheran and Church of God 2.4%; and Born Again and Baptist 1.2%.

Thus, one can gauge from this data that there is not relation between religion and the wearing of specific clothing. Some of the religious employees go to church without a 'uniform', which means that the believers have some freedom to decide what to wear. However, according to some of the comments from of the third focus group, "*to wear the same clothing as use uniform or clothing of the same colour and appearance, destroy the social differences and convert the members of the religion in the eyes of God as equal without differences of age, gender, race and possessions*" (Lucy, 46 years old). Statistics indicate that clothing impact differently across age and gender within this group. Race also features as become evident in the following quotation: "*black women go to church with skirts and cover head, but whites go there with everything they want and without cover their heads*" (Patience, 37 years old, second focus group). Such a quotation indicates that apparently not everybody agree on fundamentals. The clothing and clothing appearance seems to be not an element that can delete social differences, on the contrary, homogeneity is not the base of such religions (mainly those religions that base their ideas in western beliefs). According to the responses, clothing is used as a way of showing social differentiation and distinction even within the space of institutionalised religions.

Another interesting point to take into consideration is that 88.9% of Shembe people wear traditional attire, *umnazarethi*. Also, the Apostolic and Zionist followers wear unconventional clothing, usually long white robes with white shoes or without shoes at all, while for the rest of the religions, people wear a more western style of clothing like 'uniforms' with specific colours and formal patterns. One discovers that the religions that link western with traditional African beliefs have the most simple form of

clothing while the religions more associated to western believes use skirt, blazers, suits, and so on, which are not only more expensive but also directly associated with the western clothing style that was introduced with the European coloniser. A comment of Sosibo (26 years old) expresses other possible reason for people wearing unconventional clothing in this context.

These clothing, tunics, white clothing, long white dresses help us in the process of purification, to take out the stains from our bodies and soul. The bead represents concern and humility. We must wear differently that in the everyday life because we are on the God house.

In answer to the question, *where do they buy this clothing*, the majority has the clothing made by a dressmaker or the church sells it to them. But asking the same question to those who wear churches uniform, the general answer is that they buy their own clothing in 'chain stores'. Curiously enough, religious institutions not only teach and recognise that cultural capital is important as a knowledge that can guide your life, but also that economic capital represented in this case as clothing, indicate not only a mere material good but also a symbolic representation of equality, purity and humility. The symbolic meaning that churches want to associate with clothing items is far from the representation of such material consumption, where the beliefs of some of the members is in direct contradiction to what the data shows.

THE POPULAR AESTHETIC AND THE ROLE OF TASTE IN CONSUMPTION

In chapter five, the three different kinds of aesthetics (legitimate, media and popular) and the relationship between aesthetic and class construction were briefly explained. In the present chapter the popular aesthetic will be examined and especially how black African Zulu-English speakers developed a popular taste according to their own knowledge, experiences, lifestyle and daily consumption. On the one hand, Kant's concept of aesthetics as distanced contemplation, which transcends the immediacy of experience, will be used. The Kantian aesthetic is one of refusal, a forgoing of the immediate pleasure of the sensual and evident in favour of a cultivated and abstracted appropriation through

an achieved understanding. It therefore tends toward a rejection of representation of the signified or naturalistic, in favour of the principles of convention, the esoteric and formal. On the other hand, the Kantian aesthetic achieves its meaning only by contrast to what Bourdieu (1994:41) terms “an anti-Kantian aesthetic”. This is the aesthetic of popular culture, a preference for immediate entertainment, pleasure, the gut feeling, a regard for the sensual and the representational. For the former, beauty is created through the mode of representation; for the latter, it is inherent in the subject. Therefore, and according to Miller (1992:150) “*these differences in taste, which are equally evident in a wider range of media – for example, a preference for difficult as opposed to popular music – provide the basis for unearthing a deep classificatory device, which Bourdieu identifies as an example of the ‘habitus’.*”

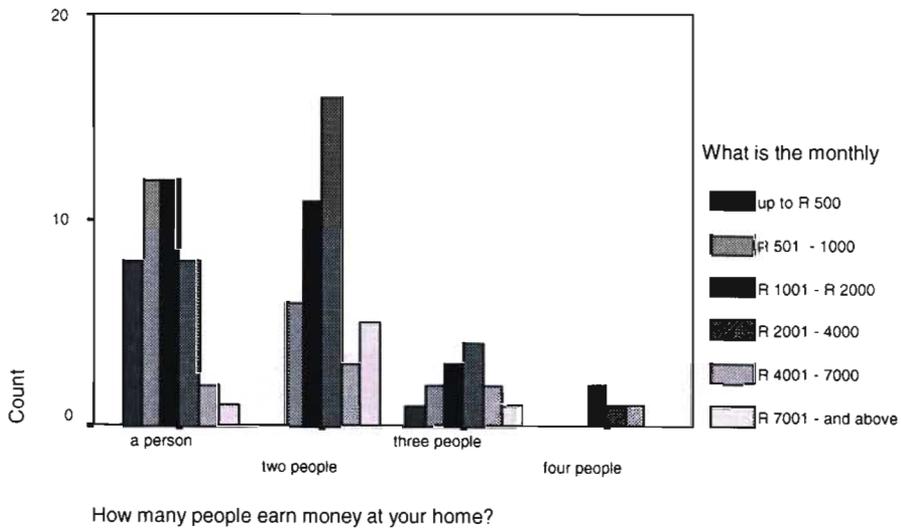
As habitus, this distinction between the Kantian and anti-Kantian aesthetic are both derived from material conditions, and in turn provide an insight into a classificatory scheme, which may be applied to an infinite number of actual material and consumption domains. The term ‘taste’ provides a clue to its deep-rooted nature. To analyse the differences in taste, the sociological criterion used by Bourdieu tends to be either occupational or educational level, but both are related to the common conception of class as referring to either upper, middle or working class. Thus: “*Taste is then seen principally as the cause of ‘classism’, which can be defined as the kind of distaste the middle and upper classes feel for the vulgar in fun fairs, cheap commodities, artificial copies, or lack of style, and the contempt working people feel for the pretentious, cold and degenerate middle and upper class*” (Miller, 1992:150).

For example, events such as the Durban Designers Collection (DDC) fashion shows, and the Durban July Handicap can be defined as ‘classist’, which people with high aspirations and elite style, attend since they have high status, exclusivity and elegance. According to the black Africans chosen in the sample only 2% of the black population have the habitus of attending Durban designer shows, and only 11% of the population have participated regularly in the July Handicap over the last two years, of which more than half are male and 45.5% are in the oldest interval of age (40-49).

However, the events more often chosen by black Africans are funerals and religious activities. Black African habitus of participating in funerals started a long time ago, and is based clearly in the beliefs of their ancestors and in the power and influence that they are believed to have in their own lives. In this sense, black Africans in DMA respond that 83% of the population have been at least once or twice to funerals in the last two years, some of them have been to funerals on 50 occasions, but the most common percentage is 4 times, with 16.3%; 3 times with 11.4%; and 5 times with 9.6%. Significantly, nearly 12% more females than males attend funerals (55.4% female and 42.6% males) and there are no real differences related to age. This information indicates that the duty to attend funerals is still quite high in importance for the black African ethnic group and that without distinction of age and gender, they respect the ceremonies associated with it.

The objective class conditions within the capitalist society and within the particularities of black African in DMA are interiorized through habitus as desire and expressed in taste. Thus: "*Habitus thereby mediates between material conditions including, but not entirely reduced to, productive relations, and the observable practices of the social group*" (Miller, 1992:150-151). The habitus is as deeply rooted in material culture as it is in cognitive orders and social divisions; it is expressed by social classification. For instance, the habitus of the working class represents qualities made of necessity. By necessity is meant a form of adaptation to and consequently acceptance of the necessity, a resignation to the inevitable. Social class is not defined only by the position in the relation of production, but also by the class habitus, which is normally associated with the position in the relation to the consumption (what, where, when and how to consume). The common belief in the existence of a direct relationship between income and consumption goes unquestioned. This is because taste is almost always the product of economic conditions identical to those in which it functions, so that income tends to be credited with a causal efficacy which it in fact only exerts in association with the habitus it has produced. "*The specific efficacy of the habitus is clearly seen when the same income is associated with very different patterns of consumption, which can only be understood by assuming that other selection principles have intervened*" (Bourdieu, 1994:375-376).

Thus, 'household incomes' are important, as this relationship between income and quantity of employed members of a household is essential to understand the 'real' possibilities of consumption. The percentage of people who have a job by household is as follows: 42.6% only one person; 40.6% two people; 12.9% three people; and 4% four people. In the households in which only one person receives a salary, the income of 27.9% of people is R500-R1000, and 27.9% earn R1000-R2000. In the households where two people earn salary, the income of 26.8% is between R1000-R2000, but more often is between R2000-R4000 (39%). In households where three people earn salary, the income for 23.1% is R 1000- R2000 and 30.8% earn R2000-R4000. Finally, in households where four people earn money, the income for 50% is R1000-R2000, 25% earn R2000-R4000 and 25% earn R4000-R7000.



One can observe through this statistical data and graphs that in the majority of households only one or two people have a job. This does not mean that few people live in each household; instead this signifies that very few people have access to jobs. . Only 1% of the black African population lives alone. Two people live in 8.8% of the households; 3 people live in 15.7% of households ; 4 people live in 8.8% of households ; five people live in 22.5% of households ;six people live in 17.6% of households ; 7 people live in 9.8% of households ; 8 people live in 7.8% of households ; and the rest (7.8%) are

distributed in household with nine, ten, eleven and twelve people. The size of the population per household varies deeply but not necessarily the number of people that have a job. It is evident that the quantity of people per household is not related with the quantity of people that have a job per household. However, income does not seem to vary according to the quantity of people that have a job. The income of the household does not necessary increase substantially in relation to the quantity of people that are working per household.

Goods consumption will be correlated with the household income ,in order to establish whether income affects the consumption of some goods of distinction. Therefore, the data suggests that household income, the quantity of people that work in the household, and the quantity of people that live in the household are not variables that are directly proportional to one another. In this case the number of people who live in the household are not the people who are working and bringing in a salary. According to the highest percentage, 5 people live in 22.5% of households' and only one person works in 42.6% of household. Many households' members are children, old people, or people that for different reasons cannot get access to the labour market. So, income and quantity of people per household can hinder and obscure the power of acquisition of a given population, their status and class condition. It becomes evident that the black Africans in the sample not only belong to the working class in the majority but that their tastes are identified with the popular aesthetic within popular culture. The principle of the most important differences in the order of lifestyle and, even more, of the stylisation of life lies in the variation in objective and subjective distances from the world, with its material constraints and temporal urgencies. This means that, "*The submission to necessity which inclines working class people to a pragmatic, functionalist 'aesthetic', refusing the gratuity and futility of formal exercises and of every form of art's stake, is also the principle of all the choices of daily existence and of an art of living which rejects specifically aesthetic intentions as aberrations*" (Bourdieu, 1994:376).

As Bourdieu wrote:

Although working-class practices may seem to be deduced directly from their economic conditions, since they ensure a saving of money, time and effort that would in any case be of low profitability, they stem from a choice of the necessary, both in the sense of what is technically necessary, practical, functional, and of what is imposed by an economic and social necessity condemning 'simple', 'modest' people to 'simple' and 'modest' tastes (Bourdieu, 1994:379).

If one needs to prove that resignation to necessity is the basis of the taste of necessity, one only has to consider the waste of time and energy resulting from the refusal to subject the daily management of domestic life to the constraints of rational calculation and formal life-principles ('a place for everything', 'everything in its time', etc.), which only apparently contradicts the refusal to devote time and care to health ('molly-coddling yourself') or beauty ('getting dolled up').

The lifestyle of black African Zulu English speakers who live in the DMA can be analysed through the enumeration of their own different characteristics, which through the sense of incompetence, failure or cultural unworthiness implies a form of recognition of the dominant values. "It was Antonio Gramsci who said somewhere that the worker tends to bring his executant dispositions with him into every area of life" (Bourdieu, 1994:386). As much as by the absence of luxury goods, fashionable clothing, paintings, food delicacies, champagne or concerts, cruises or art exhibitions, caviar or antiques, the working-class lifestyle is characterised by the presence of numerous cheap substitutes for these rare goods. For example, sparkling white wine substitutes the champagne, imitation leather for real leather, print reproduction for paintings, vulgar basic food for delicacies. These are indices of a dispossession at the second power, which accepts the definition of the goods worthy of being possessed. Dispossession is never more totally misrecognised, and therefore tacitly recognised, than when, with the progress of automation and advance of the global trends of capital, economic dispossession is combined with cultural dispossession, which provides the best apparent justification for economic dispossession.

So, to explore the different goods and belongings which are 'taken for granted' as the necessary goods people should have, to have a proper legitimate life according to the

legitimate culture can give some insight into whether black Africans suffer material dispossession or not. With regard to the basic features that a household needs to have such as water, electricity, flush toilet, etc., black Africans responded as follows: 97% have water in home/on plot; only 12% of the people have hot water; 52% have their own flush toilet inside the house; 45.5% have their own flush toilet outside the house; 96% have electricity; 35.5% have a built-in kitchen sink; and 66.5% have electric stoves.

Other goods that came with modernisation and the capitalist society and which people think are indispensable to having a good lifestyle include a microwave, VCR/video, vacuum cleaner/floor polisher, cellular phone, washing machine, telephone, television, car, radio, Hi Fi/music centre, deep freezer, M-net/DStv, sewing machine, home security service, credit card and domestic service. For ownership of these products the obtained responses are as follows: 21% have a microwave oven, 29% have a VCR/video; 3.5% have a vacuum cleaner/floor polisher; 58% have a cellular telephone; 0.5% have a washing machine; 3% have a PC at home (computer); 35% have a telephone; 65% have a colour Television; 25% have a television in black and white; 6% have their own car in the household (Toyota Corolla, Polo, Fiat Uno and Jetta, being the most popular car makes from the 1994 to 1998); 39% have two radio sets in the household; 50% have a Hi Fi/music centre; 4% have a home security service; 9.5% have a deep freezer, 2.5% have an M-net/DStv subscription; 12.5% have a sewing machine, 5% have a domestic service and 1% have a credit card (Visa).

All of these objects that according to the current social formation are considered important and essential to everyday life for those who know how to live 'a good life', are mainly part of the legitimate taste of the upper and to some extent, the middle class. One can make a distinction between those products that seem to be more necessary and essential products for everyday life and those that seem to be more luxury than necessity. For instance, black Africans can mainly access products such as water, electricity and a flush toilet, but they have little possibilities to consume the other commodities, which make people's lives easier and more comfortable, according to the statements of the legitimate culture. Thus, what one can observe is that very few black Africans have

access to the main commodities that the other classes can enjoy, and that this is directly proportional to the general income of the households and to the culture of resignation and necessity.

There are only two objects from those listed that seem to break with the 'normal rule' and deserve special attention, one is colour television (65%) and the other is cellular phone (58%), both with high percentages of consumption by the black African population. It is well known that the working class has aspirations that come directly from the upper or hegemonic class. In this relationship of power those who are dispossessed struggle for the appropriation of the legitimate material culture and for the symbolic meaning of the objects. The use of cell-phone and television is a sign of the aspirations and messages that people receive in everyday life, which are part of the processes of globalisation and cultural linking. Today, the perception of the black African Zulu-English speakers that live in urban DMA is associated with these trends. They feel that it is important to be informed, to have access to these technologies because they can increase opportunities for social mobility.

1. Power and Distinction within the English and Zulu Language

The different fields within the social world are fields of preferences, styles, power, struggle and divisions. The legitimate, middle and popular aesthetic preferences in taste have distinctive features, which function as systems of differences, deviations and classifications, establishing different social positions. Consumption of luxury material and cultural goods leads to the creation of strong divisions. One can point here to the socially charged nature of the legitimate languages and the diverse forms of appropriation and their uses. It is well known that the dominant aesthetic sets a high value of refinement on language use, in opposition to the simplicity, vulgarity and poverty of the language used by the poorly educated. By way of an example, one of the observations to be made about the survey conducted is related to the speech used by the respondents. There were three categories: refined, standard and poor, in terms of grammar and vocabulary. The wide majority of the respondent's speech is centred between standard

and poor and these was a high use of slang and vulgar language by the youngest participants and English mistakes mainly in the oldest interval of age.

To analyse language and its institutional domains, it is necessary to return to the concept of habitus. The habitus, a structured set of classificatory schema, is inculcated in the child as its sense of cultural propriety and normative order. Habitus is learnt through interactive practises, as the acts of living within a world, which, is composed of this, same order, and are continually reinforced in different domains. This is a process of familiarity rather than learning. It is the same practical taxonomies, which serve to exemplify the principles of cultural order, and in certain societies formal education may attempt to make explicit and controlled some of these processes of language learning. In this case, language is not only incorporated in the immediate environment, as a process of familiarity, from an institution like the family (Zulu language), but it is also incorporated as a process of learning, from institutions such as the educational systems (English language) and the culturally legitimate order of society. So, when one wants to study black African 'Zulu-English' speakers, the process brings together relationships of different ideas, cultures, vision of the world, etc. but also, two very different linguistic systems and their differing relationships of power, struggle, and legitimisation of the meaning of the world.

The English language is not only a communicative verbal language but is also an instrument used by the dominant culture to manifest their own political ideology and power. English as the language of the coloniser, is used by main institutions and organisations of society to establish and legitimate the social order. In this sense Bourdieu (1994:331) said that "*the dispositions manifested in the relation to culture, or in the relation to language, are the very same ones which are manifested in relation to ethics, with an almost insatiable thirst for rules of conduct which subjects the whole of life to rigorous discipline*". In this sense, the researcher attempted firstly to know whether black Africans received in everyday life both languages in an equal way, or whether they learnt the English language through institutions or languages as a medium establishing social differences such as through education, and occupation. In response to

the question 'do you understand, read, speak and write in Zulu?' 100% of the people said yes. However when the same question was asked for the English language, the answers were not homogeneous. 100% of the people said that they understand English, but related to the specific categories they responded as follows:

Speak English: 93% of male and 91% of female participants speak English. This is indirectly proportional to the age: 95.8% of the people between 18-29 speak English; 90.5% are between 30-39; and 89.4% are between 40-49. 94.8% of the people that live in urban formal areas speak English; 85.2% live in informal areas; and 87.5% are from peri-urban areas. The highest proportions of people that do not speak English are in the informal areas, reaching 14.8%. To speak English is directly proportional to the highest level of education, finding that only 69.2% of people with not finished primary school speak English, while of those with university education 100% speak the language. The same happens with the categorisations of occupation. 100% of white-collar workers speak English, decreasing in skilled and semi-skilled workers with 95.1% and 94.1% for unskilled, finishing with the informal sector, which speak English at a rate of 85.1%.

Read English: 93% of the population read English, decreasing in percentage from youngest to oldest (97.2% of 18-29, and 96.8% of 30-39 to 84.8% of 40-49). People that live in urban formal areas read English at 96.3%. This decreases in peri-urban settlements to 87.5% and in urban informal areas to 85.2%. The highest percentage of English readers is directly proportional to the highest level of education. The number of people with not finished or finished primary school who read was 46.2% and 72.7% respectively. Those with not finished secondary school 93%, while the remainder with the highest level of education read at 100%. 100% of the people with the highest level of occupations read English while skilled and semi-skilled workers read by 97.6%, unskilled 94% and the informal and unemployed sectors with 80.9% and 84,6% respectively.

Write English: 94% of males and females can write English; the highest percentage of these is between 18-29 with 98.6%; then 30-39 with 96.8%; and 40-49 with 86.4%. This means that 13.6% of people between 40-49 do not write in English. In terms

of place of residence, 97% of people living in urban formal areas write English, while 87% are living in the urban informal sector and 87.5% live in peri-urban settlements. Only 46.2% of people with not completed primary school can write in English, 72.7% of those with primary completed, 96.5% with secondary not completed; and those with the highest level of education write English at 100%. A similar trend is evident in terms of occupation, with people in the lowest occupation categories less likely to have to write in English, finding that 85.1% of the people in the informal sector can write English.

These results show that according to gender there is not much differentiation related to the learning of English, but age is a variable of importance, showing that those who belong to the youngest generation have learnt English to a greater extent than those who belong to the oldest generations, which is obviously a result of the historical past related to English learning. Clearly, English learning is related to the possibilities of education and skills developed in occupational qualifications. The higher the institutional education and skills development in occupational qualifications gives more possibilities and access to learning how to speak, read and write English for this group. This statistical data is interesting not only for the information that we can read directly from the data, but because beyond it one can perceive the reasons for the disparity among Zulu and English language speakers within the selected sample. The information that this data does not provide is related to the diverse uses and meanings of the dominant and ethnic languages between the different population groups. The English language is a colonial language that was used and is still used as a language of determining social disadvantages and opportunities. Since 'democracy' has become a reality, the situation has been slowly changing. The educational institutional system is responsible for the perpetuation of English language learning, forced not only through new policies and political discourses, but also because of the close link that South Africa is forging with the rest of the world. These are some of the reasons for the fact that the biggest lack of English language learning is mainly is evident amongst the older generation, for more females than males, in the less educated and qualified and those who live in informal urban or peri-urban areas.

Language is an essential tool to establish social order through political, cultural, economic and social discourses, which determine the social practices of the different population groups. As Bourdieu put it: *“There is not a necessary link between the practical mastery which can guide everyday practice, and the symbolic mastery of experience which is expressed in discourse socially recognised and which presupposes the bracketing of all direct, exclusive reference to the concrete particularity of a situation”* (Bourdieu, 1994:461).

Therefore, manipulation is never absolute, it tends to be contained within certain limits because one may be able to resist an argument without being capable of arguing resistance; and also because popular language has its own resources, which are not those of analysis but which sometimes find an equivalent in a parable or metaphor. The way black Africans receive and accept social discourses through different languages is expressed through the perception they built in everyday life, which are subjected to multiple sources of information and social historical event that have happened in the past as much as in the present. Such perception is translated into how they receive the English and Zulu language, which value they give to them and if they consider such languages as legitimate. Bourdieu put it in this way:

The perception of the social world is the product of the double social structuring: on the objective side, this perception is socially structured because the properties attached to the agents or institutions do not make themselves available to perception independently, but in combinations whose probability varies widely; on the subjective side, it is structured because the schemes of perception and evaluation susceptible of being brought into operation at a given moment, including all those which are laid down in language, are the product of previous symbolic struggles and express, in a more or less transformed form, the state of symbolic relations of power (Bourdieu, 1992:234).

Thus, perception is not only a process in which society structure thoughts and practices evolve, but it is also a process of negotiation, resistance and continuous struggle. One can see how black African Zulu-English speakers have incorporated these schemas by the form in which they respond to the following sentences. The respondents

were asked to respond if they agree or not with several sentences, some of them related to the Zulu language and others related to the English language. Some of the sentences were phrased with a negative connotation and others with a positive one. The three categories of answer were 'agree', 'do not have an opinion' and 'disagree'.

- “Zulu distinguishes us from others” 94.5% agreed; 3.5% do not have an opinion; and 2% disagreed. In terms of gender, males agreed by 93% and disagreed by 3% while females agreed with 96% and only 1% disagreed. From the age group 40-49 90.9% agree, while from 30-39 and 18-29 the percentage increased to 95.2% and 97.2% respectively. In terms of education the lowest percentage of agreement was with people who have not completed primary school (90.9%), while the highest is with people with university completed and completed with 100%. There is a strong correlation between the degree of agreement and the place of residence. In terms of occupation, middle class and formal casual workers agreed by 100%, while the lowest percentage of agreement was centred in the formal permanent unskilled workers with 88.8%, and 6% of disagreement; followed by the informal sector with 93.6% agreement.
- “Zulu is a communicative language” 93% agreed, 6.5% did not have an opinion, and 0.5% disagreed. People with the highest level of education agree quite strongly with the sentence, while the lowest percentage of agreement is centred among people with incomplete primary school with 84.6%.
- “Zulu language gives us unity” 100% of males and females by age, place of residence, occupation and education agreed with the sentence.
- “Zulu is the language of corruption” nearly 100% of the people disagreed across all variables.
- “I feel proud to speak Zulu” 100% of males and females by age, place of residence, occupation and education agreed with this statement.
- “Speaking Zulu is old fashioned” 100% of males and females by age, place of residence, occupation and education disagreed with the sentence.

After analysing the answers related to the sentences, which express diverse meanings, one can conclude that the wide majority of black African Zulu-English speakers living in urban DMA have a very positive perception of the 'Zulu language'. This could be, because Zulu as a first language is the language of their own ethnic group. It could also be because their own leaders and king within the ethnic group have over the years transmitted the pride and history of the Zulu language and people. However, there are some disagreements with the generally positive answers associated with the Zulu language mainly related to the oldest generations, who have been subjected to the domination of foreign languages such as Afrikaans and English during a period of intolerance and lack of freedom. Let us examine how the sample group responds to the sentences that refer to the English language.

- "English is a language of corruption" 98% of the sample disagreed with the sentence. People by age and gender were quite homogeneous in their disagreement. Black Africans in general did not associate English with corruption.
- "English is a common language" 98% of people agreed with the sentence, while 1.5% did not have an opinion and 0.5% disagreed. Regarding gender, males agreed with 97% and females with 99%. And finally, age is quite constant, with people from 18-29 agreeing by 98.6%, 30-39 100% and 40-49 with 95.5%. Males seem to be a little more critical than females with this sentence, and the same is true for those in the oldest interval of age, who would seem to have fewer possibilities to access the language or more re-affirmation in their own mother language.
- "English is a colonial language" 100% of males and 99% of females agreed with the statement. The same occurred in respect of age, where 99.5% of the people strongly agreed. Also, according to place of residence, education, occupations of the respondent and household heads agree strongly.
- "English offers National Unity" 98% of males and 100% of females agreed with the sentence. Only one male between 30-39 years old disagreed. He lives in an urban formal area, has not finished university, is still studying, his father has tertiary education, and he is white-collar middle class. The only person that is critical is a

male with high education and skills qualification whose father was also highly educated.

- “The English language is oppressive”, 78% of people disagreed with the sentence. From the total, 6% of the males agreed with the sentence, 19% do not have an opinion, and 75% disagree. From the total females, 2% agree with the same sentence, 17% do not have an opinion, and 81% disagree. In age, 84.5% of people between 18-29 disagree, 81% of 30-39 and, 68.2% of 40-49 years old. The same happens with agreement; the difference is proportional with the age, finding that people between 18-29 years old agree by 2.8%, people between 30-39 agree by 3.2% and finally, people between 40-49 agree by 6.1%. It is interesting that ‘no opinion’ is quite high: 18-29, 12.7%; 30-39, 15.9%; and 40-49, 25.8%. According to the place of residence, 80.6% of the people in urban formal areas disagree, 70.4% in informal and 87.5% in peri-urban areas. The highest incidence of ‘no opinion’ is centred in the informal areas (24.1%). Agreement is high in primary education both incomplete and complete with 15.4% and 9.1%, while in the highest level of education the percentage of disagreement reaches 100%. ‘No opinion’ in the primary education level is 30.8% and 54.5%. Related to occupation, high disagreement is found among the higher levels of occupation. 81.3% of white-collar workers disagree, decreasing in the lowest occupation levels in proportional form. Also, skilled and semi-skilled workers disagree by 82.9%, unskilled 76.5%, casual 75%, and informal 70.2%. It is very curious that the highest levels of agreement with the sentence are among males of the oldest interval of age, those who live in informal settlements and areas, are less educated through institutional education and have less skills and qualifications. Is it that those people with less access to cultural and economic western capital have more reason to be critical, placed as they are in their own indigenous vision of the world? On the contrary, those who disagreed with the sentence were mainly people who belong to the youngest generations, with more possibilities to access institutional education and job opportunities, who have reached a more comfortable life living in the formal urban areas. Access to cultural and economic western institutionalised

capital creates acceptance within black Africans, transforming their own vision of the world and at the same time the vision of their past beliefs and traditions.

- “Proud to speak English” 65.5% agreed, 18.5% did not have an opinion, and 16% disagreed. Males agreed less than females with 62% and 69% respectively, while the highest disagreement is found in males with 18% compared with 14% in females. In terms of age, the strongest agreement is in the interval 18-29 with 77.5% declining directly in the other two intervals, with 68.3% between 30-39 and 50% between 40-49. In addition, disagreement is highest according to the oldest age, finding that disagreement among 18-29 is 9.9%, 30-39 is 12.7% and, 40-49 is 25.8%. Regarding place of residence people living in urban areas agree with 70.1% and disagree in 14.2%; for urban informal 53.7% agree and those with no opinion number 24.1% and disagree by 22.2%. Finally, people living in peri-urban settlements agree by 62.5%, 25% do not have an opinion and 12.5% disagree. In people with primary school not completed and completed there is a high level of disagreement with the sentence in 46.2% and 45.5% respectively. People with not finished secondary school agree by 50.9% and those who finished by 75.9%; people with tertiary not finished agree with 77.8% and finished 95.5%; and finally, 71.7% and 100% of people with not finished and finished university agree with the sentence. It is interesting that the disagreement is concentrated among the lowest educated, changing noticeably to strong agreement for the statement among the people who are more educated. With regard to occupation, the highest agreements is located in the people with the highest occupations: white-collar 87.5%; skilled or semi-skilled 78%; unskilled 70.6%; casual 62.5%; while informal sector agree by 42.6%, and disagree by 29.8 %; and finally casual workers disagree by 37.5%. Also, the unemployed have a low agreement with 46.2%, 30.8% of not opinion and 23.1% of disagreement. In this case, the answers were not at all homogenous, as many black Africans disagree with the sentence ‘I am proud to speak English’. However, the highest percentage of disagreement is centred in the older generation of males who live in the informal urban areas, who are poorly educated and with low occupational qualifications. However, there was not complete homogeneity and there were many disagreements

amongst those who have better qualifications, level of education, who live in formal areas and belong to the first and second interval of age. Disagreement can be associated with strong feelings and opinions on their own mother language, and the pride associated with the glorious history of conquest from Shaka Zulu's time. However, Zulus also want to be part of the global world and the advantages associated with it. They are in a contradictory position of negotiation between the language of their ancestors and the English language, perceived as the international, communicative language of the global world.

In general the answers received on the English language vary deeply and perceptions are quite heterogeneous. But, this does not necessary imply social consciousness of the differences or deny the diverse position that language can occupy in the social structure. On the one hand, one observes that dominant discourses have been working quite well within this group in the apprehension of the legitimate structures and in the dissemination of the linguistic codes and meanings of the English language. The appropriation of linguistic spaces and social structures of the English language is more and more often involved in the processes of socialisation and apprehension of the social world. On the other hand, also one can observe disagreement and negative connotations represented in the perception schemas of the black African. Resistance and negotiation are two sides of the same coin, but not necessarily imply a conscious awareness of these positions between people (in the classical Marxist sense). Conflict and resistance can be in a germinal stage and lie in the routine of everyday life actions and thought. But for now, these differences seem to be unconscious, and do not imply a deep change to the dominant and hegemonic structures of society and within this ethnic group.

The two sentences that provoked more controversial responses were 'English language is oppressive' and 'I am proud to speak English'. Regarding the first sentence, the level of disagreement with it was higher among females than males; in the youngest interval of age; in people with the higher level of education and occupation and in the urban formal areas. The perception of English language as a non-oppressive language might be associated with the new generations and the kinds of open positions that black

Africans have at present with the new information and technological advances, and the various discourses that suggest that English is the international language of high possibilities, status and social mobility. In addition, it is interesting to mention that there was a high percentage of people who 'have no opinion' that might be a response to the historical past of high conflict and political struggle and the necessity to be out of the political arena and attempt to just be in the world. Finally, it was very interesting that the majority of people who agreed with the sentence were those who have lived the apartheid era and maybe have more 'conscience' about political oppression, European colonisation, and the lack of opportunities and high segregation to what they have been subjected. 'Proud to speak English' is the reverse side of the same coin. Of course the high agreement with the sentence might be related to the conditions of life, the access to possibilities of reaching the global world through the proximity of living in the urban formal areas, with the entire signification that this brings together.

The long experience that black Africans have had in using a mixture of different languages in everyday life has made it possible for the appropriation of diverse discourses that bring old and new codes, significations and visions of the world. According to Bourdieu (1994:461)

The dominated, whose interest are bound up with the raising of consciousness, i.e., with language, are at the mercy of the discourses that are presented to them; whenever they emerge from the doxa they are liable to fall into allodoxia, into all the false recognitions encouraged by the dominant discourse. At best, they are at the mercy of their own spokesmen, whose role is to provide them with the means of repossessing their own experience.

Everyday life is transforming itself, and in this process of changing, the vision of their own culture, politics and society are also changing. The transformation and re-transformation of their own cultural schemas and linguistic systems are translated into different tastes and uses of language. The experience of speaking their own language and a borrowed language shows how the appropriation of it is translated into a popular usage but without becoming in general of erudite usage. English as a dominant hegemonic

language for business, institutional education, and so on, is not so much hegemonic in the everyday private spaces, such as family and in some areas where black Africans live. In other spaces, such as workplace, place of study, etc. people are condemned to use the dominant language or at least a routine, routinising language. To illustrate some of these points selected items listed in response to question 'what language do you use in the following situations?'³ will be outlined.

Language use in the family. 98% and 97% of males and females respectively speak Zulu within the family. One finds small differences related to age, 95.8% of those in the 18-29 interval of age speak Zulu among family; 98.4% from 30-39 and 98.5% from 40-49, finding a direct correlation between age and Zulu language use within the family. Regarding place of residence, people in urban formal areas speak less Zulu in the family, although the difference is minimum with 97%, urban informal 98.1% and peri-urban settlements 100%, finding that the 3% of the population that live in urban formal areas speak both languages in the family. People with primary school speak Zulu by 100%, secondary school 98.2%, tertiary not finished 92.6%, tertiary finished 100%, university not finished 85.7%, and unexpectedly 100% of people with university completed speak Zulu within the family, which can not doubt be related to the consciousness and pride in their own language and historical past. Its means that the majority of the black African population in urban areas speak Zulu within the family, without taking into account age, gender, level of education, occupation and place of residence.

Language use in the area in which you live: 98% and 96% of males and females speak Zulu in the area in which they live. The people that speak Zulu more often are from 40-49 with 98.5% and the smallest percentage of speakers is in the interval of 18-29 with 95.8%. According to the place of residence, only people that live in urban formal area speak 95.5% Zulu and 4.5% speak both languages (Zulu and English), while the rest is homogeneous, it means that 100% of people living in the informal and peri-urban areas speak Zulu in the areas where they live. Level of education is in indirect correlation to the use of Zulu language in the area of residence. People with completed primary education

³ The items are chosen according to the criteria identified already and are some of the most important ones.

speaking 100% Zulu in the area; people with secondary education uncompleted and completed speak Zulu by 100% and 94.4% respectively. A remarkable difference is found among people with university education with 100% of Zulu speakers in the residential area, due to the same explanation as above (group pride and cultural awareness). It can be said that the Zulu language is widely spoken among black Africans in the place in which they live.

Language in your workplace: 54% of people speak both languages in the workplace. 55% of males speak both languages in the workplace, 32% speak English and 13% Zulu. 53% of females speak both, 25% speak English and 22% Zulu in the workplace. 62% of the people who speak Zulu are females, while 37.1% are males. The highest percentages related to age group are concentrated in both languages, 18-29 59.2%, 30-39 42.9% and 40-49 with 59.1%, followed by English with 35.2%, 34.9% and 15.2% respectively. It is interesting to know that 22.2% of people between 30-39 speak Zulu in the workplace, as with 25.8% of people between 40-49. People that come from urban formal areas speak both languages in the workplace with 54.5%, 31.3% speak English and, 14.2% Zulu. Of those from informal areas 53.7% speak both languages, 22.2% speak English and 24.1% Zulu. From peri-urban areas 50% speak both, 25% speak English and 25% Zulu. In terms of education, people with primary school not finished speak 23.1% of both languages in the workplace. 38.5% speak English and 38.5% speak Zulu. Of those with primary finished 54.5% speak both languages, 18.2% speak English, and 27.3% speak Zulu; for people with secondary school not finished 47.4% speak both, 19.3% speak English and 33.3% speak Zulu; those with secondary school completed 70.4% speak both, 22.2% speak English, 7.4% speak Zulu; those with tertiary not finished and finished are similar with 59.3% and 56.5% for both and 37.4% for English. In the category University not finished 14.3% speak both, 71.4% English, 14.3% Zulu; and finally, those who have completed university speak 50% in both languages.

In the majority of the cases, more than 50% of the population speak both languages at the workplace followed by English only and then Zulu only. With regards to gender, males speak both languages, then English and finally the least percentage is for

the Zulu language, but in the case of females, the most spoken languages are both, followed by English and Zulu in a very similar proportion. According to age the results are quite heterogeneous, showing that people in the first and last interval share similar proportions in terms of the use of both languages in the workplace, while the middle interval of age has a difference of 10% and speak less of both languages, putting the emphasis on the use of the English language. The youngest interval is characterized by speaking English and little Zulu, and the oldest interval speaks little English and a high proportion of Zulu. According to the place of residence, people that live in urban formal areas speak in first instance both languages, then English and finally a little Zulu, while those who live in informal areas speak both languages, then Zulu and finally English. The relationship between language in the workplace and education is very unequal. Those who have less education speak more of both languages and Zulu, while those who have the highest school education speak more of both languages and English. Those with the highest university education speak mainly English or in other case both languages, but never Zulu as a unique language.

Language in your place of study in total, 61.5% speak English, 36% speak both languages and 2.5% speak Zulu. 65% of males speak English, 33% speak both and 2% Zulu. Females speak 58% English, 39% speak both and 3% Zulu. People between 18-29 speak 56.3% English and 42.3% both; those between 30-39 speak 65.1% English and 30.2% both, and those between 40-49 speak 63.6% English and 34.8% both. From the total number of people speak both languages, 41.7% are from the age 18-29; 26.4% are between 30-39 and 31.9% between 40-49, finding that the youngest people study in places in where they speak both languages while the oldest interval of age have the highest percentages of English language use. From people that live in urban formal areas, 61.9% speak English, and 35.8% both. From urban informal areas 61.1% speak English and 35.2% both, and in peri-urban 62.5% speak English and 37.5% speak both languages. People with primary school not finished speak English by 92.3% and 7.7% speak both. Those with primary school finished speak 63.6% English, 18.2% speak both and, 18.2% Zulu. Secondary school not finished speak 64.9% English, 33.3% speak both and, 1.8% Zulu. Those with secondary school finished speaks 48.1% English, 50% speak both and,

0.9% Zulu. Those with tertiary education not finished speak 55.6% English, and 44.4% both languages; tertiary finished 69.6% speak English and 30.4% speak both. Those with university education not finished speak 57.1% English, 28.6% speak both and 14.3% speak Zulu, and those with university finished speak 75% English and 25% speak both. The language that the majority speaks in the place of study is mainly English, followed by both languages. Related to gender there are not too many differences, but in age, the first interval speak English and then both without too much differentiation in percentages, while the other two intervals speak much more English followed by both languages. Places of residence are quite homogeneous, in terms of speaking English, and differ in a minor percentage for both languages. Finally in relation to education, those with less education spoke more English in their study place than those who have reached more education, mixing English and both languages, while people who have some university education, finished or not, speak more of both languages, followed by English and then Zulu within the study place.

Summarising, one can say that the percentage of Zulu speakers who speak the language predominantly in the family and in the area where they live is very high and quite homogeneous. The very few people who speak English in the family belong to the youngest interval of age, and live in urban formal areas. They also mix Zulu and English meaning that the black Africans that speak English within the family are not abandoning the habitus of the Zulu language. Something very similar is observed in the answers related to the language people speak in the area in which they live. In the workplace, the scenario changes substantively. The introduction and appropriation of the English language by black Africans is notably strong, and English and Zulu are used alternatively. Of course, the more educated people who live in urban formal areas use English in larger numbers when compared with those who live in informal and peri-urban areas and are poorly educated. In the case of which language is used in the study place, one observes similar results. The highest percentages are centred in the uses of either languages or only the English language. Surprisingly, people in the oldest interval of age have used the English language more than those who are from the youngest interval of age, who tend to use both languages in the study place. In addition, black Africans with

less level of education have used more English than those who are more educated, who tend to use of both languages. This statistical information should be related to the different policies built into the education system and related to the role that the eleven official languages have played in the 'new' democratic South Africa. Evidently the political, cultural and social discourses of the hegemonic sectors are changing, and the strategies of appropriation of language as well. In addition, the very different uses of both languages according to the situation vary in relation to the institutions of which one is talking. It is crucial to interrogate whether these differences on habitus and practices are responding to the logic in which the society and discourses are structured, or they are the direct result of autonomous spaces within the popular sectors where people are appropriating and transforming their own cultural practices.

2. The objectified World and Material Consumption

The social world is a world of objects, more or less structured and circumscribed in the known world. The known objects are parts of our mental understanding of the world, and they are there as a schema of classification or typification. Objects in general have a typical part as well as a social one. The process whereby the object acquires a social meaning is quite complex. All the symbolic struggles for production and imposition of the legitimate vision of the world and, more precisely, to all the cognitive strategies of fulfilment which produce the meaning of the objects of the social world go beyond the directly visible attributes by reference to the future or the past. The main focus in this section of the chapter is to analyse clothing habitus and practices through 'taste' and consumption at present. Of course, clothing consumption is understood not only as a result of the manufacturing process, or as a means to satisfy physical necessities. Clothing as an object of the social world occupies a sub-field, the sub-field of fashion, which encompasses an historical understanding of fashion from the past, to the present, to the future trends. The fashion sub-field is a space of struggle for the appropriation of the material and symbolic meaning of the clothing, for the power to control production but also for power of choice of consumption – what to consume, when, where, what material, how to wear it, and so on.

The social structure as a whole controls the position one occupies in production and consumption, which reveals itself through the awareness of the position occupied in that structure. The category of perception of the social world is essentially the product of the incorporation of the objective structures of the social space. Consequently, they incline agents to accept the social world as it is, to take it for granted, rather than to rebel against it and put forward opposed and even antagonistic possibilities. *“The sense of one’s place, as the sense of what one can or cannot ‘allow oneself’ implies a tacit acceptance of one’s position, a sense of limits or a sense of distances, to be marked and maintained, respected, and expected of others”* (Bourdieu, 1992:235).

The sense of place that black African Zulu-English speakers occupy in the social structure influences them at present in where they consume – what are their consumption priorities, how they buy, and so on. Naturally, not all black Africans Zulu-English speakers occupy the same position, or have the same awareness of position occupied and among them we find heterogeneous habitus and practices. The objects consumed and the range of consumption in the following table show us what the priorities of this ethnic group are and the place of importance that clothing occupies in relation to the different goods of daily consumption.

Five most Important Items People Spend with their Incomes⁴

Items	First more important	Second more important	Third more important	Fourth more important	Fifth more important
Food	52%	7%	4.5%	2%	4.5%
Beverage	13%	9.5%	1.5%	3%	1.5%
Clothing/ Footwear	12.5%	24%	7%	2.5%	3%
Housing	3.5%	12%	8.5%	2%	3%
Fuel, power	2%	9%	6.5%	4%	2%

⁴ For more detail, look at the Appendix 3.

and water					
Furniture/ Equipment	2%	8%	9.5%	5%	3.5%
Medical Service	2%	4%	12.5%	6.5%	8.5%
Transport	6%	13%	14%	19%	9%
Education	1.5%	1%	3.5%	7.5%	5.5%
Communicat ion	0.5%	2%	5.5%	8.5%	3%
Household operation	0.5%	2.5%	16%	9%	9%
Personal Care	2%	6.5%	5%	27%	29.5%
Recreation/ Sport	0.5%			1.5%	2.5%
Restaurant/ Bar	0.5%		3%	2%	9.5%
Tobacco	0.5%		0.5%		
Holidays		0.5%	2%	0.5%	4.5%
Reading Matters			0.5%		1.5%

From this table one can analyse the frequency of the items mentioned, establishing a scale from the most important item consumed to the least important one. The items most often mentioned from the highest to the lowest are, namely: food and personal care both with 70%; transport with 61%; clothing/footwear with 49%; household operation with 37%; medical service with 33.5%; education and housing sharing 29% each, beverage 28.9%; furniture with 24.5% and communication with 19%. In addition bar/restaurant with 15%; holiday with 7.5%; recreation/sport with 4.5%; reading matters with 2%; and finally tobacco with 1%.

It is necessary to go beyond this level of data analysis to look at the difference between percentages. One can say that clothing is in the third place with 49% of people that found this item very important for their everyday life and social relationships but if we compare it with food we find that people consider this item naturally much more important with 70% of the total population. However, and considering clothing not only as an item that can cover a primary or urgent necessity but also vanities and needs for distinction, the percentage acquires a new dimension. The third place of importance occupied by clothing/footwear is significant especially when we analyse the reasons that black Africans give for choosing this item. Some of the reasons mentioned are: it is essential, important, vital and basic for everyday life 17%, I feel comfortable, respectable, smart, presentable 15.5%; I like fashion, very much, entertains me 10.5%; hide, to cover our bodies 10.5%; for children school clothing needs 7%; to protect me for another season, 6%; I like to change the old for the new wardrobe, 3%; other 2%.

As one can see, black Africans choose clothing not only for necessity, to cover oneself as a biological or physical necessity, but also for other reasons such as status, a sense of distinction, to be fashionable, as a form of entertainment or pleasure. They see clothing as an object with which they can reach their aspirations, a high sense of distinction and occupy a better position in the social structure. The rest of black African who did not choose clothing indicated that this was mainly owing to economic problems, which was translated directly or indirectly in the answers. The most common reason were: there are other important items or things to purchase with 25%; not for now, at this moment, these last months 8%; I choose according to my budget, money, 11.5%; I have enough clothing 5%; and other, 7%.

Aesthetic consumption is related to one's class condition. Consumption within popular sectors which bases consumption on economic constraints and is related to the habitus of necessities, is mostly associated with the popular aesthetic. Economic possibilities restricting access to consumption. As Miller put it:

Our ability to 'read' objects for their social appropriateness and to impose upon any series of new forms that order which would make them culturally acceptable does not in any respect lessen the place of strategy, or the possibility of intent: both, however, are accomplished within objective conditions of which we have an underlying experience, even if we choose to deny them in formulating strategy (Miller, 1992:104).

The external environment is absorbed and interpreted in a differential form from the subject perspective earned as a member of a social group. It thereby links socialisation processes, by which a new generation is culturally incorporated, with the longer-term movements of history and the process by which culture itself is reproduced, thereby developing as a dynamic praxis, or an objectification, which avoids determinism. The sub-field of fashion clothing is impacting directly on the everyday life of black African Zulu English speakers, and the distribution and consumption of the products (objectified products of accumulated social labour) define the relationship of power, institutionalised in durable social organisations, which are recognised and accepted as legitimate power for the other agents who are participating in this social space.⁵

Western clothing institutions design in a very different way to the indigenous people and organisations in South Africa. Currently, much of what in the global world is called 'primitive' or 'indigenous' art or ethnic art consists of objects made in that style which manufacturers in various parts of the world have perceived to be demanded of them. But the demand for ethnic clothing comes from exclusive places and for people with 'exotic' tastes. Western clothing taste has been slowly introduced in the South African context over time. Some black Africans like to wear jeans, jackets, leather and all those products that are fashionable in the western developed countries. Black Africans in Durban wear jeans in the following way: 85% of the males use "jeans" usually/often and only 3% of the population respond that they have never worn them. 43% of females said they wear jeans usually/often, 10% sometimes, and 47% never. If one looks at the total population we find that 64% wear jeans usually/often, 11% sometimes and 25% never.

⁵ Quantitative investigations can grasp this relation of power only in the form of properties, sometimes legally guaranteed by titles of economic property, cultural property (educational qualifications) or social properties (titles of nobility) This explains the link between empirical research into classes or theories of

Related to age, people from 18-29 respond 88.7% usually/often, 4.2% sometimes and 7% never. In the interval from 30-39, 61.9% respond usually/often, 17.5% sometimes and 20.6% never. Finally, from 40-49 people respond 39.4% wear jeans usually/often, 12.1% sometimes and, 48.5% never. From those who said they wear jeans usually, 49.2% correspond to the interval of 18-29, 30.5% from 30-39 and 20.3% from 40-49. Of those who said never, 10% correspond to 18-29, 26% from 30-39 and 64% from 40-49. Gender is an important indicator of jeans wearing finding that males wear jeans more than females (roughly half the percentage) and the roughly 50 % of other females have never worn them.

Related to age, the use of jeans is indirectly proportional to the age. People in the youngest interval wears jeans more often than the older respondents, finding that in this last interval the majority of people that have never worn Jeans in the past is concentrated. Clearly the use of jeans is related to the beliefs of this ethnic group. Jeans on the one hand can be see as a product of the western society introduced to black Africans, on the other, half of the females did not use such products showing resistance in favour of their own femininity. The use of jeans in the black African group is clearly controversial and the negotiation for the appropriation of such a product still continues.

With respect to “Jackets”, 31.5% wear jackets usually, 61.9% are male and 38.1% are female, the largest percentage in age is the interval 18-29 with 44.4%. In terms of “suits”, males wear more suits than females, males 9% and females 4%. 35% of males wear suits sometimes and 56% never. 35% of female wear suits sometimes and 61% never. 12% of males use “accessories” usually/often, 21% sometimes and 67% never. Females use it a lot more than males; 22% of females use accessories usually/often, 37% sometimes and 41% never. “Shoes and sandals (genuine leather)”: 94% of male use it usually/often, 5% sometimes and, 1% never. In the case of females, 88% of them wear these usually/often, 10% sometimes and 2% never. Of the total 91% say usually/often, 7.5% sometimes and 1.5% never. In addition from the total population that responded

social structure as a system of stratification described in the language of distance from the instruments of appropriation, that Marx himself uses when he speaks of the ‘mass deprived of property’.

usually/often, 51.6% are males and 48.4% females. 36.8% are between 18-29, 30.8% between 30-39 and 32.4% between 40-49.

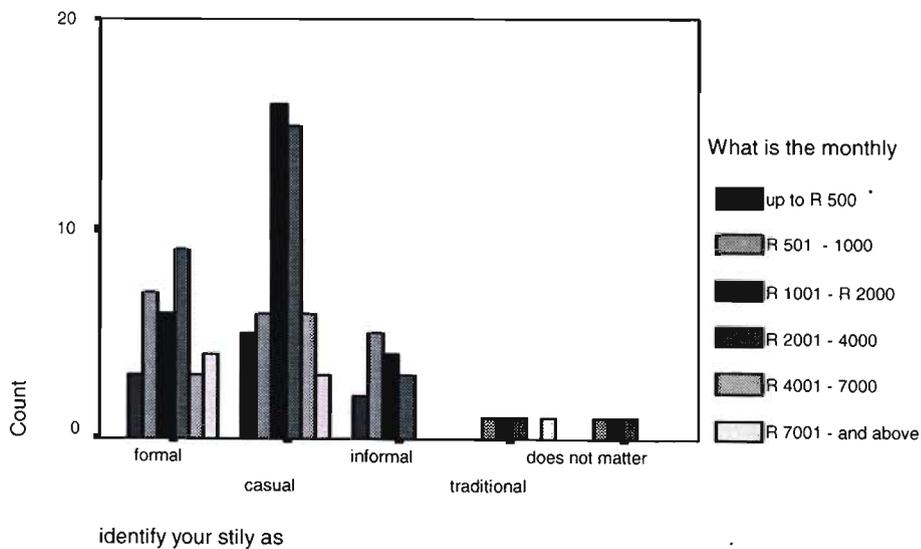
These examples regarding appropriation of clothing indicate clearly how global trends affect taste in clothing consumption within black Africans in urban DMA. Western objects impose a legitimate cultural order and establish new meanings in the object world. Objects – jeans, jackets, leather shoes and so on – express generation and gender differences. Clearly, an object may always signify its own material possibilities and constraints and thereby the more general world of material practices. What is of importance is certainly not the idea of physicality as some ‘ultimate constraint’ or final determining factor, but rather the manner in which everyday objects continually assert their presence as simultaneously material force and symbol. Material objects are important from this continual simultaneity between the ‘objects’ as the form of natural material whose nature we continually experience through practices, and also as the form through which we continually experience the very particular nature of our cultural order

Bourdieu (1994) has argued that although the object may be closely associated with the most fundamental and hidden aspects of socialisation, this does not mean that it must be analysed only by determinant, rule-based objectivist procedures, since as an instrument of social strategy it retains a high degree of flexibility. This flexibility is suggestive of certain properties of the object as physical form, but never has been ascribed a total autonomy, since its physical and external presence belies its actual flexibility as symbol. It has been suggested that the object tends towards presentational form, which cannot be broken up as though into grammatical sub-units, and as such it appears to have a particularly close relation to emotions, feelings and basic orientations to the world. “The ‘object’ may be used to promote fine distinction through its relation to extremely sophisticated mechanisms of perceptual discrimination, which tend to remain outside of consciousness. Finally, its physical presence exemplifies the concept of praxis, in that this materiality is always an element in cultural transformation” (Miller, 1992,107). Object as products of social differentiation and cultural understanding use

patterns, signs, logos and brands to establish distinction, which is defined as a kind of style that black Africans might identify with.

Black Africans identify their clothing style as 'casual' 48.5%, 'formal' 29%, 'informal' 15.5%, 'traditional' 3% and, for 4% this does not matter. Those who identify their style as 'formal', 56.9% are males and 43.1% females; with respect to age the largest percentage is in the interval 40-49 with 40%, 81% live in urban areas, 19% belong to the middle class white-collar, 29.3% are permanent formal skilled and semi-skilled workers and those from the informal sector number 22.4%. For those who feel identify with formal style the highest percentage of income answered is 28.1% earning R2000-R4000, 12.5% from R7000 and above, and 9.4% from R4000-R7000. From the total people identify their style as 'casual', 48.5% are males and 51.5% are females. 48.5% are from 18-29, 28.9% from 30-39 and 22.7% from 40-49. 63.9% live in urban areas, 29% in informal areas and 4.1% in peri-urban areas. 34% of the people are working in a formal permanent job, 13.4% in informal jobs and 25.8% are still studying. 31.4% earn R1000-R2000 and 29.4% earn 2000-4000.

Identification of Style by Monthly Income



Clearly, black Africans have preferences for formal and casual clothing styles showing that people with the highest monthly income prefer a formal style and the majority of people who choose casual clothing have a lower income than the prior group. Other variables that show us distinction are gender, age and occupation. In the first group are more males than females, in the last interval of age and belonging to the middle class or the most qualified working class. Whilst, in the second group that feel identification with casual clothing are more females than males, in the youngest interval of age and belong to the working class in general, while some of them are still studying.

The objects or products understood as an instrument of social strategy, which retain a high degree of flexibility, are also translated in the taste for clothing brands as a form of cultural transformation. Clothing/footwear brands were put forward to explore the social perception of black Africans related to sense of social mobility and distinction. 63 people (31.5%) remember one brand, of which 60.3% are male and 39.7% female. 44.4% are from the first interval of age (18-29) and 41.3% from the second one (30-39). 52 people (26%) remembered a second brand, of which, 63.5% are male and 36.5% are female; 48.1% correspond to the 18-29 interval and 42.3% to the interval 30-39. Only 25 people (12.5%) remembered a third clothing brand, of which 64% are male and 36% female; 52% from 18-29 and 48% from 30-39. From the total population of the sample, 51.5% do not remember clothing's brand names, 18% remember one or two brands, but 'nothing more' and 17.5% directly respond to the question that they do not follow brands. The brand with the largest percentage is Levi's 39.6%, followed by Truworths/Truworths Man with 33%, Polo with 27.6%, Diesel with 21%, Converse with 17%, Relay with 15%, Private Collection with 12.8% and Bad Girl/Boy with 12.6%. Other brands that people mentioned with a low percentage were Nike, Addidas, Woolworths, Pierre Cardin, Rocco Barrocco, Jeep, Soviet, Christian Dior, Hemisphere, Ginger Bangwandas, Free, RJL, Carducci, John Peter, Daniel Hechter, Saleshouse, Edgars and Bretwood. Regarding clothing brands, half a percent of the population do not remember brands at all, and others do not follow brands at all. However, 18% remember one or two brands and much less people remember three brand names. For gender, males remember much more brands than females (double), and in age something similar happens, finding that the youngest

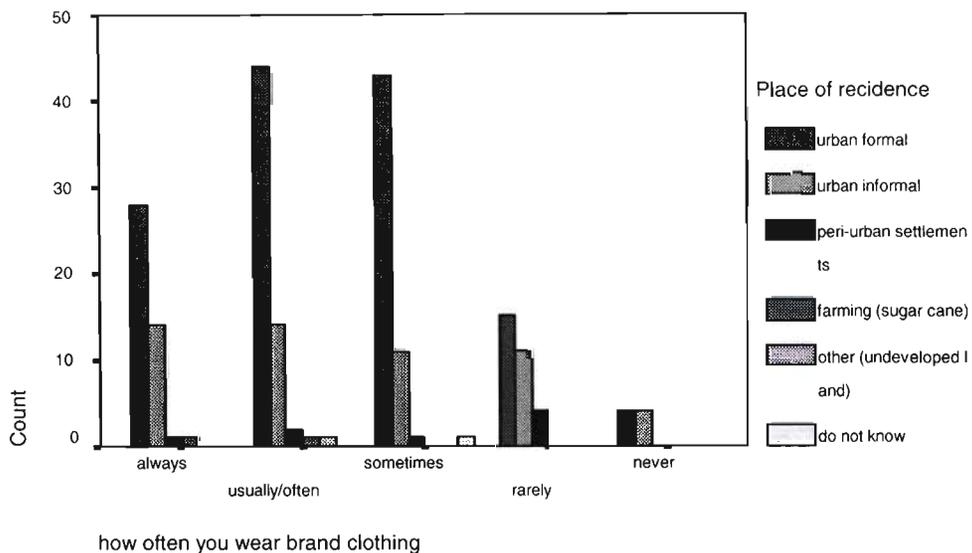
remember more brands than those from the second interval, and the second interval remembers more than the oldest group, brand recognition being nearly non-existent for this group.

Related to footwear brands, black Africans remembered as follows. 66 people (33%) mentioned a first brand name, of which 60.6% are male and 39.4% female; 43.9% are between 18-29, and 37.9% between 30-39. 33 people (16.5%) remember a second footwear brand name, of which 66.7% are male and 33.3% are female; 48.5% are from 18-29 and 30.3% from 30-39. And finally, 4 people (2%) remembered a third footwear brand name. 50.5% of the population do not remember footwear brand names, 61 people (30.3%) remember some of them and then nothing more, and finally, 17% do not follow brands. The most mentioned footwear brand names are: Addidas 48.1%; Polo 43.2%; Nike 33.3%; Fila 25%; Converse 13.7%; Crocket and Jones 13.6%, and QC 13.6%. The rest of the brand names mentioned with low percentages are Diesel, Truworths/Truworths Man, Woolworths, Reebok, Grand Shoes, Pierre Cardin, Medicus, All Stars, Wild Tekkies, Richlevi, Soviet, Salvator, Pedrino, Daniel Hechter, Ginger-Bagwandas, ABC, Ostrich Shoes, Moccasin, Azalea and, Saleshouse. According to this statistical information, we can see that the history on clothing brand is repeated for footwear brands with almost the same reading.

In the social world, the concept of brands is very well known as a determinant of class position, opportunities and aspirations satisfied. In South Africa it is quite a new phenomenon for black African groups in general and black African Zulu-English speakers in the Durban Metropolitan area in particular. Since 'democracy' black Africans have come slowly to consume those objects that they never could before but that they knew existed for long time. In addition, globalisation and technological advances resulted in a large amount of new information, which allows greater awareness of and access to those objects. From them, western objects were always perceived as to some extent superior to the indigenous or traditional ones, but the access to these objects is not so easy, because details, such as material, brands, logos and so on, express the difference not only of price, but also of quality, accessibility and distinction.

A question related to the kind of clothing that black Africans wear in everyday life made reference to the topic explored above. Here, I will be working with four different categories: brand clothing, clothing without a brand, second-hand clothing and traditional clothing. I have prepared four graphs to show these four categories crossed with place of residence, an indicator that reflects economic possibilities and cultural environment perception of the social world.

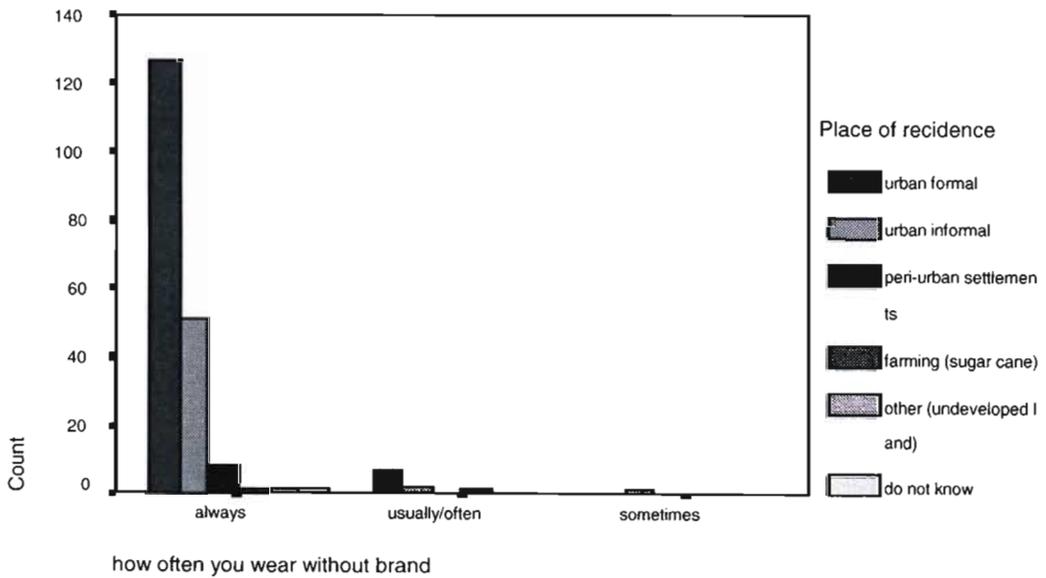
Clothing Brand by Place of Residence



In response to the question how often people wear 'brand clothing', 22% said always, 31% said usually/often, 28% said sometimes, 15% said rarely, and 4% said never. People that wear brand clothing are distributed quite evenly by gender but not by age, 54.4% are from 18-29 and 40.9% are from 30-39. The youngest age is related directly with the frequency of use, while in the oldest interval the use is less frequent. Single people tend to wear more brands than married people and live in urban formal areas. The same occurs with education and occupation, people with a greater educational level and more qualified jobs tend to wear more brands than people that have lower levels of education, and who work in unskilled or informal jobs.

According to the graph the majority of people that wear brand clothing live in urban formal areas and informal areas, but the percentage of people who use brands in formal areas is greater than those who live in informal urban areas. Also, the majority of people who wear brands and live in formal areas wear them usually/often, while those who live in informal areas maintain a similar percentage between those who use always and usually/often. Brand clothing is clearly used as a distinctive instrument of class differentiation, where black Africans who live in formal areas use brand to a higher degree than those who live in urban informal areas or peri-urban areas. Thus, one can conclude that place of residence is an important indicator that defines knowledge of and use of brand clothing. Also, age is a variable that establishes generation’s differences in taste and sense of distinction. The youngest interval of age prefers to use more brands than those who belong to the oldest age generation.

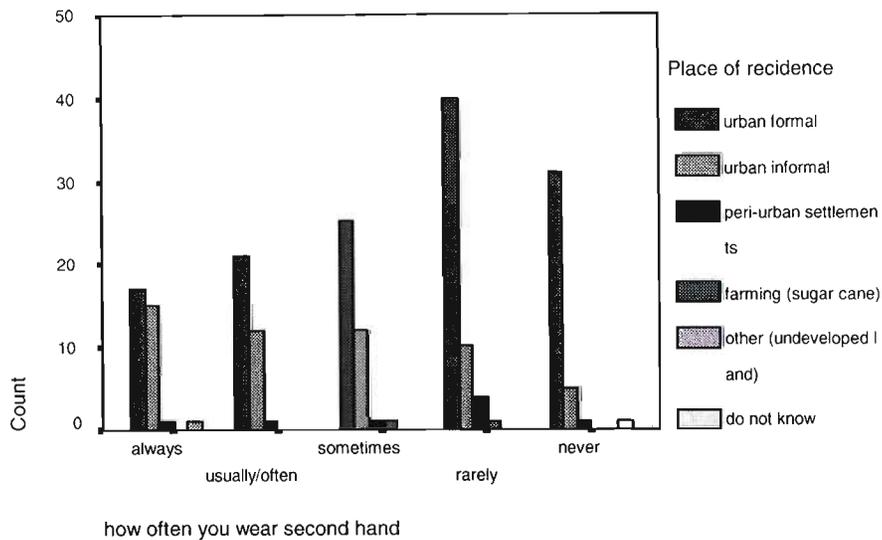
Clothing without Brand by Place of Residence



From those who wear clothing without brands, 94.5% wear these always, 5% usually/often, and 0.5% sometimes. From those that respond always, 50.3% are male and 49.7% female. Age is quite homogeneous. 67.7% of the people that responded always are single and live in urban formal areas. In this case the relationship of education and occupation with the use of clothing without brands is inverse to the people that use

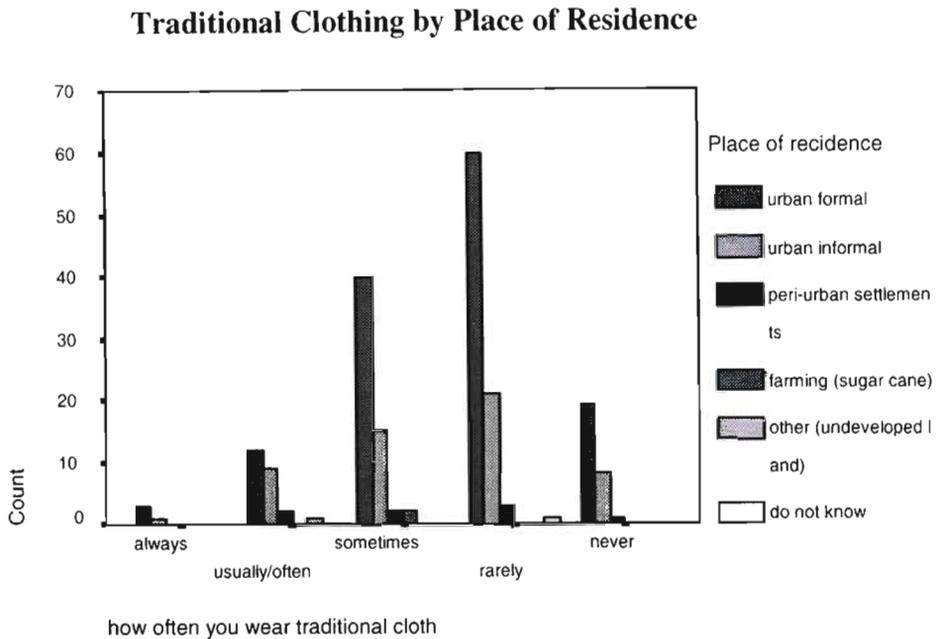
clothing with brands. For instance, people with high levels of education and that belong to the middle class wear a lower percentage of clothing without brand than those who have a low level of education and job.

Second-Hand Clothing by Place of Residence



To the question ‘how often do you wear second-hand clothing’ people responded: 17% said always; 17% said usually/often; 19.5% sometimes; 27.5% rarely; and 19% said they never wear second-hand clothing. From those who use second-hand clothing usually or always there is 76.5% that are female, and the largest percentage is concentrated in the oldest people from 40-49. Also people with very low education qualifications have the largest percentage of use with for example 46.2% and 45.5% of people with primary school not finished or finished. The same occurs for occupation, where the largest percentage is centred in people that work in the informal sector, with 44.7% of the total second-hand users. With respect to the place of residence, the graph depicts an interesting result. The highest responses of use second-hand clothing by the urban formal black African population appears in the categories rarely and never, while on the contrary, the highest responses of use of second-hand clothing by urban informal areas appears in the category always, usually/often and sometimes. It means, that the relationship of place of residence works in an inversely proportional way according to the people that live in

informal or formal areas, and clearly some of the indicators are the lack of economic possibilities and access to fashion clothing.



With respect to the question about how often people wear ‘traditional clothing’, they responded as follows: 2% always, 12% usually, 29.5% sometimes, 42.5% rarely and 14% never. From the total people that responded never, 64.3% are male and 35.7% female; 42.9% from 18-29; 50% from 30-39, and 7.1% from 40-49. From the people that respond rarely, 58.8% are male and 41.2% female; 42.4% from 18-29; 39.7% from 30-39; and 36.4% from 40-49. From the total that said always 75% of people are married and those who responded usually, 50% are married and 12.5% widowed. From the total that said never 92.9% are single, 67.9% live in formal urban areas, and 28.6% in informal urban areas. Of those who say they always wear traditional clothing, 75% have only primary school, 50% live in informal areas, and 25% are unskilled workers. From the total people with university studies, 62.5% say that they never wear traditional clothing, and 57.1% of people with some university study say rarely, and 28.6% say never. In terms of occupation, middle class white-collar workers responded rarely by 56.3%, and never by 25%; 41.5% of the formal permanent skilled or semi-skilled worker wear traditional clothing sometimes, and 29.3% rarely. 41.2% of unskilled workers wear

rarely, and 26,5% sometimes; 62.5% of the casual permanent workers responded rarely and 12.5% never. Finally, 42.6% of the informal workers responded rarely, 25.5% sometimes, 23.4% usually, and 4.3% never. The majority of black Africans do not wear traditional clothing in their everyday life.

The highest percentages of those who wear traditional clothing do so rarely or only sometimes, being females in the wide majority. Related to age, the youngest generations prefer not to wear traditional clothing, only perhaps for a very special occasion, while those who belong to the oldest interval of age are more likely to wear it. In addition, married women wear more traditional clothing than single women and finally people with less education and less qualifications are more in a disposition to wear it than people with the highest education and occupational qualification are.

Clearly, there are evident differences between those who wear brand clothing, those who wear clothing without brands, second-hand clothing or traditional clothing. In a very general sense, one can say that those who live in urban areas, have more qualified jobs, more education, and belong to the youngest interval of age use brand clothing. The majority of black Africans wear clothing without a brand. There is not too much difference amongst age and gender, but the majority are single. The relation between occupation and education is inverses that what is exposed above. People with high levels of education and that belong to the middle class wear lower percentage of clothing without brand than those who have low level of education and job. People who wear second-hand clothing are mainly from informal urban areas, from the oldest interval of age, likely to be females, who have low education and occupation qualifications. Finally, of those who wear traditional clothing, the majorities are female, married, living in urban informal and peri-urban areas, with the lowest level of education and occupational qualification.

The statistical data gathered expresses how black African Zulu English speakers define the uses and consume clothing according to the position that they occupy in the social space. The world-wide transformation at the level of the economic, social and

cultural, now subjected to the capitalist mode of production and the neo-liberal political ideology, tends to accelerate the process of global cultural consumption and the creation of new necessities that affect the everyday life of millions of people across the world, including black African Zulu-English speakers. The most significant feature of this hegemonic power is the ability to hide from the consumption processes the coercive power that they impose. The object seems to be freely accepted, and the different struggle for the imposition of the object seems inconsequential.

Any product or object may seek either to proclaim or to hide the material used and the constraints the material has imposed upon the technological process: a mask may be thought to incorporate the spiritual properties of the wood from which it is taken; a group of people may refuse to purchase an item known to be of seal skin; a plastic may seek to copy a more traditional material; the gold from which an object is made may have far greater significance than the actual form into which it has been hammered (Miller, 1992:113).

Marx, in his famous paper 'Fetishism of Commodity' explained how in the capitalist mode of production, objects acquire human properties, which hide the other properties of the objects and give to them new social meaning. These properties change according to the 'evolution of history'. Technology itself, as the deliberate imposition of rational will upon the world, may become the foundation for the dominant ideologies of the industrialised world. (See Castoriadis, 1984: 299-359 cited in Miller, 1992:115)

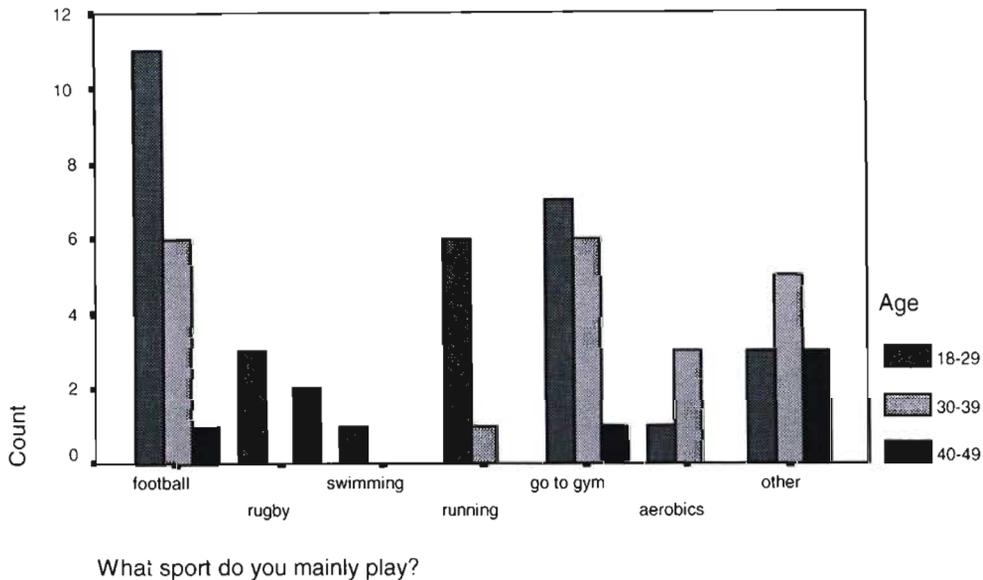
3. Hegemonic Power and Class Negotiation over Leisure Activities

The different position people occupy in the social structure make social struggle possible, which is inseparable from the power of preserving or transforming the social world by preserving or transforming the categories of perception of that world. As Bourdieu wrote: "*The position occupied in social space, that is, in the structure of the distribution of different kinds of capital, which are also weapons, commands the representations of this space and the position-takings in the struggles to conserve or transform it*" (Bourdieu, 1998:12).

The different kinds of capital one can possess represent the possibilities of consumption in everyday life. The consumption of leisure activities allows for the reproduction of the social system, but also, the way in which the leisure activities are consumed is influenced by the everyday struggle not only in the production but also in the consumption of goods. In response to the question 'what do you do in your free time', black Africans answered as follows: 57.8% do housework, 44.7% meet with friends; 38.6% watch television; 38.2% visit family; 20% attend a prayer meeting; 16% listen to music; practice sport and read magazines and newspapers; and finally, 16% listen to the radio. Other activities with smaller percentages that people do on their free time is go to the cinema/theatre; go to bar/restaurant; recreation in public spaces; go to the beach; go to nightclubs; date boyfriend/girlfriend and other 6%.

With regards to sport, 30% of the total black African Zulu-English speakers practise some sport. Of this total, 30% practice football; 23.3% go to gym; 11.7% running; 8.3% practice rugby; 6.7% aerobics; 1.7% swimming; and 18.3% other activities. From those who practise football, 83.3% are male; 61.1% belong to the youngest interval of age; 83.3% live in urban formal areas and 16.4% in urban informal areas. From those who go to gym, 64.3% are male, 50% are from the first interval of age, and 42.9% from the second one (30-39), 85.7% live in urban formal areas. Black African people play football as a sport in general without taking into consideration the monthly income of the household. From the total people that practise sports, 25% practise because they like to feel healthy; 11.6% because they want to loose weight; 8.3% because all their friends practise it; 5% because they need to build muscle; 5% because makes them more attractive; 3.3% because it is fashionable; 1.6% because is a way to meet a boy/girlfriend; and 3.3% other. Sport is practised in a high majority by males, mainly in the youngest interval of age, although those who are in the second interval of age also practise gym. Sport is done not only in formal urban areas but also in informal areas and the most important sports are firstly football and the gym, showing that the cult of the masculine body is primordial, but also sports brings together different feelings of belonging to a social group.

Sport Play by Age of the Respondent



It is obvious from the statistical data that the sport more recognised by black Africans is football. Football is an international sport, which is played around the world. However, South African football has in some ways a negative connotation, referring to the working class or popular class, and so associated with the black community, with vulgar and ignorant taste, and low aspirations and possibilities in contrast with rugby, which is the sport associated with white European people and Afrikaans cultural hegemony, with more refined taste and higher class aspirations. Also, this sport was used as a political instrument, as a space where black people created counter-revolutionary discourses against apartheid, language imposition and colonial racial exclusion. To understand the class distribution of the various sports, one would have to take account of the representation which, the different classes have of the cost (economic, cultural, and physical) and benefits attached to the different sports – economic and social benefits, immediate or deferred symbolic benefits linked to the distributional or positional value of each of the sport considered (Bourdieu, 1994:20). For example, the ‘aristocratic’ image of sport like tennis, riding or golf can persist beyond a transformation of the material conditions of access, educational and cultural capital has influence on those who play these kind of sport. In the case of a sport like football, the social hierarchy and conditions

of those who play football are associated with the working class, and popular taste. The opposition between these two worlds is reflected in the dichotomy related to the natural world, on the one hand, the taste for natural, vulgar, wild nature, on the other organised, signposted, cultivated nature.

This process of categorisation, of classifying things, is continually being performed at every moment of ordinary existence in the struggles in which agents clash over the meaning of the social world and their position in it, the meaning of their social identity. The lack of interest that the black African popular class shows for the works of 'legitimate culture' in general, to which they might have access, (for example through television) is not solely the effect of a lack of competence and familiarity. For example, black African as supposedly vulgar subjects are not interested in the programmes that the bourgeoisie prefer to watch on television; they prefer to watch programmes in where they can feel identified by codes, language and conversation. So, "*the favourite subjects of bourgeois conversation, exhibitions, theatre, concerts or even cinema, are excluded, the facto and the jure, from working-class conversation, in which they could only express the pretension to distinguish oneself*" (Bourdieu, 1994:381). The ritualisation of practices and utterances, which can go as far as stereotyping, is to some extent an effect of the very rigorous application of the principle of conformity.

Examples on television, cinema, magazines, newspapers and radio show the distances of taste of the black African popular class from the bourgeoisie or middle class. What one does not know, is whether these differences respond directly to the game imposed by the hegemonic powers or if it is a response to some extent of autonomy and struggle by the popular classes. Do the political discourses of the media represent the interests for differentiation of the hegemonic power or do they represent the opposition, as counter discourses of the popular classes. In the next chapter, a discussion of some of the discourses of the media and who 'controls' the information, but for now let me illustrate the main forms of communication that black Africans living in Durban prefer, will take place.

With regard to magazine readers, the first magazine of choice is *Drum* 34.4%; *True Love* 32.3%; *Bona* 22.6%; *Kick Off* 6.5%; and others 3.2%. As a second option, they choose *Drum* 29%; *True Love* 10.8%; *Bona* 18.3%; *Kick off* 8.6%; and other 4.3%. Also, 1.1% and 29% of the population in first and second instance choose 'do not read anything else'. The preferred magazines are as follows.

True Love: 36.7% are male and 63.3% are female; 66.7% from the interval 18-29, 73.3% live in urban formal areas; and 30% are people that have secondary finished and 30% tertiary not finished. The total population, who reads this magazine speaks, understands and, read Zulu, and also understands and read English, but only 96.7% speak the English language. Mainly women in the youngest interval of age prefer *True Love* (a magazine written in English) who live in urban formal areas, have middle level of education, and read, speak, and understand Zulu and English.

Drum: 31.3% are male and 68.8% female; 40.6% from 18-29, 25% from 30-39; and 34.4% from 40-49. 71.9% are from urban formal areas and 25% are from informal areas; 62.5% live in formal dwellings, 34.4% have secondary school not finished, and 31.3% secondary school finished. The total population that choose *Drum* read, understand, and speak Zulu and understand English, while only 84.4% speak English and 90.6% read English. In other words, mainly women prefer *Drum*, with double the amount of readers' man, age is quite heterogeneous and in all the different intervals people like to read the magazine, they live in formal and informal areas, and have basic or poor education. Finally, all of them understand, speak and read Zulu, but not all of them speak and read English.

Bona: 61.9% are male and 38.1% female; 14.3% from 40-49; 23.8% from 30-39; and 61.9% from 18-29. 57.1% are from urban formal areas, and the highest percentage of educational level is centred in 38.1% of people with secondary school finished and 28.6% have secondary school not finished. 100% of the population read, understand and speak Zulu and English. In other words, the majority of readers are men, mainly from the first

and second interval of age, with basic or poor institutional education, and all of them read, speak and understand Zulu and English.

Finally, *Kick-Off* is read by 100% of male; 16.7% from 30-39 and 61.9% from 40-49. 50% live in formal areas and the other 50% live in informal areas. 33.3% have primary school not finished and 33.3% have secondary school incompleting; 100% of the population speak, read and understand Zulu, and speak and understand English but only 83.3% read English. So all the people that choose to read this magazine are male, mainly from the oldest interval of age, they live by the same proportion in informal and in formal urban areas, they have very poor institutional education, and some of them do not read in the English language. 100% of the population that read magazines and newspapers have electricity in their dwellings, showing at least that they have some of the basic commodities to spend necessary leisure time reading as an enjoyable pastime.

The first choice when it comes to reading a newspaper is *Ilanga* 66.7%; *Sunday Tribune* 16.1%; *Natal Mercury* 8.6%; *Daily News* 4.3%; *Job Mail* 1.1%; and other 3.2%. As a second choice they choose: *Ilanga* 7.5%; *Sunday Tribune* 5.4%; *Natal Mercury* 20.4%; *Daily News* 18.3%; *Isolezwe* 23.7%; *Job mail* 6.5%; other 7.5%; and none 10.8%.

Ilanga: 53.2% of the people that read it are males; 32.3% from 18-29, 24.2% from 30-39, and 43.5% from 40-49. 62.9% live in formal urban areas, and 30.6% live in urban informal. People with primary education read *Ilanga* by 100%, while people with tertiary and university complete read *Ilanga* by 28% and 20% respectively. The highest percentage of people that read *Ilanga* is informal workers or unskilled workers with 24% and 22%. It means that *Ilanga* is read by a slightly higher percentage of males than females, across different intervals of age, with a few more readers in the last interval. They live indistinctly in formal or informal areas; people with less education tend to read more of this newspaper than those who have reached more education, and finally, those who have less educational qualification prefer to read it.

Sunday Tribune: 40% of the readers are male and 60% female; 60% range from 18-29; 33.3% from 30-39; 73.3% live in urban formal areas and 20% informal areas. Related to education, the people with highest percentage have secondary school finished with 33.3%, secondary school incompleting with 26.7%; and 20% are people with tertiary incompleting and completed. White-collar workers read 13.3%; skilled and semi-skilled worker 27.7%; and 33.3% still studying. In sum, more females than males read this newspaper, largely in the first interval of age, living in urban areas, with higher institutional education, and with more qualifications in their jobs.

2nd choice *Isolezwe*: 63.6% of these readers are male and 36.4% female; 54.5% are people from 40-49; 59.1% live in urban formal areas, and 40.9% urban informal areas; 55% people have secondary education, and those who are unskilled workers number 27.3%. The readers are mostly male, in the oldest interval of age, living in formal and informal urban areas, with a basic education and poor qualification.

As is common knowledge, the profile of people who read magazines differs according to the title and content of the magazines in question. The same is true regarding newspaper preferences. A high proportion of the black African population tends to choose magazines and newspapers written in Zulu, even though they can read or understand both languages. In addition, if one observes carefully one would find that the majority of the magazines and newspapers that black Africans choose have a strong focus on providing content for black African population. However, the taste is not homogeneous, some parts of the population, mainly the youngest, who are more educated and with skilled qualifications choose to read magazines and newspapers with a western profile and content (*Sunday Tribune; True Love*). It is evident that education, occupation, gender, age and place of residence have an influence on the construction of taste that black Africans have and the perceptions that they have acquired. The world vision of the different magazines and newspapers that they read and the language in which they prefer to read enables one to understand the socio-economic, cultural and political position they occupy within the social context.

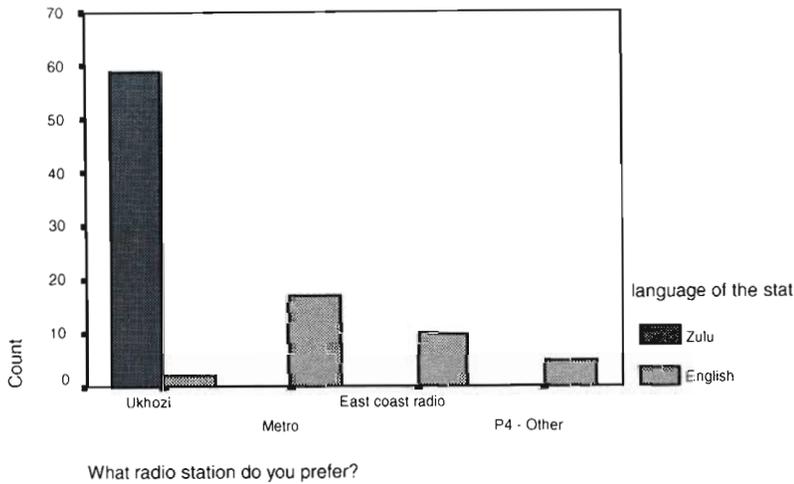
Magazines and newspapers tend to specify the relationship between social class and political opinions socially constituted at any given moment. The relative independence of the readers' political opinion stems from the fact that, unlike a political party, a newspaper or magazine offers information that is not exclusively political. It is a multi-purpose product, offering, in very variable proportions, international and national politics, miscellaneous news and sport and advertisements for other commodities, so that it can be the object of an interest independent of specifically political interests. It is not incidental that the majority people prefer to read *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*, which are two local Zulu publications. The contents of these clearly convey a specific political opinion, cultural practices and social views. There are significant differences between the legitimate English national newspapers and the local Zulu papers. It is not surprising that the readers of national newspapers, the most legitimate ones, have a greater educational level, by virtue of an effect of assignment by status. Educational qualifications contribute to the sense of full membership into the world of legitimate politics and culture. The social distances created between the working and the middle class can also be reflected in the reading tastes. In general, working class people prefer to read local newspapers, while the middle class prefers to read national newspapers. This could contribute to fractions of class and the creation of different visions of the world.

Television, cinema and other audio-visual forms of communication that transmit different messages, codes and information and can be instrument of hegemonic domination, exposes the legitimate taste. But, struggle for the appropriation of the space, messages, codes and so on is a continuous battle within the media and this current historical time. The programmes that black Africans prefer to watch on television are: 46.5% prefer to watch *the news*, investigative shows like *third degree*, *actuality programs*, there are more females than males; 46.2% are from the oldest interval of age; 26.9% from 18-29' 61.3% live in urban formal areas and 32.3% in urban informal areas. The main audience is people with secondary school not finished 31.2% and secondary school finished 24.7%. So, more females than males watch these programmes, they are mainly from the oldest interval of age, from formal and informal areas, and have basic education. 27% watch sport, especially soccer, *Ezodumo*: 72.2% are males; 29.6% from

18-29; 35.2% from 30-39 and also 35.2% from 40-49. 66.7% live in urban formal areas; 22.2% are watched by people with secondary school not finished and the same percentage (22.2%) are watched by people with completed tertiary education. In other words, the sport viewers are mainly males, distributed across the three different intervals, living mainly in formal urban areas, from basic (high school) to tertiary education. 17.5% watch soap operas like *Isidingo*, 71.4% are female, 51.4% from 18-29 and 37.1% from 40-49; 71.4% live in urban formal areas; and 37.1% have not completed secondary school. In sum those who watch soapies are females, in the youngest and oldest intervals, living in formal areas, and with poor basic education. In addition, 11% watch comedies, 13.5% entertainment and music programmes, 9.5% movies, 8.5% talks shows, 5% wrestling, 4.5% *Asukhulume* programme and 3.5% natural documentary programmes. The most selected channels are SABC1 (68.3%), E-TV (42%), SABC3 (14%), SABC2 (4%), and M-Net only (2%). 65.5% of the respondents said that they prefer to watch television in English and 62% said they prefer to watch in Zulu. However some of the people do not have a specific preference, sometimes they watch in English and sometimes in Zulu, according to the channel and programme.

The radio preferences are as follow. 65.6% of the population prefer to listen radio Ukhozi, 18.3% Metro, 10.8% East Coast radio, and 5.4% listen to P4 and others. The unique radio station listened to in Zulu is Ukhozi while the rest of the stations are broadcast in English. Ukhozi audience is made up of 10% more females than males; 24.6% are from 18-29, 26.2% from 30-39, and 49.2% from 40-49. The other stations are also more listened to by females that males, and the highest percentage are in the youngest interval of age, with more than 60%. So first females and then males prefer to listen Ukhozi, mainly in the oldest interval of age although the other intervals also listened to this station. However, people in the youngest interval of age prefer to listen to the other English stations. Age is clearly an essential indicator because it reveals generational differences in radio programme tastes. People in the oldest intervals are prefer to be associated with Zulu languages, discourses, beliefs and learning that is transmitted through radio, while the youngest generation prefers linking and fusion between amongst languages, beliefs, music and discourses.

Radio Station Preferred by Language of the Station



The audience of radio and television varies significantly according to the amount of educational and cultural capital. The level of education affects the taste of black Africans at the moment in selecting a programme on television or a specific station on the radio. Also, age and gender are two determinant variables. Related to television, the kind of programmes that black Africans decide to watch are those that can give them easy entertainment and enjoyment, such as comedies, musicals, talk shows, game shows; expectation and adrenaline shows like sport programmes, wrestling; and identification to reality like soap operas, dramas and so on. Curiously, the majority of people watch mainly two channels: SABC1 and E-TV. Clearly SABC1 is the ‘channel for the Black African population’. Many of them in different conversations referred to this channel as *“the unique one what is worry to integrate black African community to the programmes on TV. It is more, is the unique that uses African languages and in where the soap operas are representing black reality”* (Nconco, 36 years old).

On radio similar trends have surfaced. The majority of the black African population prefers to listen to Radio Ukhozi, which is in the Zulu language. However, a proportion of the population chooses to listen to other stations, which are mainly in English and the producers are disseminating ‘white western ideology’. Ukhozi is seen as the station, which represents black Zuluness, but also the producers spread through the

radio the discourse and beliefs of the 'indigenous ideology'. On the same line, the producers of SABC1 are spreading at present the discourses of Africaness and African Renaissance as part of the national political discourses of the dominant hegemonic classes responding to the necessity that comes from the popular classes. Television and radio, two of the most powerful media forms, which transmit local and national ideology, information, discourses, and bring the global world closer to the national and local level. The cultural and educational capital of the black African popular class is changing, resulting in a new vision of their world and the rest of the world. But, how are these transformations affecting thoughts and practices? How are the different political discourses integrated into everyday life? Is the media an instrument of power to ensure dominant ideology, or a tool that produces awareness and struggle between the hegemonic and popular sectors? These questions will be addressed in the next chapter, through the provision of an interpretative attempt on examining the media influence on black African Zulu-English speakers.

LINKING EXAMPLES ON CLOTHING AND SOCIAL MEDIATION

Until now, I have shown statistically how black African Zulu-English speakers respond to some variables in their construction of everyday thoughts, habitus and practices. These variables are namely language, religion, music, media and clothing. In this last section of the chapter, I will analyse whether clothing is influenced by variables such as language and media (music, magazines, and radio). Specific cross-variables will be placed to demonstrate whether habitus on clothing is affected by these different symbolic mediations, which can help to understand how this group have transformed their own cultural practices and perceptions of the world. Symbolism, which is always a relationship of evocation, is a highly variable process, which is dependent upon the social positioning of the interpreter and the context of interpretation. There is no such thing as a correct or true interpretation of the world. Interpretation is related to the possession of cultural, economic and educational capital, and the position people occupy in the social space.

First I would like to analyse whether the use of English language by black African Zulu-English speakers in the workplace, study place or shops and supermarkets influences identification with clothing styles. Remember that black 17.5% Africans speak Zulu in the workplace, 28.5% speak English and 54% speak both languages. Of those who speak Zulu in the workplace, 45.7% identify their style as casual and 22.9% as formal. Of those who speak English, 45.6% identify their style as casual and 35.1% as formal. And finally, of those who speak both languages, 50.9% identify their style as casual and 27.8% as formal. In other words, those who speak English in their workplace identify more with formal clothing than those who speak either either languages or Zulu in the workplace.

However, the identification with casual clothing is quite high in all cases. Related to the language black Africans speaks in the place of study, 2.5% speak Zulu, 61.5% speak English and 36% speak both languages. Of those who speak Zulu, 40% identify their style as casual and 20% as formal and informal. Of those who speak English in the study place, 46.3% identify the style as casual and 31.7% as formal. Of those who speak both languages in the study place, 52.8% identify their style as casual and 25% as formal. So a similar thing occurs in the place of study, those who speak English in the study place feel identified more with formal clothing than those who speak both or the Zulu language. However, the use of English in the study place occurs in the majority and many people also identified with a casual style. Finally, related to the language black Africans speak in supermarkets and shops, 14.5% speak Zulu, 4% speak English and 81% speak both languages. Of those who speak Zulu, 34.5% identify their style as formal and 34.5% as casual. Of those who speak English, 50% identify their style as casual and 25% as formal, and finally, of those who speak both languages, 50.9% identify their style as casual and 28.2% as formal. In this last case the above tendency is reversed. Black Africans that speak Zulu in shops and supermarkets feel identified more with a formal style than those who speak English or both languages, and also, the identification between casual and formal style by those who speak Zulu is to the same proportion, while those who speak English or both languages feel much more at ease with a casual style.

In sum, through the statistical data, one can say that the use of casual clothing seems to be the style of English and Zulu speakers without much difference. However, formal clothing seems to be more used at the workplace and study place for people who speak English than for those who speak Zulu. The contrary situation happens with those who go to the shops and supermarket; Zulu speakers wear more formal clothing than the English speakers who prefer to wear more casual clothing in these places. Goods are constitutive of cultural and human relations. In this current society, goods (abstract or concrete) appear in people's minds as transforming costumes, activities, thoughts and visions of the world, and at the same time, the possession of them can change social class condition and feelings about the world. The goods are inevitably somewhat shameful as the focused topic of analysis, a practice that always appears fetishistic.

The artefact's capacity to separate itself from the immediacy of a relationship embodied in the concept of utility is most evident in the manner in which it is used for precisely the opposite function, that is, to separate the individual from productive activity. Although one's means of detachment from the world is a spiritual asceticism based upon a lack of material possessions, more common has been the desire to accumulate luxuries and objects which themselves signify the lack of any need to engage directly in productive labour. The object's ornate and fragile form is an emblem of the leisure class, which is constituted precisely by this distance (Veblen, 1970 cited in Miller, 1992:118).

In this context, and paraphrasing Bourdieu's idea on differences explained in his book *Distinction*, some of the most powerful signs of clothing distinction are the use of brands and specific fashion styles, which express not only differences in price but also differences in status. To buy different kind of clothing is not only determined by the 'sense of necessity' of the popular class, but by the influence of their own culture. I would like to analyse what influences the decision to buying clothing/footwear by users of brand clothing and traditional clothing. Those who wear branded clothing are influenced to buy clothing by friends always 40% and sometimes 31%, while those who wear traditional clothing are influenced by friends always 2.5% and usually 0%. Those who wear branded clothing are feeling influenced by the family always with 21.7% and usually with 31.1%, while those who wear traditional clothing are influenced by family

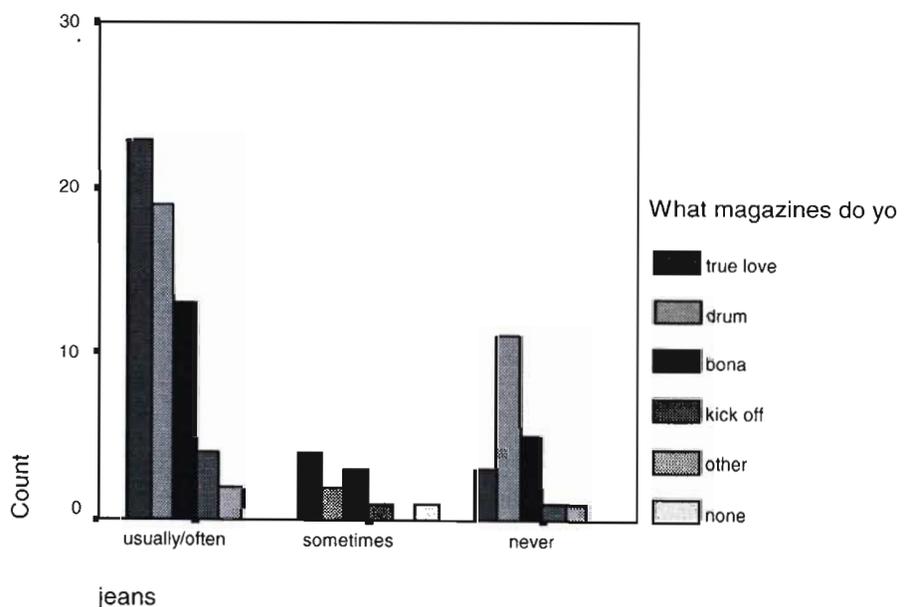
always 1.9% and usually 13.2%. Those who wear brand clothing are influenced by religion always 17.4% and usually 30%, while those who wear traditional clothing are influenced by religion always 2.3% and usually 16.3%. Those who wear brand clothing are influenced by media personalities always 58.7% and usually 23.9%, while those who wear traditional clothing are influenced by media personalities usually 2.2% and always 0%. And finally, those who wear brand clothing are feeling influenced by sports heroes always 50% and usually 25%, while those who wear traditional clothing are not influenced at all by sports heroes.

In the case of those who wear brand clothing it is very interesting to read how all these mediations influence the use of brands. The degree of influence of these mediations is quite high, mainly when one compares the relationship of influence of those who wear traditional clothing. Those who prefer to wear traditional clothing are not influenced for example by media. This shows us, on the one hand, that the campaign of President Mbeki to use the media to convey the African cultural revival is not influencing the more traditional black African Zulu-English speakers. On the other, it shows that western clothing is everyday more and more 'accepted' by the black African community and the discourses on media, religion, sports and so on, impact deeply on their perception of the social world.

The two elements of temporal symbolism, the object standing for time and time controlling what the object stands for, come together in the realm of fashion. What makes sometimes fashionable is its ability to signify the present; it is thus always doomed to become unfashionable with the movement of time. Fashion usually operates within a system of emulation and differentiation in knowledge, such that it uses the dynamic force of object change as a means of reinforcing the stability of the social system within which it is operating. Consideration of fashion, and indeed of markets in general, where the value of the object is related to highly transient knowledge, reinforces the impression of possible instability in object symbolism, and its dependence upon wider information-based and other contextual features. In analysing current fashion, 'jeans' (beyond the mind differences) are one of the objects with more symbolic meaning in the world of

fashion and beyond it, as a product, which represents cultural and economical globalisation. Next, will be crossed the frequency of wearing jeans as an item that is a symbol of the western fashion world by magazines that black Africans prefer to read, because magazines are associated with fashion. From the total people that usually/often wear jeans, 37.7% read *True Love*, 31.1% *Drum*, 21.3% *Bona* and 6.6% *Kick off*. While those who never wear jeans prefer to read *Drum* with 52.4%, *Bona* with 23.8%, *True Love* with 14.3% and *Kick off* with 4.8%. It is quite curious that those who wear jeans usually prefer to read a magazine where fashion clothing is of the main items, while those who do not wear jeans prefer to read in a high majority *Drum* magazine, which was one of the bastions on the struggle against apartheid and actually tried to keep the interest in traditional African culture is associated with a older age group. In addition, of those who usually/often wear jeans, 53.7% prefer to listen to radio Ukhozi, 27.8% Metro and 14.8% East Coast radio. But from those who never wear jeans, 87% prefer to listen to radio Ukhozi and 8.3% to other radio stations. This shows us how preferences and taste in radio station is also an indicator of use of jeans. Those who never wear jeans listen mainly to radio Ukhozi, but those who wear jeans listen to several radio stations, mixing programmes and languages.

Frequency of wearing jeans by magazines black Africans read



In the case of shoes and sandals (genuine leather), people respond as follows. Those who wear shoes and sandals (genuine leather) usually/often prefer to read *Drum* magazines 34.8%, *True Love* 32.6%, *Bona* 21.3% and *Kick Off* 6.7%; while those who never wear genuine leather shoes and sandals prefer to read *Drum* magazine by 100%. With regards to radio stations, those who usually/often wear genuine leather listen to radio Ukhozi 64.3%, Metro 20.2%, and East Coast radio 9.5%, while those who say they never wear genuine leather shoes, prefer to listen to radio Ukhozi by 100%. It seems that people wearing jeans and shoes and sandals of genuine leather read *True Love*, *Drum* and in the third instance *Bona*, while those who do not wear these prefer to read *Drum*. The same happens with radio stations. Those who wear jeans and shoes and sandals of genuine leather listen more than 50 % to radio Ukhozi but also listen to other radio stations such as Metro and East Coast. Those who do not wear these items listen to radio Ukhozi by close to 100 %. This shows that those who wear this kind of clothing are more open to read magazines that are less traditional and are in English, while those who do not wear these items prefer to read magazines in Zulu, the most traditional titles ones and listen to the radio in Zulu as well.

To continue with the example of jeans, the frequency of wearing jeans varies between those who write, read and speak English. Let me illustrate with some statistical data. Of those who write in English, 65.4% wear jeans usually, while of those who do not write in English, 50% of them do not wear jeans ever. Of those who read English, 65.6% wear jeans usually, while of those who do not read English 42.9% use jeans usually and 42.9% never wear them. Finally, of those who speak English, 66.3% use jeans usually, and of those who do not speak English, 37.5% use jeans usually, 31.3% sometimes, and 31.3% never. This statistical information reinforces the point that those who speak, read and write in English tend to wear jeans with more frequency than those who do not speak, read or write the language.

Lastly, I shall evaluate whether the kind of music black Africans prefer to listen to be related to the frequency of wearing jeans. Of those people that listen to Rap/hip hop,

50% wear jeans usually and 50% sometimes. Of those who listen Jazz/Fusion, 72.7% wear jeans usually and 27.3% never. Of those who listen to Reggae, 83.3% wear jeans usually and 16.7% never; of those who listen to Hard Rock/Acid/Heavy Metal, 100% of them wear jeans usually. Of those who listen to Gospel, 64.7% wear jeans usually and 26.5% never; 100% of Rock and Pop listeners wear jeans usually; and finally, for Rhythm and Blues also 100% of listeners' people wear jeans usually. This shows that black Africans that use jeans are more influenced by western or North American (United States) music styles such as acid or heavy metal, and those who wear jeans with less frequency or never are more influenced by a kind of hybrid music, which mainly comes from the crossing of African-American people who live in the United States – such as Gospel music and Rap/Hip-Hop.

The perception of the objective world establishes the relationship between objects and agents. The object also acts to integrate the representative individual within the normative order of the larger social group, where it serves as a medium of intersubjective order inculcated as a generative practice through some version of 'habitus'. This order is continually legitimated through the hegemonic groups, which impose the power in an imperceptible and consensual form. Some of the questions on the questionnaire asked for the agreement of people with respect to sentences showing what their perception of the objective world is. Two of the sentences that were quite controversial were: 'I feel proud to speak English' and 'English is an oppressive language'. If the sentence 'I feel proud to speak English' is crossed with 'Identification on clothing style', black African Zulu-English speakers respond as follows: of those who agree with the sentence, 51.1% identify their style as casual and 32.8% as formal. Those who do not have an opinion identify with casual clothing by 31.2% and those who disagree with the sentence, 31.3% identify their style as formal and do 31.3% of informal also disagree. Those who agree with the sentence feel more comfortable with both, a casual and a formal style while those who disagree feel identify in a similar percentage with formal clothing, varying and preferring the taste for informal clothing. The sentence 'English is a oppressive language' related to 'Identification on clothing style', resulted in the follows: of those who agree with the sentence, 37.5% identify their style as casual and 25% as formal and also 25%

traditional. Those who do not have opinion identify by 30.6% with casual clothing and those who disagree with the sentence, identify their style as casual by 53.2%, and 29.5% as formal. So those who agree with the sentence 'English is oppressive' feel more identification with casual clothing, and to the same percentage with formal and traditional clothing, while those who disagree identified more with casual clothing and in the second instance with formal clothing.

The same two sentences related to the use of brand clothing, clothing without brands, second-hand clothing and traditional clothing have as a result the following answers. Those who agree with the sentence 'I feel proud to speak English', 36.6% use brand usually/often, 93.1% use clothes without brand always, 31.3% use second hand rarely, and 45% use traditional clothing rarely. Those who do not have an opinion, 29.7% use brand sometimes, 100% use without brand always, 27% use second-hand always, and 43.2% use traditional clothing rarely. Finally, of those who disagree with the sentence, 43.8% use brand sometimes, 93.8% use clothes without brand always, 37.5% use second-hand always and 34.4% use traditional clothing usually. In other words, of those who agree with the sentence, some percentage use brand always, very few use second-hand clothes but rarely, and nearly half of the people admit to using traditional clothing but also rarely, while of those who disagree, and do not feel proud to speak English, half of the population use brands but only sometimes, some of them use second-hand clothing always and many of them use traditional clothing usually. Of those who agree with the sentence 'English is oppressive' 37.5% use brand clothing sometimes, 100% use clothing without brand always, 50% use second-hand clothing usually, and 37.5% use traditional clothing sometimes. Of those who do not have opinion, 33.3% use brand clothing sometimes, 97.2% use clothing without brand always, 30.6% use second-hand clothing always, and 44.4% use traditional clothing rarely. Finally, of those who disagree, 34% use brand clothing usually, 93.6% without brand always, 30.8% second-hand rarely and 40.6% use traditional clothing rarely. In other words, the situation here is the opposite. Those who agree with the sentence use brand clothing sometimes, half use second-hand clothing usually, and many use traditional clothing sometimes, while those who disagree and think that English is not oppressive, use brand clothing usually, use

second-hand clothing rarely and nearly half of the population admit to using traditional clothing but only on rare occasions.

It is obvious that the positive or negative perception on the English language as an oppressive language, or a language to feel proud of, is related to the kind of clothing that black African Zulu-English speakers prefer to buy and wear. Those who wear branded clothing with more frequency are those who have a more positive perception on the English language, while those who wear second-hand clothing and traditional clothing have the most negative perception of English language. This could be an indicator of possession of economic and cultural capital, which can determine the accesses and taste of the people according to multiple mediated variables. Therefore, all these examples help us in understanding the relationship between clothing, religion, media and language. In the next chapter I will interpret some of the most pertinent statistical results related to the historical, cultural and political context.

CONCLUSION

A set of transformations in material culture can be understood as a largely unconscious and unintentional response by a variety of heterogeneous people that belong to a specific social group, who produce new forms of demand and new means of incorporating the emergence of mass-produced items, such as clothing, through media and language. Through a survey of 200 questionnaires, the researcher has been given some insight into how black African Zulu-English speakers perceive, understand and assimilate material culture. The social world, a world that is more complex everyday through the advances of new technology, information, and goods production as a result of the global trends, tends also to make more difficult the general and particular understanding of people within society.

Therefore, with the increase of goods production and circulation, the central powers are expanding their horizons. Those who have cultural and symbolic capital perceive the objectified world in a very different way from those who are dispossessed of

such possessions. Goods consumption is assimilated and appropriated in a very different form by those who occupy different places in the structured world. The diverse aesthetic consumption is directly related to the habitus and the sense of taste that they have. Age, gender, place of residence, belongings, monthly income, educational and occupational qualification are some of the independent variables that one has to take into consideration to establish class differentiation. But in addition, this is not possible if one does not link other variables such as goods consumption (clothing, media, language and religion), frequencies, styles, reasons and so on.

The hegemonic class, which has the legitimate power to establish the naming and meaning of the objects, builds a model of legitimate aesthetic taste among those who have the cultural and economical capital. In the majority of cases, the dominated popular, working class only possess mainly the popular aesthetic, based on necessity, and have only two options: loyalty to self and the group (always liable to relapse into shame), or the individual effort to assimilate the dominant ideal, which is the antithesis of the very ambition of the collective regaining control over the social identity. However, some degrees of autonomy are perceived in the interpretation, re-interpretation and assimilation of the complex social world. Popular sectors are in continuous confrontation and negotiation with the hegemonic sectors for the creation of their vision of the world, and the appropriation and re-appropriations of new symbols and codes that are part of the global scenery is part of this.

INTERPRETING PRACTICES THROUGH EVERYDAY CONSUMPTION

INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this chapter is to relate the clothing consumption of urban black African Zulu-English speakers with the transformations of their practices and thoughts in everyday life, as a result of westernisation and globalisation. Zulu culture is based on long term beliefs and symbolic expressions of their own vision of the world. However, this vision has and is changing, due to mediations related to socio-historical, cultural, political and economical contexts such as religion, language, education, media, communication, and so on. Clothing, as a form of non-verbal communication, is an essential vehicle of transforming the 'traditional world vision' through image and appearance. It creates social differentiation through the positions of different agents and their specific relationships within the field in the social space. In current everyday life this process is done with difficulties. Actually the struggle for the different positions within the fashion field and the possibilities and aspiration of consumption are determined by the relationship of the main capitalist global power.

All social relationships are relationships of power and struggle. Power and struggle from those who have the means of symbolic and material production and those who have aspirations of belonging to a given position within the field. Confrontation appears not only in the production sphere, but also in the consumption sphere. These struggles in the fashion field are determined by goods distribution, which is translated into unequal appropriation and consumption. I will attempt to demonstrate how globalisation and the particular history of colonization, apartheid domination, cultural diversity and so on, has largely affected everyday life of urban black African Zulu-English speakers within urban Durban Metropolitan areas.

SOCIAL CLASS, POPULAR CULTURE AND CULTURAL CONSUMPTION

Chapter eight explored through statistical analysis how black African Zulu-English speakers who live in Durban are transforming their everyday habitus and practices – their material culture – through consumption. Social groups are also built not only in the processes of production and circulation but also, in the consumption process; in the cultural field as well as the economic. Statistics were used to establish distributions, quantified expressions of the differential appropriation of a finite quantity of social energy by a number of competing individuals, and identified through ‘objective indicators’. I would like to bring now into account the understanding of the practical knowledge, which the agents obtain, for themselves by producing divisions and classifications. Indicators and categories of social class constructions allowed the researcher to classify habitus and taste of this specific social group – who are mostly working class and to some extent, middle class – according to indicators such as age, gender, occupation, education, goods possessions, religion, language, clothing, media, and so forth.

As mentioned previously, a class is defined “*as much by its being-perceived as by its being, by its consumption – which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic – as much as by its position in the relations of productions*” (Bourdieu, 1994:483). The different visions and social division in the social space are built not without struggle and negotiation. The different social classifications transform the category of perception and appreciation of the social world and, through this, the social world itself, is indeed a forgotten dimension of class struggle.

Position in the classification struggle depends on position in the class struggle; and social subjects – including intellectuals, who are not those best placed to grasp that which defines the limits of their thought of the social world, that is, the illusion of the absence of limits – are perhaps never less likely to transcend ‘the limits of their minds’ than in the representation they have and give of their position, which defines those limits (Bourdieu, 1994:484).

The concept of class is useful in order to classify the habitus and taste of this specific social group. What is the relationship between class and culture? How do the working and middle social classes construct their beliefs, thoughts and practices that are part of popular culture? Is there a direct relationship between both classes? How do black African Zulu-English speakers appropriate the economic and cultural capital, which is part of the cultural field? Popular culture is based on confrontation and negotiation between the interests of dominant groups' and the interests of subordinate groups; between the hegemonic power and ideas of hegemonic groups and the resistance and negotiation among those groups who do not have hegemonic power. "*Popular culture is neither an 'authentic' working class culture nor culture imposed by the culture industries, but what Gramsci would call a 'compromise equilibrium'*" (Gramsci, 1998:211 in Storey, 1999:150) between the hegemonic dominant class and the subordinated class, marked by both resistance and incorporation, structure and agency.¹

Social classes and different cultures are based in social practices. The different social meaning representations of such practices in the social space are disseminated in the social world, transforming and re-transforming the perception of people. These cultural practices acquire political sense; they are centrally involved in the distribution and possible redistribution of various forms of social power. Popular culture is made by various formations of subordinated people out of the available resources, both discursive and material. In the majority of cases, the resources – television, magazines, clothing, games, language, religion and so on – carry the interests of the economically and ideologically dominant group. The art of popular culture is 'the art of making do'. The people's subordination means that they cannot produce the resources of popular culture, but they do make their culture from those resources. All the commodities are consumed as much for their meanings, identities, and pleasures as they are for their material function. The people make popular culture at the interface between everyday life and the consumption of the products of the cultural industries.

¹ Storey (1999:153) defines agency as "the capacity, within structures inherited from the past and lived in the present, to act in a purposive and reflexive manner; to act in a way that at times may modify what is inherited and that which is lived".

The concept of hegemony enables the linking of the Marxist analysis of social class with the question of culture and with the dimension of social class in popular culture. Gramsci's contribution made possible to move beyond the conception of social domination as simply an outside imposition without subjects of cultural action. The dominant class, exercises hegemonic power which, is recognised by the subaltern classes as being to some degree in their interests too. It has been said that: "*This process is not based only on force but on shared meaning and the appropriation of the meaning of life through power, seduction and complicity*" (Martin-Barbero, 1993:74). He suggested that in order to retain its hegemony (that is, moral and political claims to leadership) the dominant class will articulate (that is, join onto its own concerns) some of the aspirations of the subordinate classes, thus incorporating elements from the subordinate ideologies into the dominant ideology. The dominant gives a little, in order to retain a lot. This model of hegemony and articulation suggests that ideological struggle is a continuing feature of any society in which one social group has dominance over another. Gramsci links popular culture to the subaltern classes, but not in a simplistic way. "*Although the linking of popular culture to an underclass implies that this culture is inorganic, fragmentary and degraded, it also affirms that this culture has a particular tenacity, a spontaneous capacity to take advantage of the material conditions so that, at times, this culture becomes a force for political and social transformation*" (Martin-Barbero, 1993:74).

Society is a complex structure in which different social groups are redistributed according to the social position they have in the social world. This social distribution of positions, goods and classifications gives the system a proper functioning. Production and consumption allows for the capitalist mode of production to reproduce itself in society. The concept of reproduction is the way to harmonise within Marxist theory an analysis of culture that goes beyond the limitations of superstructure but always reveals the elements of social class in culture. The concept of habitus of class is which allows us to explain the cultural practices. The mode of operation of habitus is established by the shaping of practices according to different relationships of those practices – to language, to religion,

to fashion – that emerge from the way that these associated cultural goods are acquired. The dispersed everyday practices in the social space appear as a chaotic system. However, habitus helps us to organize such practices into an organic and systematic unity. Where there seemed to be a chaotic lack of meaning, one can discover a homologous structure linking practices and the social order, which is expressed in them. “It is in this structuring of everyday life according to habitus that hegemony effectively ‘programs’ the expectations and taste of a particular class. And it is in this action also that one finds the objective and subjective limitations of the proposals for transforming the alternatives, which the popular classes produce” (Garcia Canclini, 1984 cited in Martin-Barbero, 1993:80).

Music, art, fashion and religion are some of the fields in which habitus and taste manifest differentiation and diversity, affirming social class distinction. The word distinction articulates two dimensions of cultural competence: difference and distance. Difference, because people express different tastes according to their class position, and distance, because these differences in tastes are the direct consequence of the distances that are established among those who possess economic and cultural capital and those who have aspirations to acquire it. Distinction links the obscured affirmation of legitimate taste and the establishment of a form of prestige that endeavours to maintain a distance insurmountable by those who do not have the ‘taste’. To say that a person ‘has class’ has a similar connotation as saying that a person is highly cultivated, that is, that the person possesses a legitimate culture. And to say that a person ‘has no class’ means that he or she is not cultivated, does not have culture, or that she/he has a vulgar taste. Every aspect of life is its field of operation: clothing, cuisine and sport also reveal the affirmation of class. Thus, those who inhabit a legitimate culture become true natives. “It is this that Bourdieu calls ethnocentrism of class, to consider something to be ‘natural’, that is, to consider a manner of perceiving the world to be obvious and rooted in nature when that perception is no more than one among many possibilities” (Bourdieu, 1968 cited in Martin-Barbero, 1993:81). This is an ethnocentrism that transforms a division of classes into the negation that there can rightfully exist other tastes. One class affirms itself by denying another its right to participate in the culture, declaring openly that another

aesthetic or set of sensibilities has a lesser value. Once the legitimate culture has affirmed distinction, it rejects, above all, any aesthetic that does not know how to distinguish the forms and current styles of art, especially the inability to distinguish art from real life. "It is what Kant calls 'the barbaric taste', the mixing of artistic satisfaction with emotion, making the latter the measure of the former" (Martin-Barbero, 1993: 81).

Cultural practices are the result mainly of the relationship between cultural and educational capital. Educational capital is that which can be acquired through institutional education, but at the same time, from the processes of learning through conservation and transmission from the parent and the immediate environment. The transmission of social knowledge from different institutions is the embodiment of social power. In other words, cultural practices can not only be explained through the knowledge learned at school through educational qualifications, but also from the other socialising agencies, in particular the family. However, educational qualifications function as a condition of entry to the universe of legitimate culture. This cannot be fully explained without taking into account another, still more hidden effect which the educational system, again reinforcing the work of the bourgeois family, exerts through the very conditions within which it is inculcated. "*They are linked either to a bourgeois origin or to the quasi-bourgeois mode of existence presupposed by prolonged schooling, or (most often) to both of these combined, that educational qualifications come to be seen as a guarantee of the capacity to adopt the aesthetic disposition*" (Bourdieu, 1994:28).

People through the acquired cultural capital produce their own social practices, which express different aspirations and dispositions. For example, religious, and/or linguistic preferences are related to the aesthetic dispositions created in the past and present material conditions of existence of the group. Preconstituted and new knowledge is accumulated as cultural capital. The aesthetic disposition, 'a generalised capacity to neutralise ordinary urgencies and to bracket off practical ends, a durable inclination and aptitude for practice without a practical function', can only be constituted within an experience of the world, through the understanding of the sublime, the legitimate, the work of art, science, and so on. The aesthetic disposition, is what separates the economic

power from the cultural power, that maintain the differences between the taste of the hegemonic class for a piece of art, fashion, a certain distinctiveness, and the taste of the popular classes for the objects of their own necessity. Nothing is more distinctive or more distinguished, than the capacity to confer aesthetic status on objects that are banal or even 'common' (because the 'common' people make them their own, especially for aesthetic purposes), or the ability to apply the principles of a 'pure' aesthetic to the most everyday choices of everyday life, e.g., in cooking, clothing or decoration, completely reversing the popular disposition which annexes aesthetics to ethics. In fact,

Through the economic and social conditions which they presuppose, the different ways of relating to realities and fictions, of believing in fictions and the realities they simulate, with more or less distance and detachment, are very closely linked to the different possible positions in social space and, consequently, bound up with the systems of disposition (*habitus*) characteristic of the different classes and the class fractions (Bourdieu, 1994: 5-6).

Acts of cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously or not, to fulfil the function of legitimating social differences. The principle of the most important differences in the order of lifestyle and, even more, of the 'stylisation of life' lies in the variations in objective and subjective distance from the world, with its material constraints and temporal urgencies.

Like the aesthetic disposition which is one dimension of it, the distant, detached or casual disposition towards the world or other people, a disposition which can scarcely be called subjective since it is objectively internalised, can only be constituted in conditions of existence that are relatively freed from urgency. The submission to necessity, which inclines working-class people to a pragmatic, functionalist 'aesthetic', refusing the gratuity and futility of formal exercises and of every form or art for art's sake, is also the principle of all the choices of daily existence and of an art of living which rejects specifically aesthetic intentions as aberrations (Bourdieu, 1994:376).

CLOTHING CONSUMPTION: A THEORETICAL-PRACTICAL APPROACH

Fashion, dress, clothing and the body, terms that we often hear in the discourses of everyday life agencies, institutions, and mediations such as media and religion. However, from a sociological perspective, there are very few studies in South Africa that analyse the impact of fashion in the everyday social practices of black African Zulu English speakers that live in Durban. The impact that clothes, adornments and physical appearance have on an individual's work, assigned competence level, character and social interactions is a not overt. All the level of common sense, the majority of people perceive such influence, but they might not recognise how these dispositions affect their own lives. Actually, production of fashion clothing has been extended worldwide. There is no clarity between the limits of local and global production. Different style, patterns, materials are circulated around the world. Clothing production is intimately related to clothing consumption, considering the relationship between different agencies, institutions, individuals and practices. The individual and very personal act of getting dressed is an act of preparing the body for the social world, making it appropriate, acceptable, respectable and to indicate identity.

According to Joanne Entwistle (2000:11-12) *“dress in everyday life is always more than a shell, it is an intimate aspect of the experience and presentation of the self and is so closely linked to the identity that these three – dress, the body and the self – are not perceived separately but simultaneously, as a totality. Dress is therefore the outcome of practices, which are socially constituted but put into effect by the individual”*. The very act of dressing as a social practice implies social power, has connotations of hegemonic discourses, and expresses a social symbolic meaning that represents those things, whether correct or not, that are appropriated and socially accepted. Social acceptance of clothing in general or a specific kind of fashion is determined by the dialectical relationship between social structures and agency. It is made possible by the concept of habitus, which is “a system of durable, transposable dispositions” (Bourdieu, 1994:95) that is produced by the particular conditions of a class grouping. These

dispositions are embodied: they relate to the way in which bodies operate in the social world. All social classes or fractions of classes have their own habitus, their own dispositions, which are acquired through education, both formal and informal. The linking between society and individual is possible through habitus. The style of life that we choose and the form in which we express the actions of our bodies is structured by our social position in the world, which reflects our social class condition.

Taste is one obvious manifestation of habitus. Taste forms part of the bodily dispositions of a social class or a social group: taste for particular food, for particular clothing, for a particular sport, for a particular lifestyle. In this way, the habitus is the objective outcome of particular social conditions, 'structured structures', but these structures cannot be known in advance in their lived practices. Thus the notion of lived practices is a social one. The potential of the habitus as a concept for thinking through embodiment is that it provides a link between the individual and the social. Thus: "*The form we come to live in our bodies is structured by our social position in the world but these structures are reproduced only through the embodied actions of individuals. Once acquired, the habitus enables the generation of practices that are constantly adaptable to the conditions it meets*" (Entwistle, 2000:45).

The taste for fashion is related to the historical context. Clothing taste in a determined group is the result of negotiations and struggle. Political, economic, cultural and social systems influence the taste of the social classes in a given historical moment and geographical context. The fashion system provides the 'raw material' of our choices but these are adapted within the context of the lived experience of the people, their class, race, age, gender, occupation, education and so on. The kind of clothing that we choose in everyday life is a practical negotiation between the fashion system as a structured system, the social conditions of everyday life as well as the rules or norms governing particular social situations. As Entwistle (2000:45) notes "*the outcome of this complex interaction can not be known in advance precisely because the habitus will improvise and adapt to these conditions*". The notion of the habitus as a durable and transposable set of dispositions allows some sense of agency: it enables us to talk about dress as a personal

attempt to orientate ourselves to particular circumstances and thus recognises the structuring influences of the social world on the one hand, and the agency of individuals who make choices as to what to wear on the other (Entwistle, 2000).

Thus, fashion refers not only just to the production of some styles as popular or elite, but also to the production of aesthetic ideas, which serve to structure the reception and consumption of styles. Here, the concept of production is not referred to as a vertical process from those who own the means of production, but it is a process that arrives at the end through negotiation amongst the different parts involved in the game. Clothing, in addition, can vary according to the different styles and customs proper to each historical moment, the political national situation, the economic and cultural power of international trends and the local form in which the social traditions are represented. For instance, it is not relevant to mention the fashion clothing of two centuries ago in relation to the current fashion of Europe, or the United States, or African fashion. Each one of them has their own style, particularities and characteristics. Also, different situations or events have their own codes and require dress in different forms. People who go to weddings, funerals, shops, sport clubs, religious institutions and so on, are expected to use particular form of dressing, which have in depth cultural meanings embodied in the social system.

Differences in taste for fashion are not only related to economic conditions. The purchase and choice of a specific good and not another, is not only the result of social income and economic possibilities but also, the acquisition of educational and cultural capital and the way in which people appropriate these forms of capital. To choose a dress designed as 'haute couture' and not a simple dress not only means that the person has the money to pay for it, but they also, have the knowledge that allows them to appreciate this fashion design style. The predisposition to certain kind of fabric and the notion of 'quality' is explained through cultural capital. Indeed, in an age when all wears casual clothes, it is quite difficult to discern the variations on clothing, for which it is necessary to have a higher amount of cultural capital to discern the differences. Actually, brands, patterns, colours and so forth can help in the very heavy task to distinguish quality and distinction.

1) The South African Context

Taste preferences for clothing can be quite different amongst black African Zulu-English speakers in Durban. The history of this group comprises practices reconstructed, imported or borrowed from British, American, European and Asian cultures; indigenous customs and traditions; and African-American variations of customs known to have originated in Africa. Manifestations of indigenous, non-European, and African-American cultures converge and undergo transformation. Thus, the past history of colonisation, apartheid and now these new trends of globalisation transform the vision of the world, traditions and taste preferences of this group. We can classify black African practices related to clothing in their everyday life in different ways. According to Magwaza (1999) there are three different ways, namely the traditionalist, the converted and the progressive.

*First, '*The Traditionalists*': this is a small group that consists mainly of women of middle and old age. They still believe that Zulu customs and practises in clothing consumption have to be maintained in their purest form. They still give meaning to the colours of the clothing they wear.²

*Second, '*The Converted*': are those people who are Christian converts and also Nazareth or Shembe converts. They wear traditional clothing on special occasions. Although they are converted into Christianity they have not abandoned traditional ways and a large number of them perform traditional practises as well as Christian practises. The Nazareth or Shembe on the other hand base their religion on Zulu customs also stipulation that adapted Zulu traditional clothing be worn at church services.

² According to Magwaza (1999:17) some of the symbolic meaning of colours are:
White – virtue, purity, love, happiness, luck, truth, virginity, faithfulness.
Black – marriage, darkness, disappointment, a threat.
Royal Blue – fidelity, request, ill-feeling, hostility.
Green – Quarrel, contentment, joy, sickness.
Red – heartache, anger, impatience, strong emotion.

*Finally, 'The Progressive': although handfuls of this group are Christians, they despise traditional customs. Today this group subscribes to the notion that wearing western clothes and having nothing to do with traditional wear is indicative of being progressive.

Since 1996 a new discourse, the discourse of the African Renaissance – which is related to economic, political, cultural and social issues related to Africa – has been put into practise in the South African context. The population in general and black African people in particular, have been bombarded through the different media with information related to this concept from the current government. The concept of African Renaissance is very wide; it cannot be directly related to a specific ethnic group such as the Zulus. Also, it cannot be directly related to a specific beliefs or clothing styles. It represents a wide variety of African beliefs, customs, types of clothing and so on, which are part of this large continent with its very rich history. However, I would like to mention some Zulu examples of African Renaissance transformation. In some ways, African Renaissance calls back the past, placing special emphasis on the recuperation of customs and traditions related to clothing. In fashion, western items such as bicycles, coats, bottles, dresses, spectacles, string, etc. are being fashioned with Zulu traditional objects for example, feathers, brass, beads, etc. Magazines, television and fashion show models (male and female) wearing western clothes that have a strong African flair. Some western clothing styles are being mixed with Zulu traditional attire, for everywhere the resonance of such discourse is listened to and discussed. However, in the shopping malls, city centre and the entire main commercial places of Durban, the penetration of global western items, ideas and lifestyles influences predominantly the majority. It needs to be also emphasised that since the arrival of democracy, the doors of the country have opened to the global economy, and the socio-political discourses and aesthetics election have been changed since then.

In some in-depth interviews with black African Zulu-English speakers, they expressed how they perceived globalisation and the African Renaissance:

Globalisation and American culture is good. To be exposed is good because South Africa was isolated, allows people go and see what there are, and to create their own ideas and choice, but also, we need old people explain us our own culture because there are big confusion between the socialization of different cultures from the conquerors in this country and what is originally from Africa. (Kwanele, January 2003)

It is a very good thing, for me African Renaissance is okay. It is a very good point especially to the young ones, because they do not know anything about our culture. I think that African Renaissance is taking our culture as the most important thing in our lives and respect one another, to recuperate our values, rules and in general to re-instate our culture as a part of Africa, without influences of foreign cultures. Globalisation is about western lifestyle, for me African people are more concerned about the western style, e.g. if I am wearing something that is precious, more cultural, they think that I am lower class, or I know nothing about fashion. So to be seen as classy person I have to wear a nice style as fashion comes and go. (Christopher, October 2004)

The perceptions on globalisation and African Renaissance of these two African people express to some extent the confusion related to their own culture and, at the same time, their aspirations for the western culture. Their comments are in agreement with the statistical information offered in Chapter 8. To the question, ‘what clothing style do you identify with?’ 29% said they identify with a formal style; 48.5% casual; 15.5% informal; 4% said it does not matter, and only 3% identify they style with traditional cultural clothing. Also, it is important to mention that of those referring to traditional clothing 66.7% are male and 33.3% female; 83.3% are located in the oldest interval of age, they are mainly unskilled and from the informal sector, with low educational qualifications. Statistics confirm the confusion about globalisation and African culture. Very few people still wear traditional African clothing and those that do tend to have less education and skills qualifications, centred in the oldest intervals of age. In addition, it is interesting that nearly half of the population identify with casual clothing and in particular with the use of jeans.

2) American Jeans and black African Consumption

'Jeans' as a generic clothing item is seen as informal, classless, unisex, and appropriate to city or country; wearing them is a sign of freedom from the constraints on habitus and identity that social categories impose. It has been said that: "*Apparently the social differentiation in jeans gives one the freedom to be oneself and in some abnormal cases 'to hide oneself', which of course points to a telling paradox that the desire to be oneself leads one to wear the same garment as everyone else, which is only a concrete instance of the paradox deeply structured into American and western ideology that the most widely held communal value is that of individualism*" (Fiske, 1989:3).

There are also some other meanings associated with the wearing of jeans, related to gender differentiation. In Durban, black Africans have established the differences in the use of jeans amongst women and men. According to the statistics, 85% of the male population wear jeans usually/often and only 3% said they have never worn it. In the case of females, 43% say they wear jeans usually/often and 47% said that they never have worn it. This differentiation in taste and consumption can be referred to as different characteristics of the everyday life of this specific social group. Influences of religion, language, media and traditional beliefs are part of these differentiated practices. Zuluness and masculinity can be associated with physicality and ruggedness, but also with the meaning of naturalness and sexuality. Jeans are an expression of the curves of the body. Jeans reveal the curves of the body. Jeans are an expression of strength, physical labour, and sport performance for the men and toward sexuality for the women. It can be seen as a place of struggle for control over the meaning of masculinity and femininity. Who wears them has the seductive power, as they symbolise the American dream.

In addition, as Fiske (1989:4) notes, the association of jeans with the cowboy and the mythology of the Wild West are still strong. Despite the easy exportability of the Western myth and its ready incorporability into the popular culture of other nations, it always retains its Americanness: it thus admits the forging of links between American values and the popular consciousness of other nationalities, such as the South African

nation. Similarly, jeans have been taken into the popular culture of practically every country in the world, and whatever their local meanings, they always bear traces of their Americanness.

Popular culture is deeply contradictory in societies where power is unequally distributed along axes of class, gender, race, and the other categories that we use to make sense of our social differences. We cannot state that popular culture refers to a specific class, race or beliefs. One cannot say that popular culture refers to traditional customs and beliefs. Jeans are a part of the everyday popular culture in Durban and the symbolism of wearing them acquires everyday more and more power in the transformation and new vision of the black Africans related to gender, language and media. Jeans as non-generic garments, as designer items, establish the differences in social class. They are given brand names that compete among each other for specific segments of the market. For example, manufacturers try to identify social differences and then to construct equivalent differences in the product so that social differentiation and product differentiation become mapped onto each other. The different agents that are constitutive of the fashion field – manufacturers, designers, marketers, advertisers, consumers and so on – intervene in the construction of such diverse social meanings to the jeans, which are part of the production and consumption of this commodity.

Jeans production and consumption is not only about the economic profit, but also, they increasingly move away from nature, toward culture and its complexities. *“Wearing designer jeans is an act of distinction, of using a socially locatable accent to speak a common language. It is a move upscales socially, to the city and its sophistication, to the trendy and the socially distinctive. Jeans have moved into a world where class difference and fine distinction within class are all important”* (Fiske, 1989:6-7). In one of the in-depth interviews, a young black African man responded as follows:

My style is very westernised, very non-traditional, I wear jeans from Truworths, Daniel Hechter, Polo, etc, sometimes I wear, I do not know, I do not have one distinctive style. I know that some of my friends do have distinctive styles, they have these hip-hop images, that rapper image with boots and baggy jeans and big t-shirts, even the way they talk,

that whole distinctive style. But I find it difficult to just stick with one style. I can relate to that kind of style but I will also be wearing shorts, jeans and stuff. I like brand clothing, you know that if you buy a pair of Levi's jeans or Diesel you are getting 'quality', obviously it's going to be a lot more expensive and it depends whether you are willing to pay for that quality or not. But sometimes I go to Mr. Price, but it depends what you buy from Mr. Price because some of the clothes are good and then you find that after two moths, it starts showing that it is not ok. (Zwakele, November 2004)

The comments of Zwakele reflect the general perception of those who wear jeans usually/often. Firstly, he does not feel that to wear jeans is something distinctive. He relates the use of jeans as very common and part of a general style. Secondly, he admits that he likes western clothing, and he clearly associates the wearing of jeans with westernisation or Americanisation. Thirdly, brands are very important, not only for their symbolic value, but also for the quality that wearing brands suggests. It is a distinctive socio-economic element, for only those who can afford it. Brands are synonymous with class distinction, of distance from those who can buy it and from those who have aspirations to use it. Those who can afford branded jeans can have quality, which is also associated with specific cultural capital – the knowledge to know what jeans can be expressions of quality. The others, the dispossessed of economic and cultural capital have to content themselves with generics, with the cheapest, low-quality jeans.

In addition, he recognises that some of his friends use Jeans as a way to be associated to Rap, Hip-Hop, etc. Black Africans feel quite connected to black African-Americans and they have created subcultures through music and different forms of expressions. Some subcultures are related to sub-cultural styles such as gangster's fashion, Hip-Hop fashion, Rap fashion, and so on.

Subcultures employ dress to mark out distinctive identities both between themselves and mainstream culture, as well as between themselves and other youth subcultures". "The subculture is a subset of a class culture but is smaller, more localized and differentiated. Subcultures produce their own particular practices which are in part bodily orientations or ways of moving, walking and talking, which are worn like a 'second skin' on the body of the skinhead, punk, raven (Entwistle, 2000:135, 138).

In society, the body is to some extent the site of identity. Some black Africans use clothing to articulate the sense of 'uniqueness', to express difference from the others, although as members of particular classes or cultures, they are equally likely to find styles of clothing that connect them to the other as well. In sum, the expressions of the popular culture through jeans resonate among the black Africans. The 'Americanness' of the product offers a new form of belonging to something bigger and to some extent incomprehensible. The vitality of the subordinated groups that in various shifting social allegiances constitute 'the people' is to be found in the ways of using, not in what is used. This results in the producers having to resort to the processes of incorporation or containment. The subordinated groups negotiated with the hegemonic global power new forms and re-interpretations of the jean, and at the same time, new forms of resistance. As Fiske put it: "*Manufacturers quickly exploited the popularity of ragged (or old and faded) jeans by producing factory-made tears, or by 'washing' or fading jeans in the factory before sale. This process of adopting the signs of resistance incorporates them into the dominant system and thus attempts to rob them of any oppositional meanings*" (Fiske, 1989:15-18). This example that shows the influence of American culture and Jeans consumption amongst black African Zulu-English speakers it is quite illustrative. It intends to explain how one can be subjected to different foreign and western cultures and interpretations of the world can transform in a slow process the everyday preferences, practices and perceptions.

RELIGION, BELIEFS AND RELIGIOUS CLOTHING

Quite surprisingly, 93% of the black African Zulu-English speakers that live in the urban areas of Durban are religious. Their beliefs and practices are quite heterogeneous although the differences between genders are not so great. 47.3% of this population are male and 52.7% are female, contrary to the myth that suggests the percentage of religious women overwhelmingly huge in comparison with men. In addition, the differences across age are nearly non-existent, and one can find that people with higher education and occupations are more likely to be religious than people with lower education and

occupations. Some of the religions mentioned were Catholicism, Methodist, Zionist, Shembe, Anglican, Apostolic, Born Again and Lutheran. Only 3.2% of the black Africans said that they only believe in the ancestors and are not Christians, and even more surprising is that 100% of the people that only believe in their ancestors are older men who live in urban informal areas.

Therefore, we can classify religions according to the relationship that they have with the African traditions. One can mention that for example the Apostolic church or the Assembly of God do not believe in their ancestors at all and only recognise and pray to God. Other religions such as the Methodist church, Zionist, Catholic and Anglican still allow a certain amount of belief in the ancestors, but only encourage prayer to God. And finally, the Shembe church is recognized as an African church; followers still pray and believe in the ancestors and all the church practices make reference to the traditional customs. According to the statistical information showed in Chapter eight, approximately 8.5% of the urban Africans do not believe in their ancestors, while 11% still believe in the ancestors only and carry on with the traditions. The remainders mix western Christians beliefs and practices with traditional ones. In the next sections, I would like to share some examples of how religious practices, traditional believes and clothing are related one another. Firstly, I will talk about the Manyano movement; secondly, about the Shembe religion; and finally, I will show how three black Africans express and explain differently the relationship between religion and clothing.

1) The Methodist Church and the Manyano Movement

Western Christian religions have featured in South Africa amongst the black Africans since the time of the European colonizers. In the nineteenth century the role of missionaries became vital in proselytising. One of the major concerns of the missionaries at that time was the necessity of inculcating the ideal of a male breadwinner, a dependent housekeeping wife and mother, with dependent school-going children. The success of the missionaries was large among African people in general. During the 1930s poverty was rife amongst urban African families. Urban women increasingly became full-time

domestic servants living in the 'white' suburbs away from their children, and men became cheap labour in very low and unskilled jobs. In other words, the origin of western religions and Christianity was based in the domination and oppression of the black Africans through the exploitation of labour forces. In light of this, and with the beginning of the Apartheid era, some churches and black African groups decided to create a movement to criticise such practices, and create a space where they could feel protected, secure and free. One of these movements was the 'Manyano movement', created at the centre of the Methodist church. In theory, "almost every black church in South Africa, mission initiated and African Independent churches, will have a churchwomen's organization that is part of this movement" (Haddad, 2004:4). It was the support network of the Manyano groups, with their emphasis on family life that increasingly played a central role in the indigenous expression of African women's and men's Christianity.

The Manyano movement was created as an indigenous response to poverty, and the lack of possibilities and oppression. It is a safe site of struggle for survival against death and patriarchal oppression and resistance to dominant ecclesial forces. It aims to demonstrate the power of God through the ritualised wearing of the Methodist uniform, giving the wear a sense of dignity and autonomy, crucial resources in dealing with and overcoming oppression. "Interestingly, this church uniform for some missionary churches, most notably the Anglican Church, became a symbol of defiance against ecclesial, colonial authorities" (Haddad, 2004:5). Manyano women demonstrate the intertwining of the power of God as a spiritual reality with the material reality of survival through the wearing of a church uniform. The putting on of the church uniform is, on one level, simply a sign of Christian commitment and it takes on a sacramental value. But the uniform is not only a symbol; it has a substantial quality, inherent in itself, which is conferred on the wearer. In this sense, "the uniform embodies supernatural powers that infuse the material world and become a resource for dealing with this reality" (Haddad, 2004:5).

For a long time the bible has been used to justify patriarchal and gender discrimination among the church communities. All too often Christianity has been used

to remind the woman of her subordinate role. The church in Africa is full of male paternalism and hierarchies. However not all that is created from the centre of western religion has the purpose to oppress and dominate the black African population in general and African women in particular. We find in the Manyano movement an expression of resistance against patriarchy, against hegemonic domination. Through clothing, western clothing – skirt, blouse, girdle and hat in a variety of colours – religious women (and also some men) give support to one another, creating a strong network which is difficult to break.

Theory and practices about the Manyano movement and other ‘movements of resistance’ are today changing the central ideal of confrontation and struggle for different social practices. It is true that some black Africans have found in western ideas and beliefs a form to struggle against colonialism and patriarchy, but we cannot deny that the signification of struggle has been modified through the historical contexts since their origin. According to Lucy, a black lady who still belongs to and feels proud to be part of the Manyano movement within the Methodist church, she expresses:

Currently the meetings of the group are not any more Wednesday in the afternoon, but Sundays very early in the morning, before the Sunday ceremonies of the Church. We meet (male and female), we put on our special clothing and we pray for the problems of all the members of the community and visit those who are sick and with big problems. We can feel a Great Spirit doing this as a group.

Definitely, it is a space of community, hope and joy; probably, of critical opinion and discussion about gender issues and patriarchy, sharing more consciousness about the exploited role of black African women in society. However, none of the religious people who belong to this movement seems to analyse clothing uniforms as a form of racial differentiation, class differentiation or gender differentiation among other members of the same religion.

2) The Shembe Religion and Traditional Practices

In a research done by Magwaza (2004), who attended eleven Shembe church sermons, it was observed that although women are notably 'present' in the church, they are 'absent' in church positions and decision-making structures. Puttick (1997:36) states that "*Women have always been the biggest 'consumers' of religion, but on the whole have been badly served, disparaged and oppressed by the religions themselves*". The origin of this church started when Shembe established his religion basing it on traditional Zulu religion and culture, the Old Testament references to the Nazarites and his own visions from God. Magwaza explained: "*In doing so he developed a new symbolic and religious system that revitalized past Zulu customs and religious practices (in particular ancestors veneration) but placed it in a framework that also incorporated Christian elements*" (Magwaza, 2004:138).

The Shembe church and its practices cannot be understood outside the context of traditional Zulu indigenous beliefs, values, ethnicity, religion and culture. A central belief of the church involves notions of identity. The core of their beliefs reproduce the very patriarchal nature of the Zulu tradition, for which only men can have authority and positions. For example, the belief that 'a Shembe married woman cannot inherit any money or property. Husbands and wives are considered one person – the husband. Also it is accepted in the Shembe church that the man decides on issues related to the marriage including sexual matters, i.e. when or whether to have a second or third wife and how often and when the couple will have sex. The members of this church appear to be very passionate about maintaining their Zulu identity. Mpanza (1994) holds that the passion for the Zulu culture extends to church ceremonies, which relate stories of Shembe's encounter with animals, divinities and other humans. The stories are similar to Zulu folktales. Aspects of Zulu tradition drawn into church practices include: female ancestors are not revered; patriarchal systems of inheritance; polygamy; and references to the highest leader as 'king'. The manner in which men and women are assigned value and 'appropriate' roles replicates the patriarchal cultural value system found in the Zulu culture. These traditional practices include dressing 'properly' for ceremonies, different

events and religious services. The adornment of the body and ways of dressing represent Zulu traditions, cultural meanings and a way to recover their own identity.

3 In-depth interview responses to religious practices

Three in-depth interviews with black African people gave me valuable responses. The first interviewee was Winnie, a mature black African woman, the second interviewee was Zwakele, a young black African man, and the third is Ntokozo, a young black African woman.

Case One: Interview with Winnie

My tradition is my church, where I go. I am a Christian, Zion Church, I like my church so much, because when I am sick my pastors prays hard, prayer gives me energy. My parents do not go to church, but my father was drinking and my mother was working at home. They never have been to church, but I have been in the Zionist Church from when I was small. I was a Zionist, then when I got married, my husband was a Catholic, thus I left Zion church and went to my husband's church. When I divorced my husband I went back to Zion church. Both churches are quite different. In the Zionist we dance, we pray for the sick people, there is a strong spirit. Sometimes you can take water and pray for it, sometimes you can use ash and put it inside that water, pray hard and drink it. In Catholic Church they do not use specific clothing, they use normal dresses, but the Zionist use white dresses when they go to church. When we go inside the church, you mustn't wear the shoes, you must leave the shoes outside, not inside and also, we cover the head. Not all use these clothing, not the men and the boys, they don't cover their heads. The girls, women and mothers, all them must cover their heads. They must show respect to God, respect the church. We use these clothing because is a form of respect to God, and respect for the church as well. We still pray for dead people. We believe that we must pray to God, and if you pray to God, we must pray for our family, we pray in our church and call these people, we talk about all these people who passed away to help us.

In the first place, Winnie mentions that her Christian beliefs are related to traditional beliefs. The church is identifying as the place of traditions. Secondly, she explains that she is in the Zionist Church because they help her with prayers when she or

someone of her family is sick. Thirdly, in her discourse appears the very well known concept of patriarchy, she must go to the church of her husband, regardless of whether she likes or believes in it. Also, strong beliefs in the family as a whole, helps in keeping her within her husband's church. Fourthly, dances and clothing form part of her imaginary of respect towards church and God. White dresses are related to purity, the headscarf to humility and submission to an idea or belief. But the headscarf is not necessary for the use of children or men, showing again that the concepts of masculinity and femininity are still strong in the base of the Zionist church. Fifthly, she does not find it uncomfortable at all in to share Christian beliefs with traditional beliefs, such as those associated to the ancestors. And finally, something very curious is the fact that the parent never belonged to a religion, while she appears to be a more urbanised person, an English speaker with some education and social aspirations.

Case two: Interview with Zwakele

I was born into a Methodist family, my mother and her mother. My perception of religion is that it actually inhibits what you are. If you believe in God, it actually inhibits what God would have wanted, because I don't think anywhere in the bible God talks about Catholicism or Methodist or whatever, the bible is all God loving us and wanting us to live a good life. So I think religion is just a construction by man, and I think that very construction inhibits what God actually intended. Obviously the institutionalisation of Christianity is related to power and domination, it definitely creates problems, it creates segregation, 'we are Methodists, you guys are Catholics' and blah, blah etc. That's a bit of dark aspect about religion.

I do not believe in ancestors, I was brought up in the Methodist church, I was born into this family where we all had to go to church, and so I have never been exposed to any kinds of practices that have to do with ancestors. On the past there was some confusion, mainly from my mother. At the time there was a fusion of traditional culture and these Methodist religious beliefs, whereas now, she has left all of that behind, she no longer burns impepho³, she chucked all of that out.

A lot of people who are very traditional are still very religious; there is always a fusion of traditional culture and western religion. I think that people are changing their beliefs, change are definitely slowly but surely moving away from the more traditional practices

³ Impepho is an indigenous plant used by Africans to purify the house and the family.

especially my generation, if you talk to people of my age and you ask them about Zulu customs and traditions, oh man! They are completely lost.

The conversation with Zwakele adds some important elements for consideration. Firstly, he mentions that he is born into a religion, the Methodist church. The learning of beliefs comes directly from the family, in this case, particularly from his mother, who still has a dominant role in his habitus and practices. It means, that the cultural capital he has acquired in his childhood and adolescence from the family is still persisting in his everyday actions. Secondly, he does not believe in his ancestors, also as a result of the belief transmission from mother to child. Only in his memories of being a child, he has a very confused memory of traditional beliefs, from his contradictory learning of the traditional customs. Thirdly, age in this case plays an important role. He distinguishes between the young and old generations and how the younger generations have acquired a very different view in this global world, where there is little space for traditions and ancestors. Evidently, transmission of idea to the youngest generations has to some extent failed. Also, transmission of western ideas and practices has a strong repercussion according to age. And finally, religion is not necessarily related to beliefs, and religious institutions are seen as places of power, and domination institutionalised by western powers and missionaries.

Third Case: Ntokozo Interview

I am religious, from Christian, Catholic Church. I was born into this religion and also my parents. I know that my grandmother was a Christian from her birth she was born in 1918. Religion for us is hereditary, beliefs are do not drink or smoke, and respect the elders. Although specific clothing are not strict, they sometimes say do not wear trousers, but it's not strict. If you are married you have to wear a headscarf. I think that African people did not have choice to accept freely western religions, it is not by choice, and it's forced on you. My understanding of African people converted to Christianity was that they have not a possible choice. You could still believe in the ancestors if you wanted to, but the colonisers forced Africans. I no longer believe in the ancestors, you see there is so much confusion around these things. I no longer believe in the ancestors and traditional beliefs. I think the majority still believes in the ancestors because of their Zuluness. To

explain what is Zuluness is not easy, it's now very difficult to tell you because we have now been westernised, so it's difficult to pin down what is Zulu, what I perceive as Zulu because things have changed so much that I no longer think of myself primarily as a Zulu person, but I think myself as a person of this global world. My point of reference is no longer an ethnic identity.

Ntokozo has also mentioned very accurate points. Firstly, she is the first person to mention that her religion teaches respect for the elder and to lead a healthy and pure life. Secondly, with respect to uniforms or special clothing, her church does not specify what she should wear, but in the case of women, it recommends they wear dresses or skirts rather than trousers. Thirdly, she does not know clearly the origin of her church, but she is still identifying it with the white colonizers. Also, she states that her people, the black Africans did not have much choice and religion has been imposed since the time of colonisers. Now, because generations by generations have been Christians, they do not have enough force to criticise their beliefs. Fourthly, she does not believe in her ancestors because they have not resolved her problems when she has requested for help, she associate these practices as a form to loose money and time. And finally, she thinks that many black Africans still believe in their ancestors because of their ethnic identity, but for other black Africans the concept of ethnicity has been replaced by the global imaginary.

Summarising all the cases, there are clear indications that in all of them there are different visions of what religion is and how clothing is related to it. Clothing accepted by religions is continually crossed by multiple customs, ideas, lifestyles and believes. The inevitable differences found across variables such as gender, age, family customs, level of education, and so on, is marked by the different aspirations and aesthetic disposition of the black Africans. In no case it is possible to find a 'pure and authentic' Zulu tradition or western practice. Currently, hybridity – as a consequence of the past socio-economic, political and cultural context, and the new trends of globalisation - is the current way to understand social practices, aesthetic dispositions and the transformation in the religious vision of the world of urban black African Zulu-English speakers in Durban Metro. Religion is understood in very different ways.

The two religious examples placed above (Manyano and Shembe) add valuable information that allows us to have a better understanding of religious practices and religious clothing practices. In sum, the five different histories show clearly that there is not homogeneity amongst religious beliefs, clothing consumption and indigenous practices, and this is a time of transition. Different historical events in the global, national and local arena explain the different divisions and visions of the social world within the group, related to clothing consumption and religious beliefs. We cannot explain today's social practices through the ideas of purity, tradition, indigenous culture or western cultures. To understand this very complex scenario it is necessary to talk about the linking, fusion and hybridisation of cultural practices. The use of uniforms and religious clothing is still associated to religious practices, but we can perceive that gender plays a strong role in the continuation of such practices. In addition, more and more people are quite critical of religious institutions and do not find the desire or obligation to use particular clothing, choosing mainly western styles for specific events.

GENDER EQUALITY VERSUS PATRIARCHY

The concept of gender is socially constructed, which is determined by a given historical moment, geographical location and socio-cultural and economical forces. This concept is not static but undergoes continuous transformations. Women and men are also associated with the concepts of 'femininity' and 'masculinity', which are implicated in the social construction of gender. Thus, "'masculinity' describes the subjectivity and characteristics of men and has come to be associated with the public, with production, with assertiveness and power. 'Femininity', on the other hand, is associated with the private, with consumption, with passivity and powerlessness (Donnelly, 2002:21). Currently, in this time of globalisation, new discourses about the role of men and masculinity, and women and femininity have emerged. Men and women in different parts of the globe are sharing similar objectives and struggle together against oppression of women and patriarchy and are in favour of more gender equality. The 'new' man is in favour of women's liberation, looks after the children, supports women in their desire to develop careers, and is likely

to be both sensitive and introspective. But domination is not only men over women but also, men over men. There are some men that are also dominated and exploited in this capitalist system of production and others who have the economic and cultural capital. This kind of hegemonic domination by the men who have the control and power who influence prescriptions for masculinity creates cultural images of what it meant to be a 'real man'. "Masculinity is, not only about male things, and it is not only about men's relationship to their bodies and sexuality. Masculinity also constructs the social reality of institutions and the identities of women" (Morrell, 2001:11).

New discourses have also arrived in the South Africa arena, where they have originated different polemics related to gender inequalities. As Morrell put it: "*While the masculinities that emerged amongst African men testified to the power of colonialism and capitalism, they also showed that masculinity constructed in sites of apparent servitude could nevertheless both challenge ruling class and race prescriptions and remain the gender property of these men*" (Morrell, 2001:14). Firstly, the colonisers with all their battles and war and then the apartheid era have been critical to black people in South Africa. These historical times created ethnic differentiations and marked huge conflicts of race and class. They established different hegemonic discourses that until now continue to have weight over the dispossessed. Race and class were thus manipulated by the state and this affected gender relations.

Until recently South Africa was a 'man's country'. Men exercised power publicly and politically. In families, both black and white, men made decisions, earned the money, and held power. The law supported the presumption of male power and authority and discriminated against women. But the country's history also produced brittle masculinities – defensive and prone to violence. South Africa has been witness to the most cruel oppression and discrimination against black women and men. "*For black men, the harshness of life on the edge of poverty and the emasculation of political powerlessness gave their masculinity a dangerous edge. Honour and respect were rare, and getting it and retaining it (from white employers, fellow labourers or women) was often a violent process*" (Morrell, 2001:18).

While South Africa's political and economic systems have changed, there have also been changes in gender relations. Since 1994 government policies have reduced some of the inequalities that separate women from men. The new opportunities are not only related to job opportunities, but also, education, consumption and so on. However, much of public interest and concern remains fixed on the subordinate position of women relative to men. In 1994, following the first election, the Government of National Unity was created. *"Twenty-five per cent of the new parliament was women, including the Speaker of the House and three cabinet ministers. The second national election in 1999 increased to 30 per cent the number of women in parliament. More significantly, 24 per cent of cabinet ministers were women, and over half of the deputy ministers"* (Morrell, 2001:19).

The gender order is changing. This is as much an effort of an interventionist state committing itself to gender equality, at least at the level of policies, widely known as 'Affirmative Action'. The Affirmative action policy has attempted to reduce inequality and unemployment, giving priority to those who historically have been at a disadvantage, and of course, the first on the list are black women. As a consequence of this policy, Morrel (2001) explains that a new discourse is circulating which depicts the men as victims of the advancement of women, men as naturally violent and competitive, and men as victims of policies such as structural adjustment. South African men are also embracing this new masculinity. Pushed in part by the rise of black women into professional positions which has made it difficult for the traditional sexual division of labour in the home to be maintained, young black male professionals have become much more participatory in the home and supportive of their partners' professional goals.

At provincial levels, the discourses of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Mangosuthu Buthelezi address the concept of men as workers and as warriors. As workers, men are entreated to be a regiment of disciplined labourers and responsible breadwinners. As warriors, they are offered the privileges of the Zulu patriarchal tradition through invocations of the valour, pride and glory of their renowned forebears (Waetjen and

Maré, 2001) According to this discourse, the ideal of 'men' and 'masculinity' is dictated through the ethnic heritage of the power of the King Shaka and the 'Zulu Nation'. His valour and courage, his manhood, has transcended his moment of power and the 'myth' of his splendid figure still persists in the identifications of black Zulu people. According to traditional Zulu beliefs, man is 'man' when he exercises his authority over the rest of the family. Women, on the contrary, have to be submissive and obey the mandate of the husband, male relatives and elders. In everyday life, black African men and women in urban Durban receive all of these discourses that to some extent are contradictory and are in conflict. At least four different discourses cross the socialisation and imaginary of the black African population, namely: the discourses of colonialism and apartheid; the new discourses of globalisation, modernity and consumption; the new discourses of black African empowerment and the new democracy; and finally, the discourses of the Zulu identity and Zulu Nation. But, how do they receive and perceive these discourses? I will address this question with the opinions of two black African in this respect.

In-depth interview responses related to Zulu Identity and Masculinity

The following interviews were recorded by the researcher in relation to Zulu identity and masculinity:

Claudia: Is Zulu identity strong in your family?

Ntokozo: Not in my case, I am identifying with western style of life, but some of the members of my family, especially my brother, yes. He is still very participates in Zulu customs and practices. Mainly because Zulu identity is very patriarchal, and for him, that wants power and control, is the ideal. He participates in traditional events and Zulu ceremonies, and in these occasions he dress as a Zulu man. Mostly, you will find that Zulu men are very aggressive and arrogant. Although he is not arrogant, but you can see a bit of that in him, he is patriarchal.

Claudia: Do you feel proud to be a Zulu person? With what do you associate your pride?

Zwakele: I think our Zulu history is in terms of Shaka and all that, there are certain aspects that one can be proud of, this guy was a revolutionary and he was a strong brave

man, we might want to feel Zulu just in this sense, but at the same time Shaka Zulu was, based on what I read and what I have heard about him, a very brutal man, he was quite harsh and very radical. And so there are certain elements that I would like to be associated with in terms of my Zuluness but there are also elements, which I am not so proud of. So I would say, he – Shaka – only plays a small part of me being proud of being a Zulu, but for me it's more about who I am, it's my language, it's my culture, although I am not a very cultural person, a lot of the customs have been lost but still hold to that, it's my language, and this is who I am, I can't change. Also, western ideas and communication can help us to understand our new position in the world.

One can sense that these perceptions are not homogeneous. Association with Zuluness is rooted on very different reasons. For the first one, the ideal of Zulu and Shaka is very strong; customs and traditions are strong as a way of recuperating patriarchal power. The concept of masculinity is associated with the Zulu discourse, but in the second case, we find that the image of Shaka not perceived in the same glorious light. Rather, customs such as language and cultural practices encourage Zulu pride. In addition, western ideas and customs can be perceived as something progressive, global and positive. In general, conflicts and confrontation of ideas, customs and discourses appear in the construction of this new masculinity. While men in general continue to take refuge in old and patriarchal ideas, the struggle for gender equality will continue. In some South African spaces gender still wait for an in-depth transformation from the base. However, many private and public agencies are taking the battle for transformation further, giving hope for a better South African place related to gender equality.

CLOTHING AND USES OF LANGUAGES

Language has been a very important indicator of struggle and negotiation within South Africa during the past and in the present. Western languages and indigenous languages have a long history of confrontation and conflict related to race differentiation. But, language also has a symbolic role in the construction of social class, social discourses and across age and gender. English and ethnic languages have maintained the social distances between the diverse social groups. Such social differentiation has been affected largely by the hegemonic power and the differing status of the English and Zulu language, which

have been transformed along with history. Democracy has led to the creation of clauses to protect the eleven official languages within South Africa. However, in practice, English is daily coming closer to being the language of governance and national communication. In fact, English seems to be gaining ground daily, at the cost of all the other South African native languages.

Magubane (1987:19), speaking about the United States, gives an African view of white West's concept of itself: *"The United States portrays itself as the ultimate in human development – political, economic, social, and sometimes even moral and cultural. The idealism that was created by whites – the white man's burden – became the protected armour of most whites, in effect assuming the features of a natural landscape. The black man, by contrast, was the representative of that order of humanity that was barbaric, ignorant, superstitious and sometimes even evil. His inferiority appeared as the incarnation of inevitable, timeless tradition, and the authority over him appeared equally timeless by traditional and legitimate existence"* (Magubane, 1987 cited in Dermott, 1998: 107-108). Therefore, the in-depth imaginary that has been built in black African Zulu speakers' mind is that English is the most important communicative language, both internationally and locally. The mythical implication that indigenous languages are inferior to 'white' languages has been survived until the present day. Currently, not only whites but also blacks in South Africa frequently claim that English is a gateway to the world for all people. This pervasive discourse is still based on a paternalistic attitude inherent to the alleged superiority of Europeans and American people, who claim the superior value of English to the detriment and lack of the legitimate validity of the indigenous languages.

The English language therefore seems obligatory in educational institutions. The use of English has been extended to the majority of public spaces, and local languages are restricted to the small areas where people can communicate in indigenous languages. *"Such attitudes are to my mind nothing more than linguistic colonialism and a denial of a basic human right: the right to use one's mother tongue in the course of one's day-to-day existence"* (Dermott, 1998:115).

The English language is the mediator between western social practices and indigenous practices. Those who speak English have the 'possibility' of accessing a better condition of life and transforming their everyday life. Next I will show some of the perceptions of black African Zulu-English speakers related to the English language as a language of corruption, oppression, colonialism, and also as a form of communication and acquisition of higher social status.

In-depth interviews' responses on English and Zulu languages

Ntokozo's answers were as follows:

I speak Zulu and English; those are the two languages that I am fluent in. I have basic working knowledge of other languages like Sotho, Tswana, Swati, Xhosa and I am learning Portuguese. I do not think that English is a language of corruption; I think it's a communicating language, just like Zulu, Afrikaans. Of course, English has an ideological connotation in the sense that it's forced down on us, when I learnt English, it wasn't a choice, it wasn't like these are languages, you can learn whichever you want to learn, it was forced on me. I see it as a language of oppression because you have to speak it to perfection, because as I said it's forced on you. At the time when I started school, it was the government of the time who forces me. I do understand that the majority of black South Africans have been forced too. In fact in the world English is the main communicative language, but I also feel that other languages should also be uplifted, indigenous languages. I do not feel proud to speak English, I speak it because I have to, not because I want to or I am proud of it, I am forced to speak it. English language is putting me in a different position in relation to whites because for them it comes naturally, they don't have to think hard how to translate this from one language to another, it comes naturally. For me I battled because as I said, the construction of the two languages is different. However, I relate Zulu language to people of my community, African ethnic people. I think, when you have been born into a community that speaks Zulu, it's a sub-conscious process because you don't have to consciously, it comes naturally as you interact, whereas with English it's something that is conscious, you have to make an effort, because you don't necessarily have to go to school to learn it, you have to make an effort of some kind. I feel proud to speak Zulu because it's my language, I love indigenous languages, I hinted earlier that I would love to see the promotion of the

indigenous languages more than what is being done at present. So I would say I am proud to speak Zulu.

Therefore, for Ntokoso, Zulu and English languages have different connotations. She regards the English language as a language of oppression because it was imposed on her since her childhood through the educational institution. Even when she recognises that English is a communicative language, which can open the doors to possibilities and to the international arena, she reveals her discomfort with using the English to her advantage. On the contrary, the Zulu language is her language of pride, her heritage, and her community. One can see that she always went to African schools, which means that she has not mixed very often with other population groups. Her main concern is to promote indigenous languages in general.

Winnie's answers

English is a good language; it is not oppressive language. It's a good language because it helps me when I need help; I ask Indians or white people, they can't help me if I can't speak English. I do not relate English as a language of corruption, and never I have been related it as the language of colonisers. Zulu is fine, it is my language, I speak it forever.

This very short comment from Winnie illustrates how an older woman with few years of primary education and without much educational and cultural capital sees the English language as a useful language. She regards it as a language of communication, which helps her to communicate with people from different population groups. Her little knowledge of it is reflected though the scarce ideas about the origin of this language in the South African context. It is in accordance with the statistics shown in chapter eight that revealed how the least possibilities of acquiring educational capital is translated into a non-polemic and a lack of knowledgeable critical perception.

Zwakele's answers

I do not feel proud to speak English; it is the same to me. When I was young it was the community around me who said 'oh, he speaks English so well' but for me when I am at

home I am happy to speak Zulu. I wouldn't think that English is the language of corruption, the way I have been brought up to see English is actually that it is the language of opportunity and it opens doors for you. Look I was born in 1982, so when I was in primary school, the first couple years of my primary schooling we weren't allowed to go to white schools, but I didn't know that. I just went to this coloured school and everything was ok, there were coloureds, Indians and blacks. So it was cool with me. I wasn't aware of the whole political situation-taking place at the time. So I guess at the time I wouldn't have seen it as a language of oppression, but as I grew a little older, I don't know, English has never come across as a language of oppression to me. English for me is the language that I am happy that I can speak, that it can open doors for me, but obviously I pride myself in my own language because it is nice to be different and have your own thing, and especially when I am amongst black people and most of the time I will talk Zulu, although sometimes we switch to English. But I think that is mainly due to the fact that because of our experiences and influences our Zulu is not good as it should be actually. I think that to speak, work, study in Zulu would complicate things. If everybody could do things in their own mother tongue, what would happen is we wouldn't understand each other, I wouldn't be able to work with a Sotho guy and he is speaking in his mother tongue and I am speaking in my mother tongue, there would be a communication problem, communication breakdown. But if we find a kind of lingua franca to speak, like a common language where everyone would understand and when you are at work, you use that common language so that things happen. I do not if I am happy to speak English, to tell you the truth, I have never really thought about it. I wouldn't say it is natural but because you were taught English at such an early age. I grew up in Mandeni; I think the first six years of my life. And then we moved to Esikhawini, which is also another township near Empangeni, Richards Bay area. So that's where I spent most of my childhood. Now I live in Glenwood area. In the area in where I live there are not so much race mixing, you have contact with others, the thing is it's a mainly white area, and all my neighbours are white. In our street, which it is not very long, there is like one Indian family, and two-coloured family, and that's it, the rest is just white, English speakers.

Zwakele's discourse and perceptions are quite different from the other two cases. He has grown up in different environments during his life where diversity in race and languages were typical. As a black African young male, he is accustomed to being among friend who switch languages and codes. He does this not only because it is 'fashionable' but also, because he recognises that there is lack of contemporary relevant vocabulary in

the Zulu language. His perception of the English language is positive and he considers English to be a language of communication and possibilities. Finally, he sees both Zulu and English as nearly 'natural' languages, which he enjoys to talk in everyday life.

- **Perception on English Language and Western Clothing**

As much in the statistical analysis as in the in-depth interviews and in the informal conversations, black Africans recognise that there is significant linking relationships between language and clothing consumption. The frequency of use and proficiency in English in daily life is a clear indicator of clothing taste and clothing consumption. Frequency of English language usage gives to black Africans more possibilities to be placed in an urban scenario, increased education and job possibilities and transforms their lifestyle and vision of the world. In addition, it tends to better the economical situation, the aspirations to consume fashionable products and cultural capital. The English language is recognised as the language of communication and international possibilities in that it brings the trends of globalisation closer. One aspect of bringing globalisation closer is related to fashion and clothing in general. The majority of black Africans have adjusted to the changes in fashion. To the question, 'what kind of clothing do you prefer?' The main response was western clothing (97%), while 3% prefer traditional clothing. But this western clothing does not necessarily have to be fashionable because black Africans buy clothing for different reasons. Very few of respondents said they buy clothing because of fashion.

For example, while only 22% of the black population wear branded clothing, the wide majority prefers to wear clothing without bands (95%). These answers reflect the social distances and the lack of real possibilities to acquire clothing and the aspirations and desires of distinction that they have. In addition, the wide majority - 88% - agree that the city centre is the place where they buy their clothing, because of the variety, and the cheaper prices. Others, those who possess some economic capital or those who have cultural capital and aspirations to be different and distinctive prefer to go to the shopping malls – mainly Pavillion and Gateway with 11%, because is there in where people can

find quality, exclusive brands and patterns. In conclusion, one can say that black Africans that live in urban areas are subject to changes in their customs and traditions, and in particular in the ways in which they wear western clothing. Language as a mediator in clothing taste and consumption has a determining role in the choice of indigenous and western clothing. Those people that for example in the in-depth interview said that using English in their everyday life gives more possibilities and access to western clothing styles, prefer to buy in well-known shopping malls, but those who still struggle with English in everyday life prefer to buy clothing in shops where there are black Africans and where they can speak their own indigenous language. However, this is not an indicator that establishes a direct relation with the uses of indigenous clothing, because in the majority African shops we also can see western clothing and western styles.

COMMUNICATION AND CONSUMPTION OF MEDIA

1) Transformation in Television Programming

In 1976 television was introduced in South Africa changing the use of leisure time for all those people who could afford this technological advance. Television brought with it a very New World conception and the knowledge of different commodities was brought into the home of the audience. Initially, only one channel was in operation for five hours an evening, and the broadcast time were equally divided between English and Afrikaans. “A second channel was introduced in 1982, which carried TV2 and TV3 as split signals beamed to different geographical areas on the country along a supposed ethnic logic. TV2 broadcast in Nguni languages – Zulu and Xhosa, while TV3 broadcast in the Sotho family of languages – North and South Sotho and Pedi” (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 2001:129). In the late 1980s, the TV structure was changed. TV1 was purely English and Afrikaans, while TV2/3/4 became a single integrated channel, named Contemporary Culture Values (CCV).

Although there was still a significant amount of African language programming, with a transmitter split to accommodate the news in different languages to different parts of the country, the ‘glue’ which held the programming of CCV together was English, since, in

the sentiments of the Station's manager. English was the only common bond between all the peoples of South Africa. (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 2001:129)

Historically, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) played an important role in both constructing and supporting the apartheid structures of pre-1991 South Africa. In the 1980s the SABC explicitly supported the then government in its effort to combat what was represented as the 'Total Onslaught' of 'revolutionary forces', supposedly spearheaded by the African National Congress (ANC) in exile (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1996). The SABC was an important instrument for the government in the struggle against the black African population, through apartheid discourses and the promotion of the old regime's ideological domination. But in the 1990s, a process of restructuring began. After democracy and with the new black government in power, the television programming started to change, chiefly since 1996. SABC1 has been changed substantively, the programming is mainly in the Nguni groups of languages, alternating with English and SABC2, which before was mainly in Afrikaans, now carries Sotho, Tswana and Afrikaans during prime-time. This policy has ensured the significant downgrading of Afrikaans from being a co-equal language with English, to a minor language, given a greatly reduced allocation of broadcast time on a par with the other African languages. And finally, SABC3 is an all-English language channel, designed to meet the needs of urban, educated audiences of all races. In sum, the structure and programming of the SABC channels has undergone in-depth transformation in content, languages and interests. What are most significant is the growing importance of indigenous languages, the degradation of Afrikaans and the rise of English as the dominant language on all the channels, which is the language of union and communication.

To summarise, the following processes have occurred after the demise of apartheid and the Cold War, from 1990 onwards:

- Globalisation of ownership and control, with foreign interests purchasing shares in local media, and local media in some countries acquiring international interests;

- Black empowerment, especially in Southern Africa, where union-dominated capital now owns shares in a variety of major media industries;
- State-controlled media coming into conflict with new privately-run media, which are often more critical of government;
- Privatisation, by which governments have sold off blocs of shares in publicly-owned media entities to commercial investors – local and international. (Tomaselli and Dunn, 2001:4)

In the last decade of the twentieth century, the global scenery was mobilised through the political and social discourses on freedom of expression and human rights. Debates about these issues were based in the continuous conflicts and oppression of large numbers of populations around the world. It has been said that: “*Post-apartheid South Africa provides one example of an attempt to shape collective stability, political order, and national identity through the use of public communication systems, polity and culture are organized*” (Collins, 1990 cited in Barnett, 2001:41). In the post-apartheid parlance in South Africa, transformation has come to mean the adaptation and reformation of institutions, both in the public and private sectors, to accommodate the change in political culture and ethos following the first universal franchise election of 1994. The media, especially television, is a crucial place of contestation. It has been used to spread different kinds of discourse on the importance and benefits of globalisation and commodification and, at the same time, the necessity to come back to the roots and the traditional identity of black African population.

There is no doubt that media and the social space in general have been impregnated with the discourses on globalisation. Globalisation is a process that not only is referred to the transformation of economies, but also in terms of politics and culture. The global markets for cultural commodities and the symbolic meaning that they bring together have reached the world. The advances in information and communication have made possible the introduction of new identities and new cultures, which to some extent has caused the erosion of national or local identities, creating the development of new forms of syncretic, hybridised, and less territorialised identities. In short, the cultural and

political outcomes of global restructuring of media and communications sectors are likely to be uneven and contradictory. All these transformations in the historical socio-political and economic context in South Africa; of the media related to the advances of technology, foreign, private and government capital; and the global knowledge of other very different realities around the globe, have produced a deep impact on the vision of the social space and social practices among urban black African Zulu-English speakers in Durban Metro. Finally the researcher wishes to show how television and other media reflect the discourses on globalisation and influence the taste and social practices in clothing consumption of black African Zulu-English speakers within Durban.

- **Perception of black Africans on media and clothing consumption**

Zwakele's responses about media and clothing

I think mainly media influences me in the kind of clothing that I wear because the media shows you what the cool people do. The cool people are your musicians that you see on TV, like on the music videos, your presenters, your celebrities that you see on TV, 'oh my gosh, you know, I see this actor from Generations wearing this and that, and I like this style'. You see all of that on TV and you like 'that's nice, that's cool that's what the cool people are doing'. And so obviously, at the end of the day it's up to you decide whether you want to do what the cool people are doing or you want to do your own thing or whether you can afford to do what the cool people are doing, that's another issue. I think the media, especially the television for me, it definitely shows you what the cool people are doing and also programmes like Night Life on TV and so forth. Top Billing, they show you the lifestyle and you know those are things that you might want to aspire to. 'oh my gosh, I would love to wear an outfit like that, I would love to dress like that, I would love to do that'.

Zwakele recognises how his clothing taste has been changed through the influence of television. Special programmes like Night-Life and Top Billing, which are based on the last fashion in architecture, clothing designs and entertainment are important for black Africans, because they express distinction, status and power. Economic possessions and social appearance are fundamental to feel that one is achieving

something. In addition, important personalities, actors, politicians, musicians that appear on television are some of the people that it is 'convenient' to imitate, due to the fact they are 'cool', they are fashionable, they are the role models that everybody wants to follow.

- **Print Media in South Africa**

The print media had a very similar role to that of television during apartheid. The newspapers' role was to ensure the continuity of Afrikaner national socialist power. Then, the acquisition by "black-dominated capital of TML and the share offerings to black investors by M-Net and Nasionale Pers in 1996 showed a similarly clear break with the practices of Afrikaner capital" (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 2001:134). A new context and ideological orientation often impacts negatively on proven reader profiles. While the black middle class continues to grow apace, the most profitable readership for the foreseeable future continues to be dominated by white, Indian and 'coloured' readers.

The new black owners may indeed have facilitated some sort of Africanisation of values in the media, but readers and advertisers are determining financial survival, not by intellectuals and cultural commissars who claim traditional legitimacy or cultural vision. The level of debate indicated that many media organisations, both print and broadcast including the national broadcaster, accepted the new discourses of 'nation', non-racialism and a South African identity/ies. (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 2001:136)

Black African readers are quite spread across different newspapers and magazines titles. They not only choose the well-known classified Black print media but also many of them read very western and global newspapers and magazines, which are usually written in English language. In chapter eight, it was shown that nearly 100% of the black African population in the sample are readers of newspapers. However, readers prefer *Ilanga* by 66.7% and the remainder are readers of *Sunday Tribune*, *Natal Mercury*, *Daily News*, *Job Mail* and others like *This Days*, *Isolezwe* and so on. In other words, the black African population differs in their taste and in what they are looking for in a newspaper. *Ilanga* as the Zulu local newspaper in the KwaZulu-Natal province, is the most well known newspaper read by Zulu speakers, however some of the black Africans prefer to read the

news in English and to expand their knowledge through a wider access to international and national information.

- ***True Love in the construction of black African Cultural Consumption***

Some of the magazines read largely by black south Africans are *Drum, Bona, and True Love*. As Laden puts it: “*The magazine-form is typically presumed to mark the emergence of modern social formations that are recognisably literate and bourgeois, and inherently grounded in eighteenth century notions that harness Western capitalist economy to the articulation of social mobility, the rise of consumer culture, and transformations in lifestyle choices and socio-cultural taste*” (Laden, 2001:186). After the initial effects of colonisation, black Africans were forced to ‘educate themselves’ within the frame of the institutional education of the white population, literacy and literate culture. In the process, they assimilated not only white culture but also the patterns of consumption, urbanisation, ownership of property, status and urban middle class aspirations and dispositions. These historical contexts have been the responsible for the changing taste of urban black African Zulu-English speakers. Thus: “*Consumer magazines for black South Africans function seminally as ‘cultural tools’ through which specifically urban, middle-class repertoires are codified, disseminated and legitimised for and by black Africans living in urban areas*” (Laden, 2001:188).

In the case of magazines for black South Africans, white publishers initially owned all the publications. Now magazines are owned by both black and white capital. Magazines are actually mediated by black as well as white editors, journalists and advertisers. It is quite common that publishers and editors use black media personalities and their cultural prestige actively to promote their magazines and the images they convey as a means of reinforcing their own status as established members of an elite stratum. Like other social celebrities, they inspire in their reading public individual and collective aspirations by suggesting and endorsing new models for social conduct.

Black African magazines, such as *Drum*, *Bona*, *True Love* and *Pace* were central in facilitating the historical transformation of oral traditions into literate modes of print-culture. In the statistical data analysed in chapter eight we learned that the majority of black Africans like to read magazines and the magazines most read are *Drum* 32.3%, *True love* 34.4%, *Bona* 22.6%, *Kick off* 6.5% and other 3.2%. I have choose to talk about *True Love* because it is the unique magazines for black South African women that is “coupling the Western romantic notion of ‘True Love’ with an idealised notion of the single-family household unit identified with Western modernity” (Laden, 2001:203). By focusing on the experiences of urban black women as wives, housewives, homemakers, mothers and working women in a variety of professional and other occupations, *True Love* has secured a new, predominantly female readership, even as it is responsible for recasting, through the domestic domain, the roles played by women in a new, informal public sphere where shifting social responsibilities have been re-negotiated and gradually institutionalised. In so doing, *True Love* confirms and places beyond question the urban status of South Africa’s black middle-class endorsing the roles and social standing of black women within it (Laden, 2001).

More specifically, *True Love* articulates many of the routine, trite, yet often representative uses black South African women make of goods, experiences, practices and beliefs while organising their individual and collective identities and everyday lives. For instance, some of the main items the magazine covers is: rights of women, marital and sexual relationships, notions of sexuality, rites of courtship and sexual attraction, the nuclear vs. the traditional extended family, kinship relations, access to contemporary modes of household economy and household utility services (running water, sanitation and electricity), new work options, careers and occupations, media options (such as public service broadcasting – radio and TV), patterns of reproduction and contraception, gendered roles within the family, the kitchen (as a concretised space in its own right), changing systems of provisions and patterns of consumption (food such as maize, potatoes, corn, eggs), procedures of food preparation, eating and drinking as social activities, changing physiognomies and uses of the body, body images and gestures, bodily attributes and deportment, standards of beauty through fashion clothes and make

up, etc. These topicalities are of main interest for urban black women, who feels an identification and from the topics try to build a better life.

Referring to *True Love* magazine “the vast majority of its features are social issues with accounted for 26% of feature space. Nearly half of the articles dealing with social issues were specifically concerned with gender related issues. 21% of the features were about celebrities or well-known people, with over half of these articles being about local celebrities” (Donnelly, 2002:102-103). Increasingly, the emerging black market in South Africa is adopting lifestyle practices that are typically western and middle class and, as globalisation and consumerism gain momentum, more are entering into the western ‘image economy’, adopting western dress codes and appearance styles. Khanyi Dhlomo-Mkhize - the urban black African woman who was editor of *True love* magazine – has appeared on the front page of the magazine with a political statement (‘I am an African’). Her photograph has an appearance as a very powerful, educated and distinctive black. It is given to the magazine a higher status with which the women can feel identification with or at least to aspire to. But contrary to this image of urban black middle class success women, just less than half (38.3%) of the *True Love* readership has finished their high school⁴. This is proving that *True Love* magazine is aspirational. The readers aspire and dream of accessing the world deprived in the magazine, without necessarily achieving a higher economic and cultural position and cultural capital.

The commercial nature of women’s magazines – the way in which they display the current trends in terms of clothing, appearance styles and accessories – involves readers in a ‘consumption community’, which can serve as an arena for female cultural production and knowledge. *True Love* is the most widely read English women’s glossy magazine in South Africa (Donnelly, 2002:171).

Unfortunately, between the reality of the typical black African life and the symbolic representation in the magazine there is a huge gap. The symbolic consumption that occurs through *True Love* in many cases cannot be materialised. The distance

⁴ This statistical information has appeared in the Masters research dissertation written by Deidre Donnelly, 2002.

between the objective and subjective world is expressed through achievements and frustrations, success and failure. Meanwhile, the struggle for the symbolic capital continues in black South Africa and the aspirations seem to be everyday bigger and bigger, increasing the gap between indigenous and western cultural practices. Below is reproduced one of the several comments made by an urban black African Zulu-English woman in relation to the influence of *True Love* in her everyday life.

Claudia: is your election of western clothing style influenced by religion, language and media in general?

Ntokozo: I don't think language has too much influence but religion does and the media too, because we are constantly being bombarded with images of what is good and bad, wrong in contrast with right. You constantly have to make your choice based on what you see, listen and read.

Claudia: do you use similar clothes than for example what you see in magazines? Are you trying to copy it?

Ntokozo: yes, especially from True Love because as I said the market is young black women, but young black women who are ambitious and who want to make a mark in the country and in the world. So you see how they dress, you see the etiquette, you see a variety of things and you want that, for example, there are clothes, most of them are expensive but sometimes I see which is cheap and I say 'well this is the kind of look or image I want, at least this I can afford'. So True Love does influence me a lot.

Ntokozo's comments reinforce that *True Love* magazine produces in the readers' desires, aspirations and motivations to have those things that are considered fashionable. She expresses her desire to have expensive and luxury clothing, to have things than only money can buy. Having an awareness of price, it is necessary for her to look for those products that are cheaper but, as the magazine suggests, are still considered fashionable. *True Love* creates desires to change ones social position, to cultivate oneself to be on the level of those who have material capital and can afford western products. The magazine to some extent reflects western society, and creates in the readers the need to consume and be part of the global consumer society and global cultural consumption. Ntokozo clearly expresses her identification with the magazine as a black African woman, and she

explains that the western products she aspires to buy are illustrated in such a magazine. Is it not a contradictory discourse?

- **Media References and Media Consumption Practices**

Ntokozo's Perceptions on Media

I read mainly True Love, and I can get copies of Time, Economist and Financial Mail. I read True Love because it appeals to me, it gives advice on a variety of issues young women face, they deal with issues of relationships, financial issues, and clothing fashion. The target is young black woman although people from other cultures or racial groups can read it. I also enjoy reading newspapers such as This Day and Sunday Times. But, I also read Mercury, Daily News and Sunday Tribune. These newspapers are in English, these are available in my workplace, and I don't have to buy them. But if I buy, I prefer Isolezwe and This Day⁵. This Day is national and Isolezwe is regional, only in KwaZulu-Natal. I read Isolezwe because of the issues; they report things that I know are happening in townships, things that I see, and thing, which are of my interest. I do not believe in all I read, I am a critical reader, because I refuse to accept what they tell me. I have to make sure that this is the 'truth'. In relation with television I prefer E-TV, there I watch the news, but I also watch SABC1 if there are some interesting programmes, like entertainment, in SABC 1, they are in Zulu or Xhosa, I understand both languages very well, and in the other channel the programmes are in English. I watch E-TV and SABC1 equally. In relation to radio, I listen to Metro and Ukhozi. I listen to Metro because of music I enjoy music. They play kwaito, hip-hop, R n B. I listen to Ukhozi in the morning because of their current affairs programmes. I do not watch too many soap operas. I don't although if Generations is playing, and I don't have anything to do, I can sit and watch, but it is not what I would switch the television to watch.

In Ntokozo's interview, we can see that some of her answers verify the statistical analysis. She prefers to read *True Love* because she identifies with the magazine and the issues that it raises. She prefers to read a magazine clearly targeted to black Africans. The newspapers she chooses are in both English and Zulu. Her main objective is to read a newspaper to learn and discover things. She does mention that *Izoleswe* is the newspaper

⁵ This Days folded/ is now defunct, no longer published

with which she feels the greatest identification, because it has articles about local communities and news related specifically to the black African population. Her motivation to search for the 'true' is interesting. She does not seem aware that truth can be a social construction and that it is always relative. Related to television, her taste is clearly mixed between languages. And finally, she chooses to listen to both Western and African radio stations. Clearly her music taste is inclined towards westernised music. Her discourse is ambivalent; she mixes media that appear that has the connotation of being for the African population with others that have a clear connotation with western ideas.

Winnie's Perceptions on Media

I read only Ilanga and I do not read magazines. I read Ilanga because it's a Zulu newspaper and I understand it, and they tell some things I can understand.

I never finished in the school that's why I love to read Ilanga because it is in Zulu. When something happens and sometimes I don't switch my radio on, Ilanga will show me what happens, the Ilanga tells me. Ilanga I will say is the African's paper.

I also listen radio Zulu (Ukhozi), I like the news in Zulu, because they tell us sometimes when there is an accident somewhere, the radio will tell us, sometimes it's raining, they will tell us what the weather will be like, that's why I like it, and they have Zulu stories. I listen to stories in the Zulu. I feel identified and they tell jokes, and they laugh. That's what I like Radio Ukhozi. I like church music like gospel music. On the radio there is a mix, Zulu music, and English music sometimes. In television I watch TV 1 because most of the time they play in Zulu, they have lots of stories, the news are in Zulu, not like in TV 2 where the news are in Xhosa, now I can't understand proper. And TV 3 they play in English, now I can't understand some words. I love Generations, and on Mondays 8:30 PM they play Umuzi wezinsizwa. Television shows the reality of African people. I believe that TV1 is giving us the truth.

Winnie's media tastes and practices are quite coherent. She did not read magazines at all, but she reads the *Ilanga* newspaper. She prefers this newspaper clearly because she likes to read in her own language and about her own people. She clearly identifies herself with the target market and she says that it is the African newspaper. Related to radio, she only listens to radio Ukhozi, which is listened in Zulu. She also mentions the stories she listens to and the other strong motivation to listen to this radio is

because she can laugh. In addition, she chooses to watch only TV1 or SABC1 for similar reasons. And finally, she seems to believe that everything she watches is the truth; it is 'reality'. Her conversation states all the time the necessity to use Zulu not only as a way to understand media and news faster but also as a way to re-valorise her own language and identity. Her taste is always related to this media that is directed to black African culture.

Zwakele's Perceptions on Media

I page through some magazines, such as Cosmopolitan, Drum, and Bona. When I was growing up I was more exposed to Bona and Drum, which are black magazines, and now I am into bodybuilding; I am a gym person, so the magazine I buy is Flex magazine. But the media that I pay interest in is television not magazines. I go through a number of channels, but obviously SABC 1 caters more for the black community, things that we can really relate to, it's a very black station to me, even the programmes, even the presenters, they understand black people. In my opinion, SABC 1 is more about youth, popular culture, but typically South African youth

There are many black languages on SABC 1 whereas if you look at SABC 3, it's very white. I think the programmes are related to tradition and also to the new South African, in a sense you can see that there is some kind of attempt to preserve, especially in terms of languages, definitely in terms of language there is an attempt to preserve that authenticity, let's keep Zulu, let's keep Xhosa. But in terms of customary practices, I don't see any of that, it's more like the youth, popular youth culture. There is also a whole new culture that is coming about, and it's not a traditional Zulu or traditional Xhosa. This new culture, it's a fusion of a number of things, of indigenous and global things. For example the way that people dress, some of them are attempting to preserve their Africanness in one way or another, for example for some people it may be their hair, for some people it may be what they dress, it's very symbolic of traditional Zulu or whatever, and also at the same time embracing some of the Western tendencies like the way people speak, they speak very good English, they would go to clubs and parties and wear western styles and this is a copy of the very white people. I also listen to East Coast Radio and I think that's where this whole new youth culture is coming, I don't listen to much Radio Zulu. My mother listens to that but I don't know, Ukhozi plays some good music, don't get me wrong, but the issues that they discuss are very serious. English radios are more dynamic, Ukhozi bring on these really old people to talk about this whole issue of the deterioration of Zulu culture and so on, and they say "you know these

kids” and they will be talking heavy Zulu. I think because of progress, because the way things happen, to move forward there has to be progress, there has to be changes and I think that people should accept the fact that we are now changing, we are learning more about life and what is around us. To stick to the old way just for the sake of sticking to the old, I think it’s a mistake. We need to accept some of the new things that come about and say ‘hey, this actually adds more quality to our life’. But I think the whole thing of roots should be just about principles, because that is what the roots are there for, in my opinion, they are there to guide me throughout life in terms of principles and morals and so forth. I listen music like to R n B, I listen to African jazz music like Jonas Ngwangwa, some of these South African jazz musicians but I also listen to a bit of hip-hop, American, a bit of rock, light rock, a bit of funk like Red Hot Chilli Peppers. I read newspapers sometimes, maybe Daily News, Mercury, Mail & Guardian. The Mail & Guardian is a lot more comprehensive, there is a lot more stuff in this particular newspaper, it is not like the Daily News where it’s just daily gets a story out.

Zwakele’s perception and opinions about media in South Africa are the most westernised of the three interviews, showing diversity and a critical point of view. His preferred medium is television but he says that he does not have specific channels; he likes to swap channels and programmes in different languages. Also he asserts that SABC1 is the best channel for the black African population, and to some extent he also feels identification with it. Some of the reasons for his identification are because the programmes relate to youth culture, to popular culture, and specifically to black popular culture. But also because he finds in it not only traditional customs but a ‘new culture’ in which western and indigenous cultures are fused and where practices have been transformed through a historical process of diverse events, such as for example the welcome of democracy. In addition, he says that he prefers to listen to East Coast radio for similar reasons, because it is the radio for the young, the radio of post-transformation. And the main reasons that he does not listen to radio Ukhozi is due to the seriousness of the issues related to traditional culture and the heavy Zulu language that is spoken. And finally, the newspaper that he relates to is the Mail and Guardian because it is written in a more comprehensive style and there is more in depth information.

Through these three examples we can observe how black African Zulu-English speakers relate to the media, and how their practices have changed due to exposure to different realities in the world. Age, gender, education and so forth are some of the categories/variables that need to be taken into consideration when transformations in taste and social practices are analysed. Through these cases it can be seen that there is not a unique way to perceive the 'reality' and taste in media of an ethnic group. Inevitably, the levels of exposure to western or to indigenous customs are related to the social environment in which they are moving in the everyday life, the acquisition of cultural and economic capital and the role that the hegemonic power is playing in relation to the negotiation and consensus of ideas, thoughts and social practices of the group. Therefore, the access to media and language influence taste and social practices. It is quite difficult to establish the limits of influence that these variables have on clothing habitus and taste, but what we can say that clothing consumption is affected by these variables, and that the perception on media and language has been affected by the trends of globalisation and the particular history of this ethnic group.

GLOBAL VS INDIGENOUS CLOTHING CONSUMPTION: THE EFFECTS OF AFRICAN RENNAISSANCE DISCOURSES.

- Post Apartheid Socio-Political and Cultural Discourse

Different voices emerged and grew in visibility in the new democratic South Africa that followed the collapse of apartheid. Some of these discourses include the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Rainbow Nation, Black Economic Empowerment, Affirmative Action, and more recently, African Renaissance. All these different discourses have attempted to build a better place for everybody to live in. The government has tried through these theoretical discourses to overcome the history of racism, white empowerment, political exclusion, social and urban segregation, economic and moral exploitation and unfair wealth redistribution. Before his inauguration as President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki released a collection of his speeches under the title: 'Africa: The Time Has Come' (1998). These speeches outline Mbeki's vision of a

South Africa both attuned to globalisation and integrated with the African continent, a strong South Africa that plays a decisive role in the continent's political, economic, social and cultural renewal. "Mbeki and other spokespersons have come to identify this vision as the enunciation of an African Renaissance" (Klopper, 1999:21). The concept of renaissance is not new; already Europe had some time ago its European Renaissance. The discourse repeats the split between Europe and Africa, modernism and traditionalism, the global and the local. The Renaissance is looking for a time of splendour, so that Africans can rebuild themselves in glory. The world has to see and admire: 'It is Africa's time, this is the dream.

The concept of the African Renaissance creates a rupture between the terms Europe and Africa – the first as the coloniser and dominant and the second the colonised and dominated – in such a way that the rupture functions simultaneously as a suture. The term is linked even as they are divided, creating a reciprocal articulation of identity and difference.

The concept of the African Renaissance could be represented as an African event (liberation from racist rule) in terms of a European frame of reference (liberation as a form of Renaissance self-fashioning), but it also reinterprets a European Phenomenon (the European Renaissance as rebirth of the modern human subject) in terms of an African frame of reference (liberation from racist rule as rebirth of a new humanity, a humanity that has its origins in Africa Itself) (Klopper, 1999:24).

The African Renaissance invokes a homecoming, a return to Africa that is both a beginning (the dawning of a new era of human freedom) and a conclusion (the closing of a millennium of racial discrimination).

The sentiment of a return by Africa to itself is encapsulated in the rallying cry, "*mayibuye i' Africa*" (come back Africa), popularised during the years of political struggle. The ancestors, the *amadhlozi*, are called upon to return, and in so doing to restore an absent Africa. Such restoration requires an act of memory, an act of remembering one's self and one's history, remembering Africa's past (Klopper, 1999:25).

Such a concept gives the impression that pre-colonial Africa was always been peaceful and communal, that there was solidarity without social differences, and that all Africans live in Africa and are therefore a homogenous culture. The world is based on migration, everyday all around the world people migrate in search of a better life. Black Africans have not been the exception, and hundreds and millions of them are disseminated the worldwide.

Mbeki's speech attempts to retain the memory of oppression and domination by the colonial and apartheid time, in what Europeans, whites, the superior race, came to Africa to conquer the Africans, the blacks, the inferior race. He contrasts the discourse of the dominant ideology, which asserts that European had achievements to the non-achievements of African population (i.e. civilization versus barbaric). Culturally, African souls were destroyed, morally and mentally. He calls for those African souls, for the re-discovery of those things that have been hidden for the long duration of oppression.

To perpetuate their imperial domination over the peoples of Africa, the colonizers sought to enslave the African mind and to destroy the African soul. They sought to oblige us to accept that as Africans we had contributed nothing to human civilization....

The beginning of our rebirth as a continent must be our own rediscovery of our soul, captured and made permanently available in the great works of creativity represented by the pyramids and sphinxes of Egypt, the stones building of Axum and the ruins of Carthage and Zimbabwe, the rock paintings of the San, the Benin bronzes and the African masks, the carvings of the Makonde and the stone sculptures of the Shona.

(Mbeki, 1998:299)

His discourse is very emotional; he wants to bring closer the feeling of pride in Africa and African cultural practices. But Mbeki seems to forget that African tribes were never united (just as people around the world never have been united) and inter-ethnic conflicts and wars across all of Africa made it possible for the money-hunger European to action the commerce of slaves and colonisation⁶. Mbeki's frame of reference is not only race but also class. This is evident in his speech "South Africa: Two Nations", where he describes

social conflict not in terms of an opposition between Europeans and Africans, but in terms of the unequal distribution of resources between rich and poor. Yet this class opposition readily translates into a racial opposition in view of the fact that the country's wealth has been mainly concentrated in the hands of whites. The discourse of African Renaissance is translated into the revival of indigenous clothing, which has appeared through adverts and propaganda as a way to come back to the African past and assert a pro-African identity. Local and national designers use African clothing, as a way of convincing the consumers that they are not only buying clothing, they are buying African culture. The revival of cultural traditions, music, food, clothing, and dance has featured on talk shows and documentaries. People on all races discuss these issues in the public arena. Meanwhile, the inevitable forces of globalisation continue their slow but firm advance throughout the wide territory of South Africa.

- **English Language and African Renaissance influence**

Mbeki announced the African Renaissance in a language that 'everyone' can understand, in 'English' rather than in Zulu, Xhosa, or in any of the other indigenous languages of South Africa. It is a renaissance in English, even when Zulu and Xhosa are the two most spoken first languages of the county. Africa seems to be re-born through English despite the fact that many people in South Africa cannot speak and understand English. Why is a language that is increasingly proclaimed as the language of global communication used in the Africa Renaissance discourse? Contradiction is found over the role of English in this renaissance of the glorious African past. "Ambivalence over English and Englishness, or more broadly, Europeanness. It is a renaissance in English, the colonizer European language, spoken by those whose ancestors could not speak English. "A renaissance by those whose ancestors, even if they could speak English, would not have been listened to by the likes of the English-speaking, should they have chosen to speak, except in stock phrases of the form: Yes baas, No baas, All right baas, Thank you baas" (Herwitz, 1998:34). It is renaissance in the English language, the language of imperial domination and colonization. And now, the Americanisms of the Americans, probably the most

⁶ For more information on these issues read Hobsbawn (1979)

important country, the country of civilised and wealthy people, a lifestyle that everybody in South Africa wants to have. “The African Renaissance meant that Africa can shake his wings from its mediaeval, neo-colonial, post-independence, post-apartheid, post-colonial slumber, to take its rightful place in the world of mega-nations, geo-politics, free trade, democracy, and human flourishing” (Herwitz, 1998:35).

Clearly a new language, along with a new set of terms of reference, are politically necessary for the re-entry of South Africa into the global market of supply and demand. The liberal health of the nation is a matter of all of these being in play, so that each may limit the rule of the others, so that none may take on the public illusion of totality in scope (Herwitz, 1998:48).

The preference of English language clearly states the necessity of the country to build international political relationships. However, what about the black African non-English speakers that live in this country? Each language underlies culture, material and symbolic culture that belong to a specific population group. Language is a lot more than a language, is a form of communication, is codes, and is a whole life-style. What will be happens now with the rise of English? How are they going to survive?

The critique of liberalism in South Africa proves that its history was not free of colonial images of natives requiring white guidance and slow improvement: liberalism was a language, which reasserted the hegemony of the colonizer over his children and her pupils. The African renaissance is similarly not free of its own hegemonies. (Herwitz, 1998:48)

- **Perceptions on African Renaissance and its influence on clothing**

An analysis of several of the comments made by urban black African Zulu-English speakers with respect to the implications of African Renaissance in their everyday life, specifically in the tastes and practices related to clothing consumption will follow.

Ntokozo's Perception

I do not go with fashion, not at all. Also, I have never used traditional clothing. It is now worn on special occasions, for example in a wedding. It's not something you will wear as your everyday clothes. I prefer to wear western clothing. Indigenous clothing is no longer part of our everyday clothes, it will be very strange to be seen walking down the street wearing traditional clothes. The African Renaissance has influenced me, yes, but not in my clothing style. I still believe in African revival, but I believe in it in the sense that African people must take pride in them and stand up for which they are, we must not be shy when we are among the people of the First World. We must be proud of who we are and our heritage. It is not necessarily go back to the past because we have to move on, we cannot keep staying in the past, we have to move and keep in accordance with the changes of global time. Global times can create social differences: it does because immediately when you dress up a certain way it shows your class, it shows your status. If I wear clothes from Truworths, then you see, they are not clothes that anybody from a working class level can wear, it must be from a certain class or socio-economical level that can buy it. Economical capital can create differentiation. Yes, if you have made observations about black people you will realize that material wealth is very important. They are very materialistic although I am not like that. You see it has a political explanation to it because we have been deprived of these things for a very long time. So as soon as you have the buying power you want to set yourself aside from the rest of your peers, you must be looked up to, you must be superior. I think that the material wealth has now become such a big issue. You will realize that our lifestyles are becoming more and more like the white people, we want to own the latest things, the most beautiful fashion clothing, the expensive cars, and most beautiful houses. I think they are accepting westernisation without problems because it is also about the quality of life one is able to live, if you have the money and you can afford a house, nice car, beautiful clothing then your life improves, you have less worries about everything. Black people during apartheid stuck together and they fought together. If you see now, it is not like that. These things are no longer happening, and for me I am not quite happy about it, so it is no longer communal, it is about individuals. That is true because Africans believed in extended families, we believed in uncles and aunts, even relatives who are not close. But now these things are not happening anymore. Globalisation and individualism are more important than communalism and African traditions.

Ntokozi's taste and practices are quite westernised. She feels more comfortable wearing western clothing in everyday life. She admits that traditional clothing is only for special occasions like weddings or funerals. She does not relate the discourse of African

Renaissance to the uses of clothing. Although she understands that the renaissance is about being proud of the heritage, it is not clear why traditional clothing is not part of her heritage. She prefers to carry on forward with the global times than to be stuck on the past. She understands that global times are associated with material things, with the acquisition of goods through economic capital, and she strongly believes that black African people have changed, and are now more individualistic. The concept of communality is disappearing through selfishness feelings, continuous struggle for the acquisition of possessions, and comfortable western lifestyles and the mad race for power and accumulation of refined and legitimate cultural capital. Finally, she mentions Africans and blacks as synonymous without questioning such polemic concepts at all.

Winnie's Perception

I prefer to use skirts or dresses, but not pants. Religion has influenced me in the kind of clothing I use, and in the family as well, when you are over 16 years you mustn't wear pants or short dresses because we are Christian. I still wear traditional clothing but I do not believe in the meaning of the colours. I am using it when I am going to town, or when I am going to parties, funerals, weddings, and sometimes in everyday life. Language has also influenced in my clothing decisions. I prefer to go to those shops in the city in where there are African people selling. They understand well what I want and also they try to give me the cheapest prices. Media influence me too. SABC1 are telling me what I can use through the African programmes. I can see what indigenous clothing they are using and I try to imitate them, because I need to feel identified and SABC1 is the channel for black Africans. African Renaissance is influenced me through television. I have seen it by television; they are doing cultural events to remember the past and the traditions. There are many programmes now talking about our heritage and African proudness. And clothing, the old kind of dressing is coming back as a form of veneration to our culture.

Winnie seems to have strong respect for the traditions and indigenous customs of the Zulus. However she does not have total clarity related to the significations of her culture, because she did not know the meaning that clothing colours play in the everyday relationship with the others. In addition, she is influenced a lot by the church in the way she chooses and uses clothing. Some confusion between western clothing – which is

accepted by the church – and traditional indigenous clothing appears in her conversation. She also recognises that language and television are two important mediators in choosing African clothing. Finally, she recognises that the African Renaissance discourse that she sees on TV affects her strongly in her feelings about African customs and her taste in clothing.

Zwakele's Perception

I like normal clothing, for me it's just whatever I like. The kinds of stores I go to are just normal popular retail outlets like Markhams or Truworhs, Edgars. Sometimes I would like to try a more traditional kind of style. Never have I tried to wear traditional clothing, never I tried because I buy what is easily available. I prefer western clothing, no doubt, there is no doubt in terms of my clothing, it is very westernised, it is very non-traditional. Clothing does not distinguish me from the other, not really, I wear very neutral style. But If I have money I would like to wear beautiful and expensive clothing because those are indicators of wealth and good luck, and I think everybody wants to live a good and comfortable life, where you can have a good time with your friends, have a glass of wine, and nice clothing. Everybody aspires to that. Black Africans aspire to have a Ferrari and a fancy house. I don't know what is African Renaissance, I think the African Renaissance is looking at the history of African continent and all the rest of that, it should obviously be about progress, development and more like on economical basis. But some people make it also about the preservation of cultures, the preservation of Africanness. What is the preservation of Africanness, what does it mean? That is the problem, who is an African, what do you have to be to be African? Because a lot of people are claiming to be Africans, South Africans and so, what does it mean to be an Africa? The concept of Africanism has changed over the years because of this whole thing of people moving around basically, and you get black people originally from Africa like you find they are from Pietermaritzburg, they are now based in Europe for a long time, and they now consider themselves Europeans. So the whole concept of what is an African becomes very complicated, it can be very problematic. But for me, the preservation of Africanness is just basically the preservation of some of the African principles, some of the African ways, more progressive ways of thoughts obviously, that's what being an African is to me. I think first of all, you will have to be comfortable with your understanding, your definitions of Africanness, but for me, the more commercial channels like SABC 3, they are more global, there is nothing uniquely African about those channels, except maybe for some of the programmes like Isidingo, that's the programme on SABC 3 but it's got

an African name and it's got some African actors, and sometimes there is Zulu or Xhosa or Sotho, although there is a lot more English. I think at the end of the day we have to accept that Africanness should be what is unique in Africa that should be Africanness. If it can be found anywhere else, then it is not African. So SABC 1 portray or bring across that whole thing of Africanness because if you look at the programmes, there is a programme called Bubom' Sana which is very Xhosa, it's about this Xhosa girl and she is talking Xhosa, and you can see a lot of uniquely African experiences and African environment, and that shows you would never see anywhere else. And that for me is what Africanness means.

Zwakele's perception of clothing is quite similar to that of Ntokozo. The main difference seems to be the importance that Zwakele gives to the brand and quality of clothing. He also associates western clothing with the aspirations and disposition of black Africans, recognizing that this disposition towards progress and moderns goods are good things, but at the same time, he mentions that some people are corrupted by wealth and western powers. With regards to indigenous clothing, he explains that he has never worn it, however he is often to the idea of wearing traditional clothing. The main obstacle preventing him from doing so previously has been lack of availability. Evidently, he can see clearly that shopping in general and clothes shops in particular have been impregnated with the products of western society. Clothing for him is associated with western customs and not with the concept of African Renaissance. He does not understand what the African Renaissance means. However, it could be related to Africanness, to African principles and to the economic development of Africa. He does not think it is good to relate the African Renaissance to the past, and the preservation of old cultures. It is more important to carry on in a progressive way. Finally, he relates African Renaissance to the uniqueness of the African continent. Television in general does not convey this uniqueness of Africa. Only SABC 1 has partially achieved it through shows, which depict the African environment and African experience.

To summarize, we can say that there is confusion about the fusion of cultures, tastes and social practices. African Renaissance discourse seems to be interpreted in different forms by urban black African Zulu English speakers. Western ideas, lifestyles, taste and so on appear as a very strong structure, which is very difficult to beat. On the

three cases, only one person was very interested in the African past and in indigenous clothing. The other two accept the African Renaissance as a way to feel proud of being 'African', but not as a call to go back to the past. They want to preserve the achievements obtained through the global era; they do not want to lose their commodities and 'progress'. If we look at Chapter eight, we find a similar result in the statistical analysis. Furthermore, black Africans do not seem to notice that African Renaissance discourses are in the English language. In some of the responses it appears that the discourse is not clear and they do not understand the concept according to their own ideas. On the one hand, the African Renaissance seems to be associated with economic expansion. In this case western clothing is received as the normal, common consumption of this global era and indigenous clothing is disappearing into the glorious past. On the other, the African Renaissance seems to be more associated with going back to the past, to their own culture and heritage. Those who identify with it are looking to the African media and languages in search of the old forms of living and dressing lost through years of colonisation and domination. However, reality is much more complex than these two very summarised options. Clothing taste consumption appears to be largely influenced by global trends, and the effort to relate indigenous clothing and African Renaissance discourses seems to be quite far from achieving the goal.

To illustrate the above, let us revisit what black Africans said in respect to clothing consumption. To the question 'do you wear traditional clothing' they responded as follows: only 2% of the urban black African Zulu-English speaking population in Durban said that they wear traditional clothing 'always'; 12% said usually/often; 29.5% said sometimes, 42.5% said rarely; and 14% never. From the total people who never wear traditional clothing, 64.3% are male and 35.7% are female. 42.9% are from the first interval of age – 18-29, 50% from 30-39 and 7.1% 40-49. Also, from the total people that wear traditional clothing rarely, 58.8% are male and 41.2% are female. 42.4% are from 18-29, 39.7% from 30-39 and 36.4% from 40-49. Also, 92.9% of those who say they never wear traditional clothing are single, 67.9% live in formal urban areas and 28.6% in urban informal areas. This statistical data provides valuable information.

*Firstly, nearly 50 % of the black African population do not wear traditional clothing or only wear it for a very specific occasion.

*Secondly, this applies mainly to men who almost double the number of women who have lost the custom of wearing traditional clothing.

*Thirdly, age is a very important indicator; the youngest population do not wear or very rarely wear traditional clothing, while the oldest population still preserves to some extent the tradition.

*Finally, marital status and place of residence are two indicators that are determinants in the preservation of traditional clothing, showing that the majority of people that never wear traditional clothing are mainly single and live in formal urban areas.

In addition, there are other indicators that are useful to analyse. Related to education and occupation we obtain the following data. From the total black African people, 62.5% of the people with university education and 28.6% of people with university incomplete say that they never worn traditional clothing while 57.1% of the people with university incomplete say they wear it rarely. In terms of occupation, 56.3% of middle class white-collar black Africans they wear traditional clothing rarely, and 25% have never worn traditional clothing; 41.5% of formal permanent skilled and semi-skilled workers say sometimes and 29.3% rarely; 41.2% of unskilled workers say rarely, and 26.5% sometimes; 25.5% of casual workers say usually, 62.5% wear rarely and 12.5% never; and 42.6% of informal workers say rarely, 25.5% sometimes, 23.4% usually and 4.3% never.

This information corresponds with the interview statements elaborated upon already. In terms of education, those who have obtained greater educational qualification are not too interested in wearing traditional-indigenous clothing. They clearly prefer western styles of dress.⁷ Occupation indicates same attitudes. Those who belong to the

⁷ To corroborate this data, please refer to results in Chapter eight.

middle class in terms of occupational status responded to a large degree that they prefer not to wear traditional clothing, or only wear this on the rare occasion. While those who belong to the working class occupational status vary in their answers in a significant way. Those who have more occupational qualifications wear traditional clothing less often than those who have low or very low occupational qualifications. In sum, theory and practice coincide in the creation and transformation of habitus and taste of urban black Africans Zulu-English speakers. Traditions in general are not disappearing; black people still persist in some of the old customs.

The African Renaissance is with us, but many people do not pay much attention to the ideological discourse and prefer to identify with the western ideologies and advances in commodification. Popular culture is changing. It is not going back to the past, it is not pure ethnic identification, but is rather a fusion of these with the western capitalist mode of production and consumption.

HYBRID PROCESSES IN CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

The reader might wonder why the mentions the term 'hybridity' at this stage. This is not the result of a reductionist tendency. I try to show that all these complex processes of transformation can be summarised with this word. 'Hybridity' provides some of the explanations of this very conflictive process of struggle, negotiation and confrontation between different cultures, different social groups and different perceptions of the world. Global developments of cultural goods do not suppress popular traditional cultures. The concept of hybridisation is used in different contexts. Scholars use it to describe inter-ethnic and de-colonisation processes, globalisation processes including travels and crossing boundaries and borders, and artistic, literary and communicational fusions. Hybridisation is not a synonym for 'fusion without contradictions', but it can also help us to take into consideration the particular forms of conflicts generated in the recent inter-cultural processes. Hybridisation refers to socio-cultural processes in which structures and discrete practices, which exist in different forms, are convened to generate new structures, objects and practices. These structures are called "discrete" as a result of

hybridisation (García Canclini, 2001:14). This means that they cannot be called pure sources. For example, Bourdieu (1994) means that the origin of meaning of cultural objects should be understood before we can understand cultural hybridity. Specifically, one needs to explore why certain objects or forms are blended into a particular form, and not with other forms.

In this instance the researcher is more interested to understand the processes of hybridisation than to explain the various uses of the concept of hybridity. The empirical analysis of these processes, articulated to strategies of re-conversion, shows that hybridisation processes are interesting not only to the hegemonic sectors, but also to the popular sectors, in this process of assimilation of globalization. When one assumes hybridisation, one understands that this pretension of establishing pure or authentic identities is not valid. In addition, it put in evidence the risk of delimiting self-contained local identities, or that intent to affirm them as radically opposed to the national or global society. How does hybridisation fuse the structures or discrete social practices to generate new structures and new practices? It can be, among other things, the result of migratory processes and economic and communication exchange. In addition, hybridisation can appear from the individual and collective creativity. There can be hybridity in the arts, in technological development, in everyday life. It is the re-conversion of knowledge, techniques, visions of the worlds reinserted into to reinsert it in new conditions of production, market and consumption. For instance, one can find strategies of reconversion in the popular sectors, which are transforming the everyday vision, social practices and tastes, to accommodate themselves to this continuous movement of the structures of the social world. Other important thing to take into consideration is that not only the popular sectors but also the hegemonic sectors are interested in hybridisation, as a way of appropriating the benefits of globalization and modernity.

It is interesting to open the question in re-think whether the hybridisation process is a form in which one could reformulate intercultural research and whether the resulting design of transnational and trans-ethnic cultural politics might be global. It is important to locate hybridisation beyond the concept of identity, in other range of other concepts; for

example: contradiction, syncretism, transcultural relations, in the middle of the ambivalence of industrialisation and global mass relationships of the symbolic processes, and the conflicts of power. In addition, it is essential to analyse how hybridisation can suggest easy integration and fusion among cultures, without paying too much attention to the contradictions and those things that are not hybridising. There is a contradictory sense of the intercultural mixture. Hybridisation is a process of intersection and a transaction that makes possible the multi-culturality that overcomes segregation and can convert itself into inter-culturality. Sometimes, consumption and global business expands ethnic or regional cultures, for example, what happen with the African music, African clothing, African food, etc. Some social actors find in these processes resources to resist or to modify globalisation and re-think conditions of exchange between cultures. For example, clothing hybridisation manifests the differences and inequalities that exist if it is made in the central countries, or in the periphery. It is necessary to think of the different forms of making clothing and the highest recognition should be given to the local producers in South Africa and Africa in general.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter there has been an attempt to explore not only material consumption and changes in the habitus and social practices of black African Zulu-English speakers but an investigation of how material consumption can be understood beyond the very idea of materiality, by using reference to the historical context, particular examples and in-depth interviews to explain the meanings of consumption in general and clothing consumption in particular. Firstly, I explained how the concepts of social class, popular culture and cultural consumption could be directly linked with the situation of black African Zulu-English speakers. Clothing consumption, as the main indicator of this study, is currently undergoing changes and differentiation. Clothing practices affected by the processes of indigenisation, colonisation, domination, and finally democratisation and globalisation results in a complex scenario, which cannot necessarily be seen through material consumption and the very uses of clothing in everyday life.

Secondly, examples have been used of how globalisation affects clothing consumption, the use of jeans, as a good that is the very representation of Americannes, and how black African Zulu-English speakers perceive the use of jeans, how they have appropriated this symbols, taking into account differences in gender, age, cultural beliefs, economic possibilities and so on.

Thirdly, religion, indigenous beliefs and religious clothing consumption were examined, showing through five different examples that there are not unified and homogenous practices and beliefs. The question at present is not whether the people are related to western religions or African ancestral traditions, but it is rather a case of trying to understand how black Africans have fused beliefs. Related to religious clothing, a disparity of ideas exists when it comes to habitus and practices. Meanings and understanding of clothing for religious services and for everyday life purposes vary according to the religion they belong to and the importance that such ideas and religions have in their lives.

Fourthly, issues related to gender and gender equality affect deeply the taste and habitus on clothing consumption. Also the concepts of femininity and masculinity are very important and related to the glorious past history of Shaka, and the concept of communalism. Today, the imaginary of black African Zulu English speakers still refers to some extent to the past and their legacy. Struggle and negotiation in gender relations is directly related to clothing acceptance and uses.

Fifthly, uses of the English and Zulu languages and the perception of these languages in everyday life vary within black African group. English is seen as the language of international communication, of opportunities, of distinction. There is a big gap between those who can speak English and those who do not know very well how to communicate with it: distinction and social differentiation is created within the group. In addition, in terms of consumption practices, those who use English in everyday life feel more comfortable buying from English shops, and more western styles. They still recognise that they are proud to speak Zulu but to establish distinction; English is the

language that people prefer to speak. Sixthly, media are essential to understand hybridisation and taste differentiation in clothing consumption. We saw through different examples that the media audience is not uniform. The audience of the different kinds of media varies according to age, gender, socio-economic condition and cultural beliefs. Media is a strong indicator in creating a different vision of the social world and aspirations among black Africans. Through media people receive global information on fashion. Definitely, the media affects the taste and habitus of black African. Finally, I explored the impact of the discourses of the African Renaissance on the black African population and how it might affect their taste in clothing. The African Renaissance seems to be an unclear concept. In the interviews, people interpret it according to their own understanding or ideas. Some of them relate the concept with indigenous clothing, going back to the past, recuperating the cultural legacy, creating linkages with the rest of the continent, and so on. However, it seems that clothing consumption and clothing taste has not been much influenced by this discourse.

People are still more and more wearing and choosing western clothing styles, not necessarily 'high' fashion styles, but in terms of choice, black African Zulu-English speakers prefer to wear clothing that makes them part of the global world. In addition, media is received as a great technological advance. It is enjoyed as part of everyday life, in the same way that religion has been fused with indigenous beliefs. We cannot talk here about indigenous or global culture, but we can talk about hybridisation of cultures, the creation of new socio-cultural, political understandings, transformation of the vision of the socio-cultural world, and aspiration, reaches and social divisions among the group. Black African Zulu-English speakers in urban Durban Metropolitan areas have had their own indigenous beliefs affected through global trends and the history of South Africa. They are in process of transformation, incorporating the new with the old, traditions and customs with new ideas and beliefs. They are changing their taste and habitus in clothing consumption, fusing the old with the new, the western with the indigenous, creating distinction and differentiation among them, bringing closer the international, global scenario into their everyday life.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This social research, “Globalisation and consumption of material and symbolic goods by black African Zulu-English speakers in DMA: the case of clothing and its power of symbolisation within popular culture” has set as its goal to establish how the trends of globalisation, the social history of colonisation and apartheid and the resulting multiculturalism have affected everyday taste and habitus of black African Zulu-English speakers within the urban Durban Metropolitan area. Goods consumption, both material and symbolic, has been transformed along with history since the 1980’s – the period of continuous struggle and confrontation amongst political, socio-economic and cultural powers.

The main indicator – clothing consumption – has been analysed through different mediations such as religion and religious clothing, uses of the English and Zulu languages, the media and its influence on clothing taste (television, magazines, newspapers, radio and music), and gender and gender differentiation. These indicators have been explored in an attempt to identify how western styles, customs and perceptions have been appropriated by black African Zulu-English speakers in the DMA transforming in the process their own vision of the material world and their own culture, expressed in daily life. This transformation has not been produced by a vertical dominant power, but it has been a long historical process of confrontation and negotiation amongst those who belong to hegemonic power groups and those who belong to the ‘popular’ groups.

1. Formulated hypotheses and methods used

At the beginning of the research, several hypotheses were formulated, which were to be tested through empirical research. The writings of Marxist scholars such as Heller, Gramsci and Bourdieu, among others were very helpful in this endeavour. The

hypotheses were tested through rigorous methods, such as the ethnographic, statistical, and historical methods. Qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used to gain information regarding perceptions, changed habitus, different reason for taste, and so on. The different techniques applied were focus groups, in-depth interviews, observation, informal conversations, 200 survey questionnaires administered through a probability sample of the DMA, and articles of magazines, newspapers and other important documents. The formulated hypotheses were:

- To explain the relationship between classes, we should reformulate the opposition between the hegemonic and subaltern, including other cultural interactions, mainly the processes of consumption and forms of communication within popular culture.
- Between the dominant and dominated cultures there is a relationship of circularity – cultural dichotomy and reciprocal influence – that allows us to think of different forms of use, convergence, contact, and types of influence that it is possible to find between the symbolic universes of the dominant and dominated, remembering always that in this relationship is summarised forms of power's practices.
- Consumption of fashion clothing does not achieve finality only in the possession of an object or the satisfaction of a material necessity, but also serves to define and re-confirm meaning and common values, and set up and maintain a collective identity.
- Consumption is the place of social differentiation and symbolic distinction between classes. In this society, claiming to be democratic, clothing is one of the most significant ways to communicate the differences between social groups.
- Fashion is one of the most powerful instruments of non-verbal visual communication, used by the dominant hegemonic culture in everyday life to negotiate the habits and tastes of the popular culture.

- The target area, the urban Durban metropolitan area, is inhabited mostly by black South Africans who have been influenced by western developed countries and their culture, implying a change in the social practices of everyday life in general and in the clothing tastes in particular. For example, the symbolic meaning of the colour in clothing has suffered a deep change, being less pronounced in the younger age categories.

2. Main findings and conclusions

The dissertation's main areas of focus appear implicit through the formulation of the hypotheses, and through analysis the researcher has arrived at some findings and conclusions to the topics in question. The general findings will be outlined below.

Black African Zulu-English speakers are seen as agents, who through daily social practices construct their social world. As agents, their practices describe *the "social genesis of the principles of construction and seek the basis of these principles in the social world"* (Bourdieu, 1994:467). The social world is a multi-dimensional space structured by different fields that are interconnected to one another, but at the same time they have relative autonomy. Black Africans struggle for the position they can acquire in the social space. The systems of classificatory schemas and historical schemas of perception that are internalised are the product of different principles of vision and social division (by gender, age, residence, etc) in the social world, and the system of classifications that creates differentiation between those who have cultural and economic capital and those who are struggling to possess it.

The agents – black African Zulu-English speakers in the urban Durban Metropolitan area – share a set of basic perceptual schemas that allow them to classify and qualify persons or objects in the most varied areas of practices. Classifications are established by oppositional taste consumption between for example: high (elegant, pure, high style, sublime) and low (vulgar, low, modest), unique (exclusive, rare, different) and common (ordinary, banal, routine). Clearly these oppositions show class differentiation,

different perceptions, different positions and opportunities that agents occupy in the social space. The hegemonic class and the popular class are distinguished by their taste and aesthetic constructions through consumption. According to Bourdieu (1994: 466-467) taste “is an acquired disposition to differentiate and appreciate” *“It is a practical mastery of distributions which makes it possible to sense or intuit what is likely (or unlikely) to befall – and therefore to benefit – an individual occupying a given position in social space”*.

Therefore social agents are producers of classifiable act and acts of classification, which are themselves classified. Knowledge of the social world is based on practical knowledge of this world, which pre-exists it. Agents apprehend the social environment and how to manipulate the object and social relationships within it.

Oppositions demonstrate in this research social division, division between dominant and dominated, hegemonic and subaltern, and divisions between different fractions competing for the legitimate naming of the objects. Specially, this means opposition and differentiation in the taste between black African Zulu-English speakers and those who have the hegemonic power, and also within this popular group. Perception of the social world is not a simple process, it is *“an act of cognition involving principles of construction that are external to the constructed object grasped in an immediacy, but at the same time, is an act of miscognition, implying the most absolute form of recognition of the social order”* (Bourdieu, 1994:471). It means that perception of the social world is based in how the social agents have constructed the knowledge of common sense or doxa. The sense of social realities, which is acquired in the confrontation with a particular form of social necessity, is what makes it possible to act as if one knows the structure of the social word.

Social classes, are not constructed only through the relationships of production, between those who have the means of production and those who wish to possess it or are only owners of their workforce, between the hegemonic and subaltern groups but also, social class is determined by how social agents appropriate goods consumption.

Examples were provided in Chapter eight that demonstrate how groups of people appropriate and consume goods according to the position that they occupy in the social space. For example, the everyday necessities differ according to such classifications. Of course the majority of them consume electricity, water, and so on, and not many have credit cards, personal computers, cars, etc. Such information indicates not only economic possibilities of consumption but also what the likely acquisition of cultural capital is. An example is the access to cinemas, the knowledge of movies, actors, music, taste in television programmes, newspapers, magazines, radio, types of clothing they like to wear, the sports they prefer to practice and the reasons, etc.

Constructed processes of consumption and popular culture forms of communication produce cultural interactions between the hegemonic and subaltern groups, creating a circular relationship that is based on unequal conditions. There is a cultural dichotomy but also reciprocal influence. Popular culture is based on a process of unequal appropriation of the economical and cultural commodities of a nation or a determined social group by part of the subaltern sectors. Therefore,

- Firstly, consumption comes to establish some kind of integration and communication between the different social sectors.
- Secondly, it establishes differentiation and symbolic distribution between social classes and finally, it functions as the site for the reproduction of the labour force and the expansion of capital.
- The popular sectors establish a relationship with the hegemonic sectors, but this relation is based in an unequal appropriation of the material and symbolic goods.
- Goods consumption is not only about material goods but also what is the symbolic determination of the meaning of such a good in the social world.

This research showed how cultural interactions of Zulu beliefs and customs with Western beliefs and customs have created different perceptions of the social world.

The position that the different social agents occupy and the possibilities that this generate are expressed through different social practices, appreciation of the world and confrontations with power. Black African Zulu-English speakers have been subjected in their daily life to different cultural interactions such as foreign languages, Christianity and other religious beliefs, inter-ethnic relationships, different multicultural processes. In addition, through the advances of communication, global information and technology, black Africans have been also influenced, changing the vision of their own culture and practices. All these processes occur against the backdrop of the historical South African context (Chapter three and four), which is a necessary starting point in understanding black African perceptions of the social world.

Globalisation and its new technological, cultural, economic and political processes have affected the entire world in unequal and heterogeneous ways. Far from the creation of homogeneity and equal social options among social classes, these processes have opened the gap in the social space. If we add to this very complex scenario the very particular history of practices of power within South Africa we find that such power has been manifested through different ways and forms. Vertical and horizontal, local and global, western and indigenous, hegemonic and popular power have infiltrated the daily life of black African Zulu-English speakers changing the ways of socialization, integration, production and consumption of the social world.

Everyday life is the place where black African Zulu English speakers produce and reproduce the continuously transformed vision of their own beliefs, customs and cultural practices. This transformation takes place in the continuous confrontation, negotiation and struggle for the signification of everyday social practices amongst those who have the hegemonic power (global, political, cultural and economic power) and those who do not have it. In general, the position black African Zulu-English speakers occupy in the social space is a position of disadvantage and social difference in relation to those who have the hegemonic power. This ethnic group within the DMA do not share a unique, homogeneous position within the social space; however, we can say that the majority of

them are in a disadvantaged position related to the accumulation of economic and cultural capital.

The different habitus and taste of black African Zulu-English speakers in everyday life are directly affected by the position they have in the social world, the social divisions and differentiation and the social distinctions they can access. Taste is structured in three different categories: legitimate taste, medium taste and popular taste. The belonging to a specific social class or fractions of class determines at the same time a specific aesthetic: the bourgeois aesthetic, the middle aesthetic and the popular aesthetic.

Black African Zulu-English speakers in urban DMA share mainly the popular aesthetic defined through popular taste. Popular taste is manifested through the kind of music they choose to listen to in everyday life, in the activities that they prefer to do, in the form in which they spend their leisure time, their clothing consumption, how they are associated to western religion, what kind of programmes and channels they prefer to watch on television, what newspapers and magazines they choose to read and what stations they prefer to listen to. Their aesthetic election of material and symbolic consumption in everyday life is mainly motivated by necessity but in some cases, they select goods that can be associated to the middle aesthetic and medium taste. This is so because the aspirations and desires of acquisition of greater and economic capital are prevalent in those who are constantly bombarded by the global information, goods and ideologies of society. The discourses of those who are owners of cultural and economic capital are spreading, creating the 'legitimate taste and proper aspirations' to access a 'better and more comfortable western life'. Acquisition of new products and goods are associated to high status, acceptance of an expensive material and wealthy lifestyle, and promotion to a higher social class. However, the prevalence of indigenous African cultures seems to acquire more importance within a democratic South African's discourse, but black Africans do not necessarily demonstrate strong feelings to go back to the old customs and tradition.

Clothing consumption has as a function on the one hand the possession of an object or the satisfaction of a material necessity, and on the other it is used to define and re-confirm meaning and common values, and set up and maintains a collective identity. Black African Zulu English speakers base their aesthetic disposition mainly on the necessity. Their consumption of clothing in everyday life shows a preference for western clothing and styles, not necessarily always for a specific brand or distinctiveness. However, on the other hand, there are several examples in this research that show that consumption is also used to reconfirm identity, for example the use of the Zulu language in everyday life, the preservation of ancestral traditions and veneration of the ancestors by the majority.

In the case of clothing, this ethnic group wears traditional, indigenous clothing during specific events and celebrations but not in everyday life. The discourse of the African Renaissance is an attempt to return to the past through the preservation of different indigenous beliefs and customs. It tries to recuperate the symbolic meaning of their own African tradition, which has been affected through several historical mediations and events. However, it seems that until now the attempts to bring indigenous Zulu African clothing to the population in everyday life has failed, because they consider that part of the past.

Consumption is a place of social differentiation and symbolic distinction between classes. What people consume the form in which they consume, where they consume, and their aspirations to consume some goods over others reflect the place that the people occupy in the social space. Those people who possess a legitimate material and cultural capital have a legitimate clothing taste related to the aesthetic dispositions of the hegemonic sectors. On the contrary, those who lack material and cultural capital have a popular clothing taste related to the aesthetical disposition of the popular sectors.

Chapters seven, eight and nine have shown how black African Zulu-English speakers show an unequal appropriation of clothing consumption, they can access and consume only some of the goods on the market. They consume mainly western clothing,

but the kinds of clothing they wear vary in price, quality, patterns, brand choice, style and designs. The group is not homogeneous but at the same time their taste is much more related to the 'common', without brands, second-hand clothing, imitations of styles, casual, informal and so on. This shows that this ethnic group has differentiated taste related to the legitimate taste of the bourgeois culture. Their taste is much more associated to the taste of the popular culture, which is not only related to the lack of economic capital, but also the lack of cultural capital. Many black African Zulu-English speakers aspire to have this cultural capital, buying imitations and clothing similar to what they see in magazines, television, etc. However, similarities and mimesis do not change the aesthetic and taste of people.

Another important point to be made is that people not only want to imitate the legitimate culture, but wish through the popular culture to negotiate the meanings and symbolisation of clothing consumption *with* the hegemonic culture. Clearly, the choice of clothing consumption is denotative of cultural or symbolic capital, but this cultural capital suffers transformation and changes in relation to the indigenous culture. Black African Zulu-English speakers perceive reality and the objects that one can find inside there, in relation to their own beliefs and traditions, but at the same time in relation to global mediations, historical events and western culture. Mediations in everyday life can change habitus and taste clothing consumption. Clothing consumption is at the same time a way of communication in which the different groups confront and negotiate habitus and taste, transforming the vision of the group. How one dresses defines and communicates to some extent the social class condition of belonging.

The Durban Metropolitan area has urban and non-urban areas. The urban area is mostly inhabited by black Africans. As shown in Chapter three and four, black Africans living in DMA have been mainly influenced in their daily social practices by European and United States cultural and economic lifestyles. They have been influenced by the habitus and taste of developed countries, which are shown through the mass media and the global migration of people, objects, ideas and words. Clothing habitus and taste in this group have undergone an in-depth transformation, changing meanings and

representation of their own cultural symbolism. For example, the colour that clothing had in the past had very clear symbolic meaning and was used to communicate to one another. Today, these meanings are nearly disappearing. Only few black Africans realise that clothing and colour have meanings and significations in everyday life.

In addition, age is an important indicator of change. The youngest generation in general are more disposed to accept global changes than those who are part of the older generations, who to some extent attempt to preserve and conserve some of the traditional beliefs and customs. Chapters eight and nine include several examples that demonstrate how age is an important indicator that affect social transformation. The survey clearly states that there are significant variations among the three different intervals of age. The first interval, people between 18 to 29, shows that there are more tendencies towards accepting globalisation, global cultural and economical goods consumption and multicultural relationships than those who belong to the last interval, i.e. people between 40 to 49. For instance, the youngest generations are more interested in buying clothing brands when compared to the oldest generations, who prefer to use clothing without brands. On the contrary, the oldest generation has more tendencies to use traditional clothing than those who belong to the youngest generations. This was reflected in Chapter nine, in the in-depth interviews with Winnie and Zwakele

In conclusion, one can say that Black African Zulu English speakers in Durban have been influenced by the historical events of the country, as well as through the various aspects of globalisation. Exposure by this group to multicultural scenarios, different races, ethnic groups, languages, religions and beliefs, mass media and technological advances has produced large changes in the ways in which they interpret, understand, accept and appropriate goods in the social world. Economic and cultural appropriation of goods, and in particular clothing consumption, is the result of confrontation and negotiation between different social groups. Hegemonic culture and popular culture are in continuous struggle for the appropriation of economic and cultural capital. This confrontation does not occur in a vertical way. Popular groups are active agents, who have an important role in the ways in which they receive, transform and re-

transform material and symbolic goods consumption in everyday life. Social practices are changing among black African Zulu-English speakers in urban DMA and it is the result of the different appropriation of 'the new', mixed with 'the old', transforming their vision of the social world.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

* The concept of social class has been analysed in this study, focused mainly on the working class category. It would be interesting if further research could analyse clothing consumption between the different categorisations of class construction.

* The analysis has only been related to black African Zulu-English speakers. Further analysis on the different races (black, coloured, Indian/Asian and white) and their clothing consumption will bring a greater understanding of social differentiation and race construction in the current South African context.

* The analysis on consumption and clothing consumption has only been done in the urban Durban Metropolitan area. Further research not only in urban but also in rural areas can provide additional information regarding the role of global influences and different historical context and how they can affect cultural practices in everyday life. In addition, further research in other parts of South Africa (provinces, cities, localities) will shed light on how material and symbolic consumption is changing among different ethnic groups or sectors of the population.

* Clothing consumption and perceptions have been studied through coincidental technique in places of high affluence and recreation. It would be interesting to do further research in factories and other places to study workplace and working class consumption within such places.

* Some of the variables used in this study were languages: Zulu and English language, and multicultural relationships (black African Zulu-English speakers). It would be interesting to add in further research the uses of other languages and multicultural relationships, in trying to understand if other social groups have been similarly influenced by all these changes.

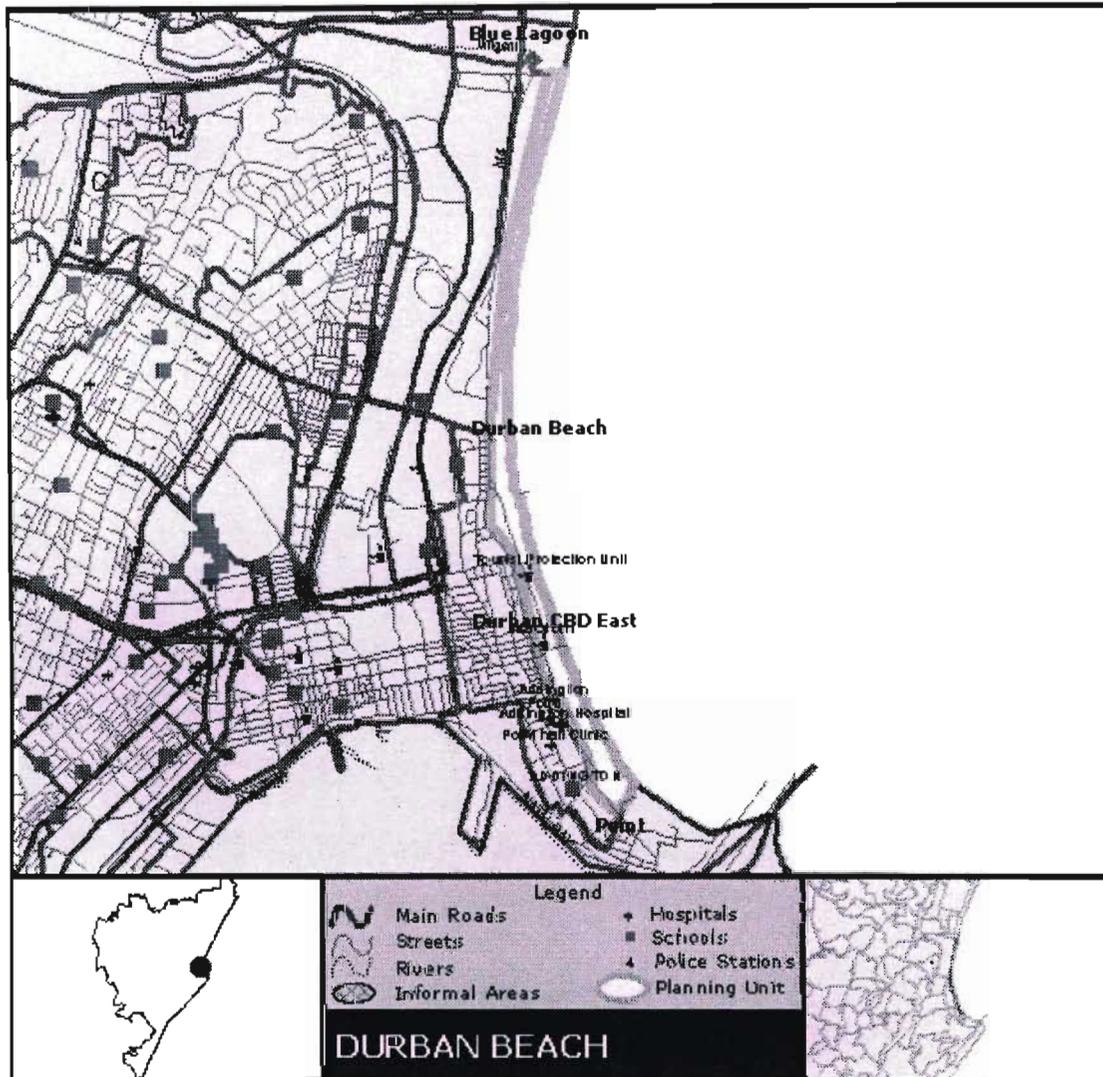
* Globalisation has been one of the main concepts employed to understand cultural changes and transformations. Extensive analysis on modernity and its impact on clothing will shed light on how this concept and its material ramifications will affect consumption and aesthetic interpretation of the uses of the body and dress in the South African context.

It is hoped that this research will serve as a foundation and stimulation for future research that will explore the field further. The information that this social group has provided throughout the survey, via in-depth interviews, informal conversations and focus groups, can be considered a contribution to local social studies. The informants and scholars interviewed indicated that this study could be of use not only to the academic community but also for the more general construction and understanding of the new democratic South Africa and the impact that African Renaissance discourses and global discourses can have on the different population groups.

APPENDIX NUMBER ONE

Community Profile 2001: Durban Beach (PU75)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 1.0km².

The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 2 kilometers.

The closest major commercial centre is Durban CBD West (2km away) and the closest major transport node is Warwick (3km away).

The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is High.

Areas within the planning unit	
BEACH:BEACH FRONT:DURBAN BEACHFRONT:	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 0		Number of households 0	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8	None		11.4
Seeking Work		13.8	R1-R2400		3.3
Not Economically Active		55.7	R2401-R6000		9.3
			R6001-R12000		10.1
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3
Literacy Rate :		55	Over R18000		43.7
Grade Ten and Higher :		36	Unspecified		11.9

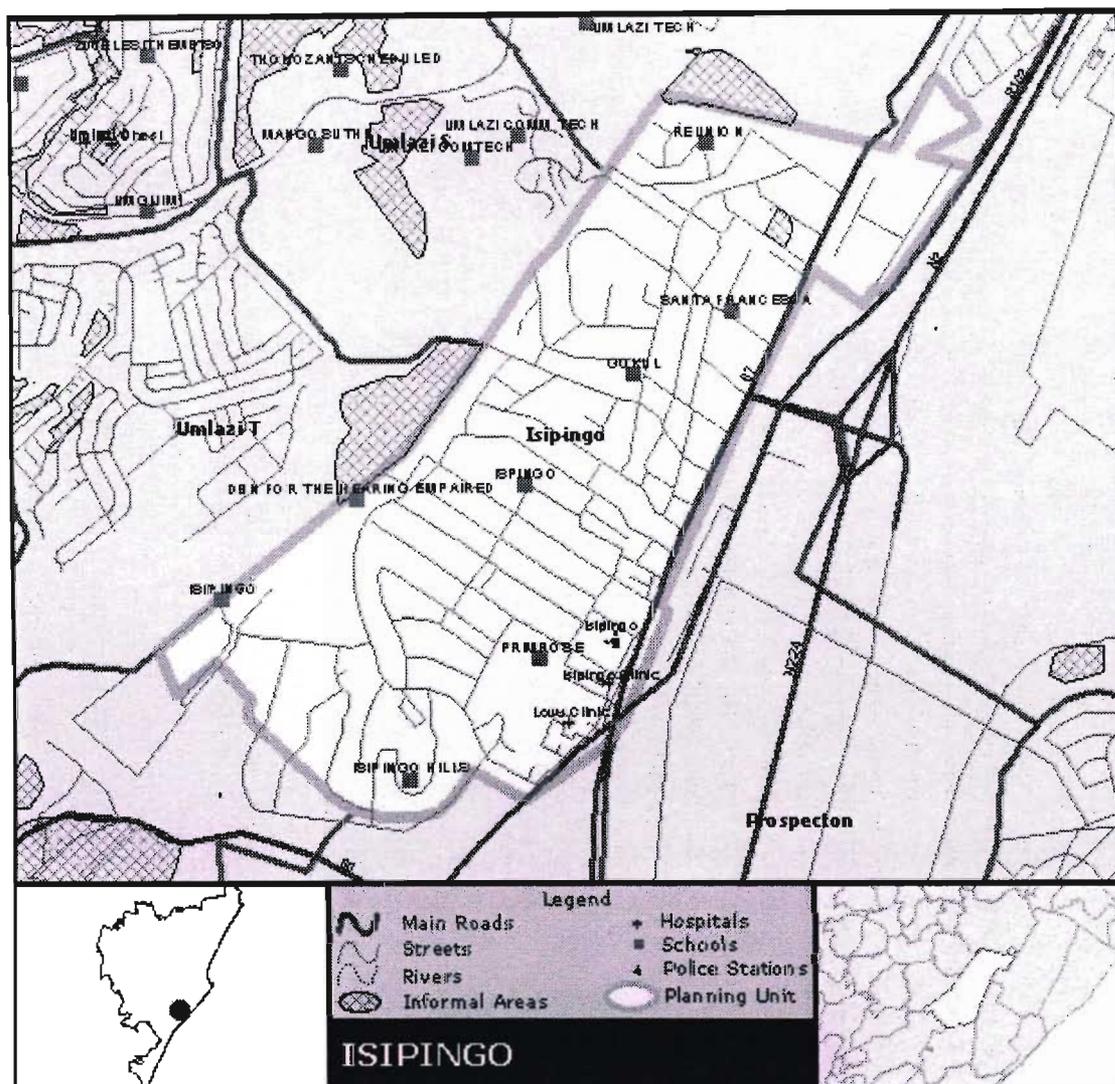
Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	X	
Electricity connection	N/A	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Major Recreation	Road	Undeveloped Land	Other
36.6	7.2	2.7	53.5

" Community Profile 2001: Isipingo (PU138)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 3.7km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 16 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Amanzimtoti North (5km away) and the
 closest major transport node is Isipingo (1km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is High.

Areas within the planning unit	
ISIPINGO; ISIPINGO RAIL;	
PILGRIMS X *; UGANDA *; V8 (NEWTOWN) *;	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 10997		Number of households 2438	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8%	None		11.4%
Seeking Work		13.8%	R1-R2400		3.3%
Not Economically Active		55.7%	R2401-R6000		9.3%
			R6001-R12000		10.1%
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3%
Literacy Rate :		55%	Over R18000		43.7%
Grade Ten and Higher :		36%	Unspecified		11.9%

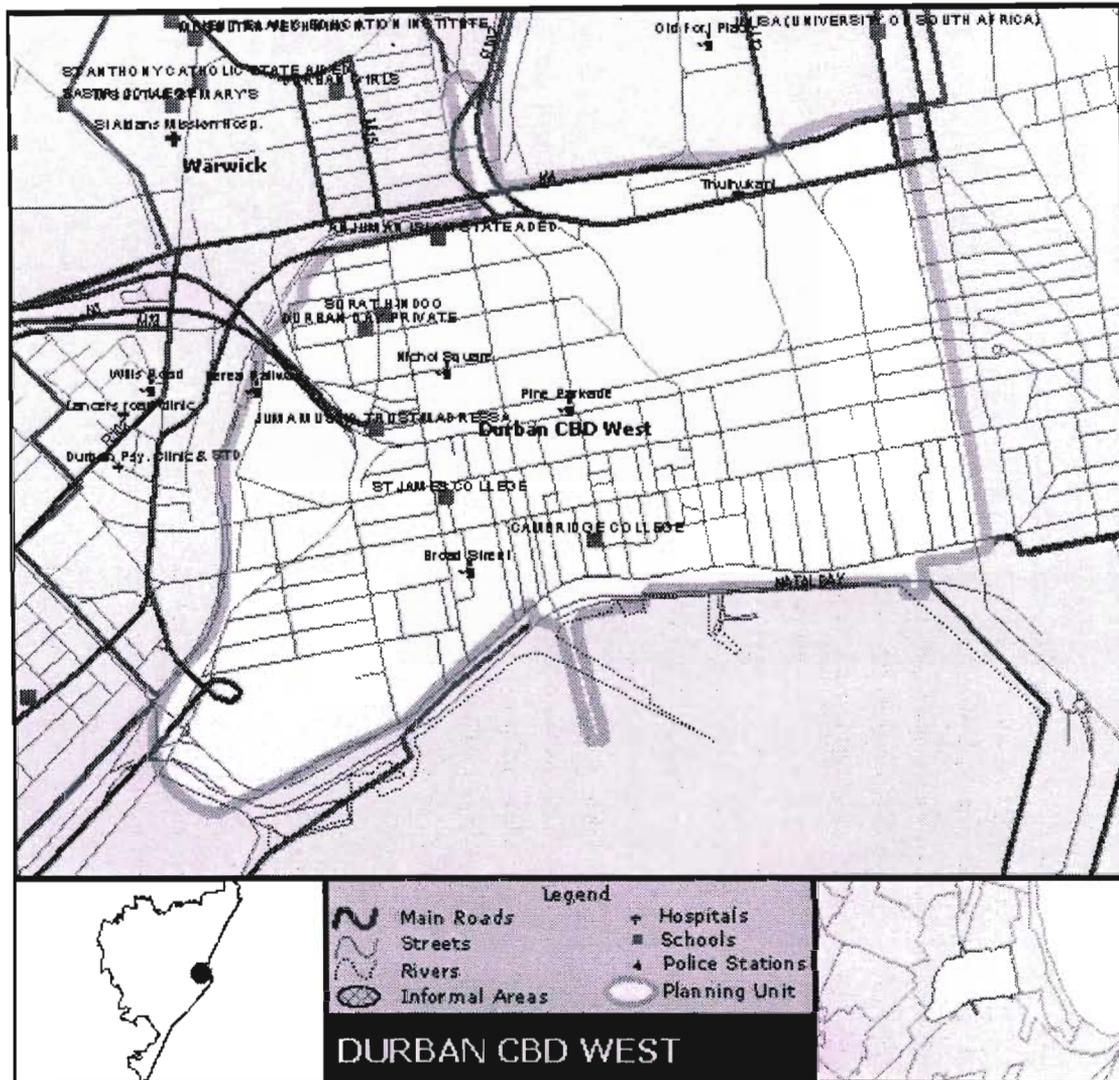
Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	100	
Electricity connection	100	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Urban Formal	Industrial	Undeveloped Land	Other
72.4%	22.9%	2.9%	1.8%

Community Profile 2001: Durban CBD West (PU77)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 2.3km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 1 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Durban CBD West(1km away) and the closest major transport node is Warwick (1km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is High.

Areas within the planning unit	
DURBAN CBD:DURBAN CBD WEST:ESPLANADE:WARWICK SOUTH:	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 16785		Number of households 7228	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8	None		11.4
Seeking Work		13.8	R1-R2400		3.3
Not Economically Active		55.7	R2401-R6000		9.3
			R6001-R12000		10.1
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3
Literacy Rate :		55	Over R18000		43.7
Grade Ten and Higher :		36	Unspecified		11.9

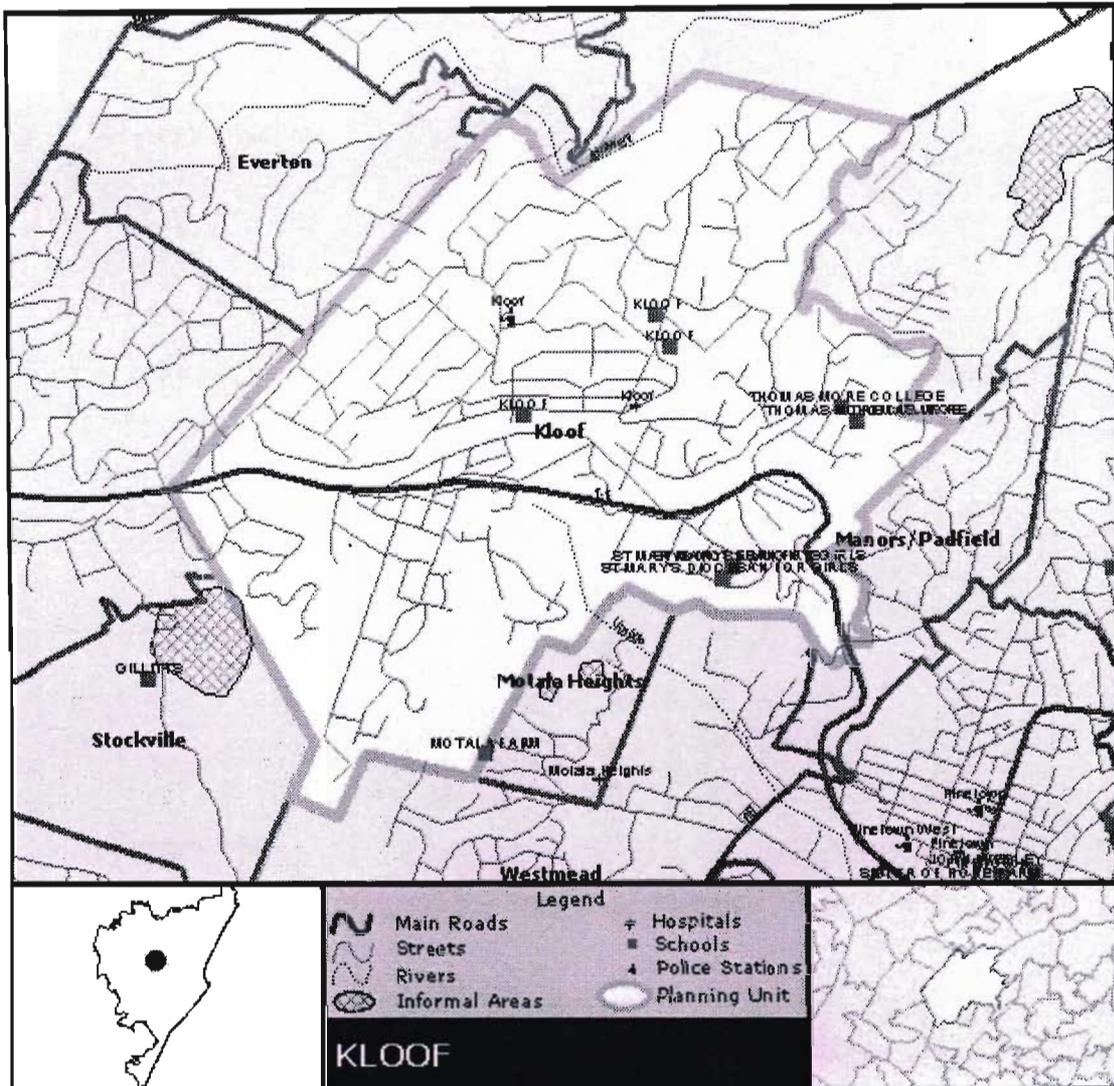
Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	100	
Electricity connection	400	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Commercial/Retail	Road	State/Institutional	Other
51.9	28.6	6.2	13.3

Community Profile 2001: Kloof (PU145)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 15.6km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 20 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Pinetown/New Germany (4km away) and the closest major transport node is Pinetown (4km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is Medium.

Areas within the planning unit	
KLOOF;	
STOCKVILLE SETTLEMENT *;	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 9559		Number of households 3583	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8%	None		11.4%
Seeking Work		13.8%	R1-R2400		3.3%
Not Economically Active		55.7%	R2401-R6000		9.3%
			R6001-R12000		10.1%
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3%
Literacy Rate :		55%	Over R18000		43.7%
Grade Ten and Higher :		36%	Unspecified		11.9%

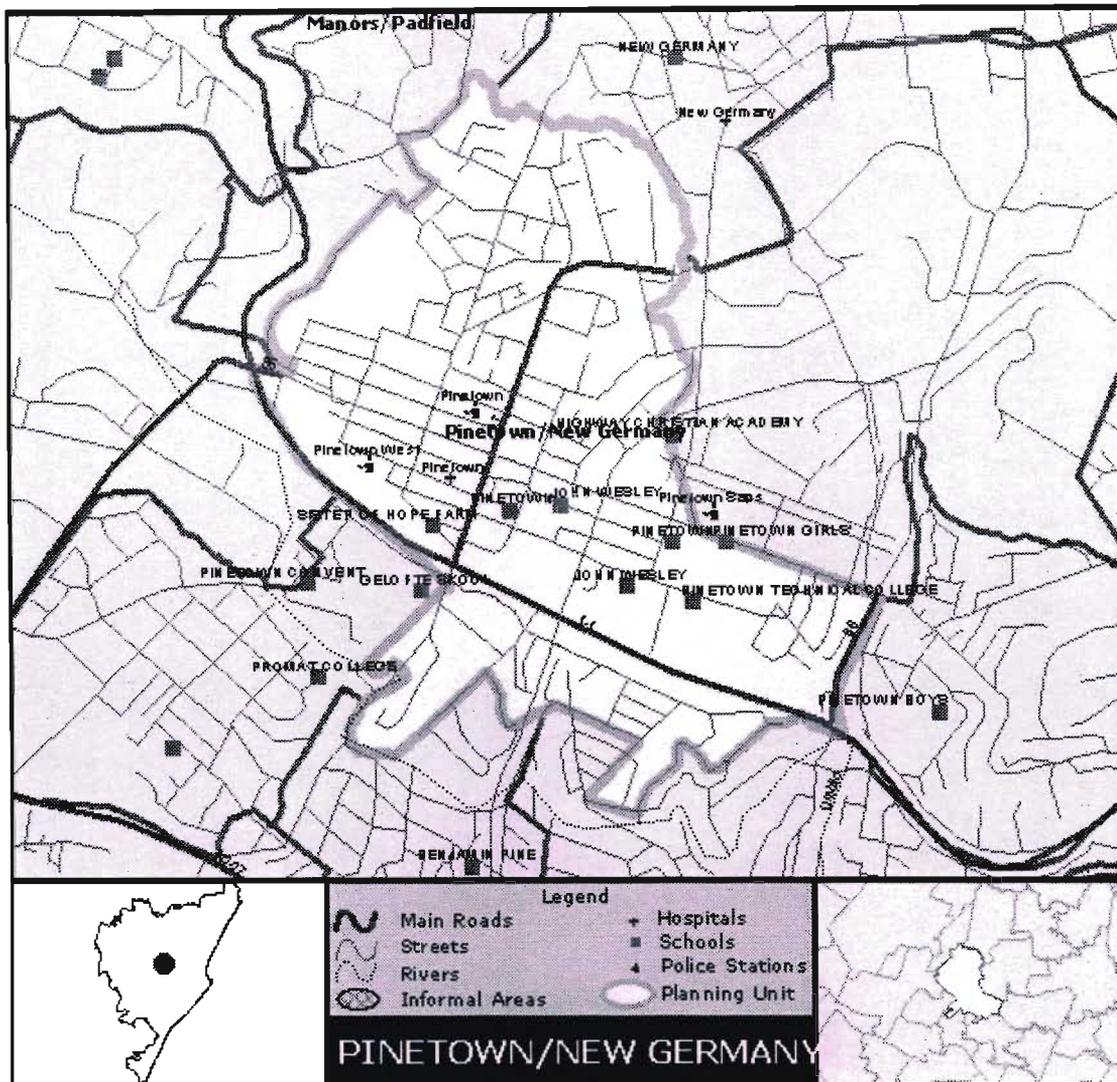
Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	100	
Electricity connection	100	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Urban Formal	Undeveloped Land	Major Recreation	Other
72%	18.9%	3.4%	5.7%

Community Profile 2001: Pinetown/New Germany (PU273)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 5.1km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 16 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Pinetown/New Germany (1km away) and the closest major transport node is Pinetown (1km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is High.

Areas within the planning unit	
PINETOWN;	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 7584		Number of households 3118	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status		Household Income	
	UNICITY	(per annum)	UNICITY
Employed	28.8%	None	11.4%
Seeking Work	13.8%	R1-R2400	3.3%
Not Economically Active	55.7%	R2401-R6000	9.3%
		R6001-R12000	10.1%
Dependency Ratio :	3.9:1	R12001-R18000	10.3%
Literacy Rate :	55%	Over R18000	43.7%
Grade Ten and Higher :	36%	Unspecified	11.9%

Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	100	
Electricity connection	100	

Major community facilities located in the planning unit include:				
Library	1		School	7
Clinic/Hospital	1		Postal Service	1
SAPS Police station	1		Postal Agent	
Metro Police station	1			

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Urban Formal	Industrial	Commercial/Retail	Other
44.6%	18.1%	15.3%	22.0%

Areas within the planning unit	
AMANZIMNYAMA;GANDHINAGAR;GANDHI'S HILL;TONGAAT CBD;	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (*Source Census 1996*)

The People			
Total Population 7882		Number of households 1954	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8	None		11.4
Seeking Work		13.8	R1-R2400		3.3
Not Economically Active		55.7	R2401-R6000		9.3
			R6001-R12000		10.1
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3
Literacy Rate :		55	Over R18000		43.7
Grade Ten and Higher :		36	Unspecified		11.9

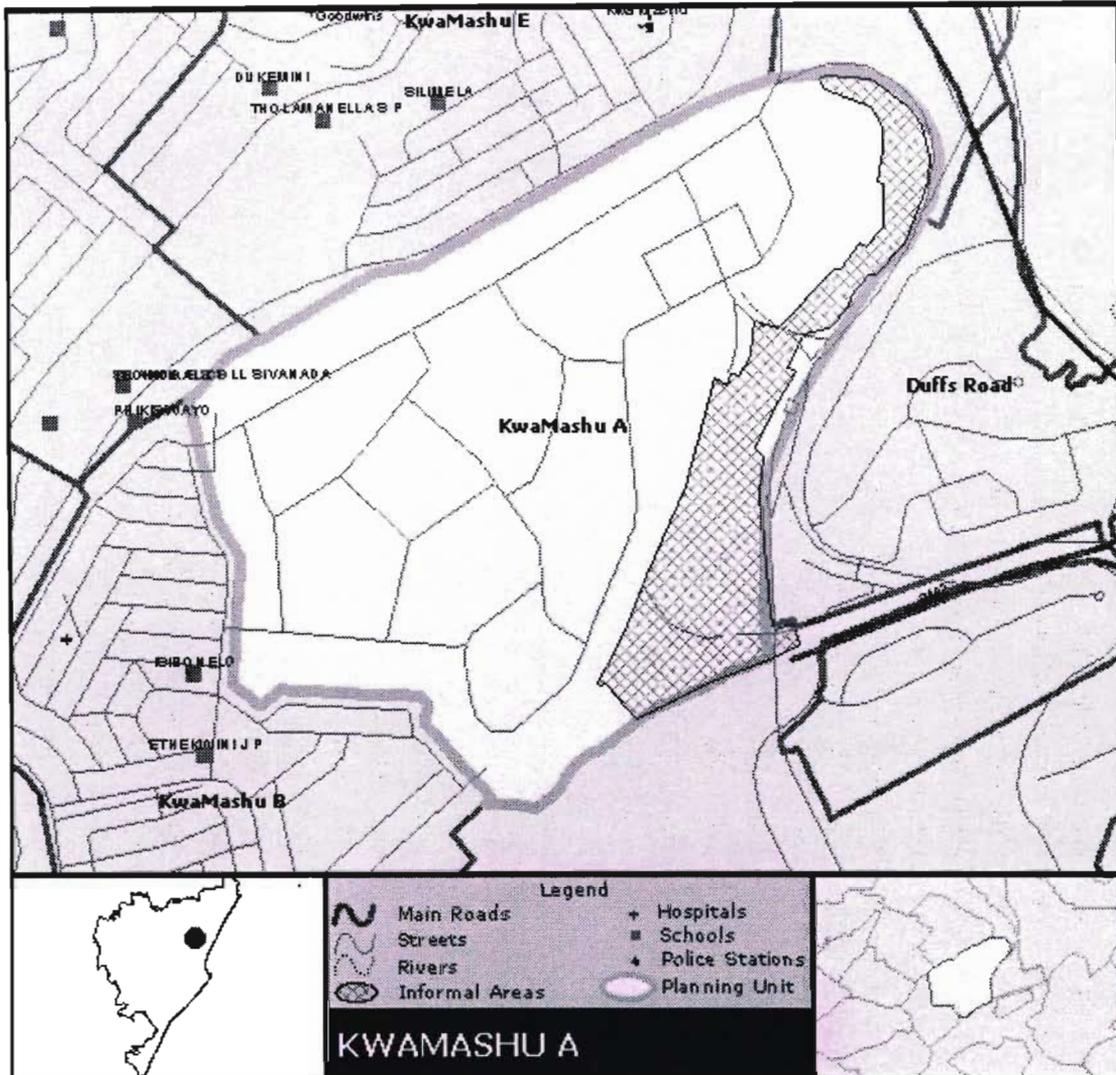
Delivery of Services

% Households Served (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	99	
Electricity connection	100	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Urban Formal	Sugar Cane	Undeveloped Land	Other
70.9	15.4	5.3	8.4

Community Profile 2001: Kwamashu A (PU150)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 1.2km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 13 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Umhlanga Rocks Coastal(8km away) and the closest major transport node is Link City (1km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is Medium.

Areas within the planning unit	
INHLUNGWANE;ISULABASHA COMPLEX;KWAMASHU A;KWA-MASHU A;KWA-MASHU ZONEA;KWA-MASHU ZONEB;KWA-MASHU ZONEC;KWA-MASHU ZONE D;KWA-MASHU ZONEF;KWA-MASHU ZONEG;KWA-MASHU ZONEH;KWA-MASHU ZONEI;KWA-MASHU ZONEJ;KWA-MASHU ZONEK;KWA-MASHU ZONEL;KWA-MASHU ZONEM;KWA-MASHU ZONEO;KWA-MASHU ZONEP;KWA-MASHU ZONEQ;KWA-MASHU ZONER;KWA-MASHU ZONES;KWA-MASHU ZONEU;KWA-MASHU ZONEV;KWA-MASHU ZONEW;KWA-MASHU ZONEX;KWA-MASHU ZONEY;KWA-MASHU ZONEZ;SOKWALNISA;	
QHAKAZA 1, 2 & SOKWALISA (DUFFS ROAD) *;	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 27881		Number of households 5811	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian		Males	
White		Females	
Other			

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8	None		11.4
Seeking Work		13.8	R1-R2400		3.3
Not Economically Active		55.7	R2401-R6000		9.3
			R6001-R12000		10.1
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3
Literacy Rate :		55	Over R18000		43.7
Grade Ten and Higher :		36	Unspecified		11.9

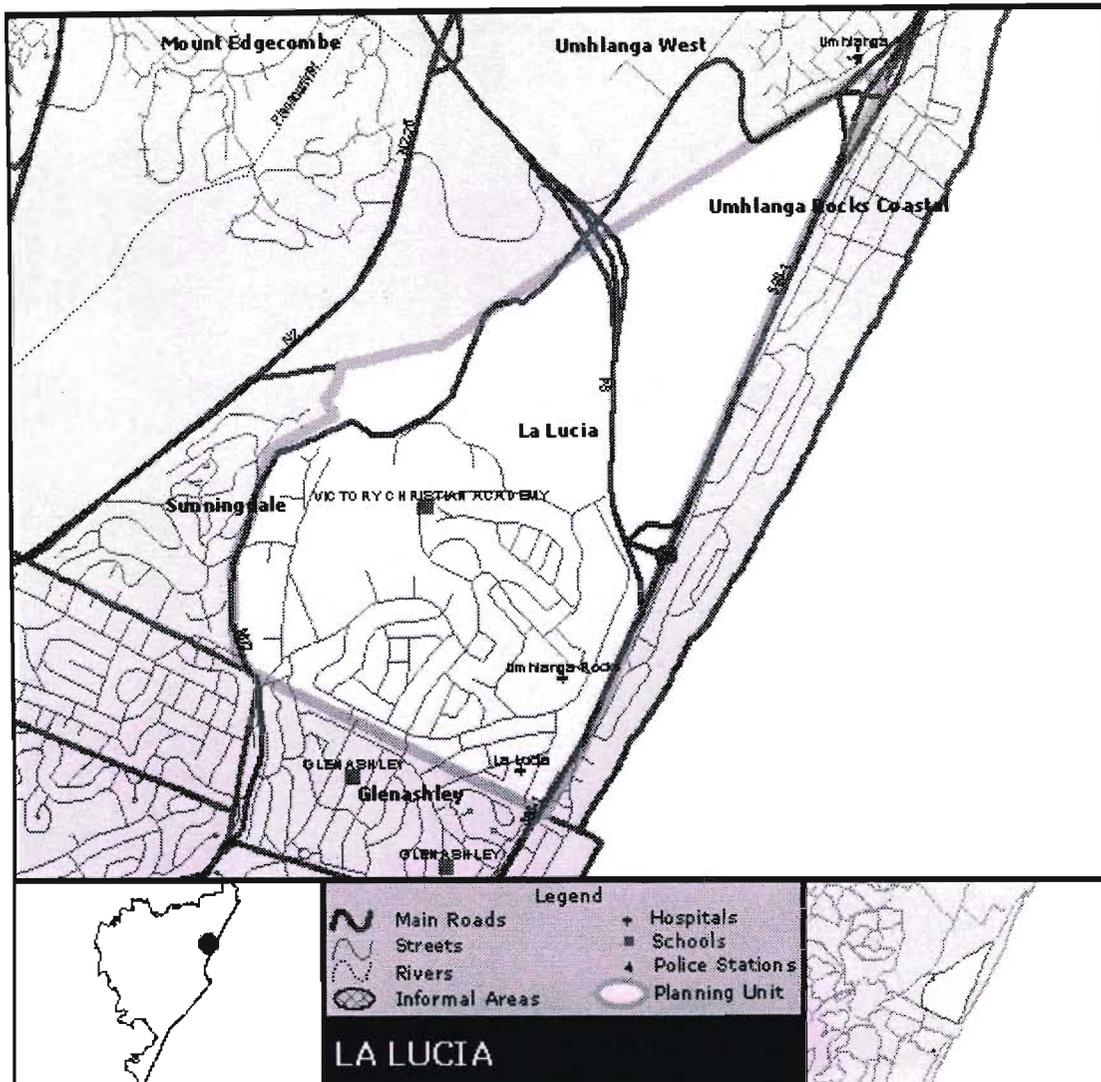
Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	84	
Electricity connection	70	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
State/Institutional	Urban Formal	Urban Informal	Other
65	20	15	0.0

Community Profile 2001: La Lucia (PU170)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 6.0km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 14 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Umhlanga Rocks Coastal(2km away) and the closest major transport node is Umhlanga (3km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is Medium.

Areas within the planning unit	
LA LUCIA:UMHLANGA:UMHLANGA ROCKS:	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 3660		Number of households 1376	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status		Household Income	
	UNICITY	(per annum)	UNICITY
Employed	28.8	None	11.4
Seeking Work	13.8	R1-R2400	3.3
Not Economically Active	55.7	R2401-R6000	9.3
		R6001-R12000	10.1
Dependency Ratio :	3.9:1	R12001-R18000	10.3
Literacy Rate :	55	Over R18000	43.7
Grade Ten and Higher :	36	Unspecified	11.9

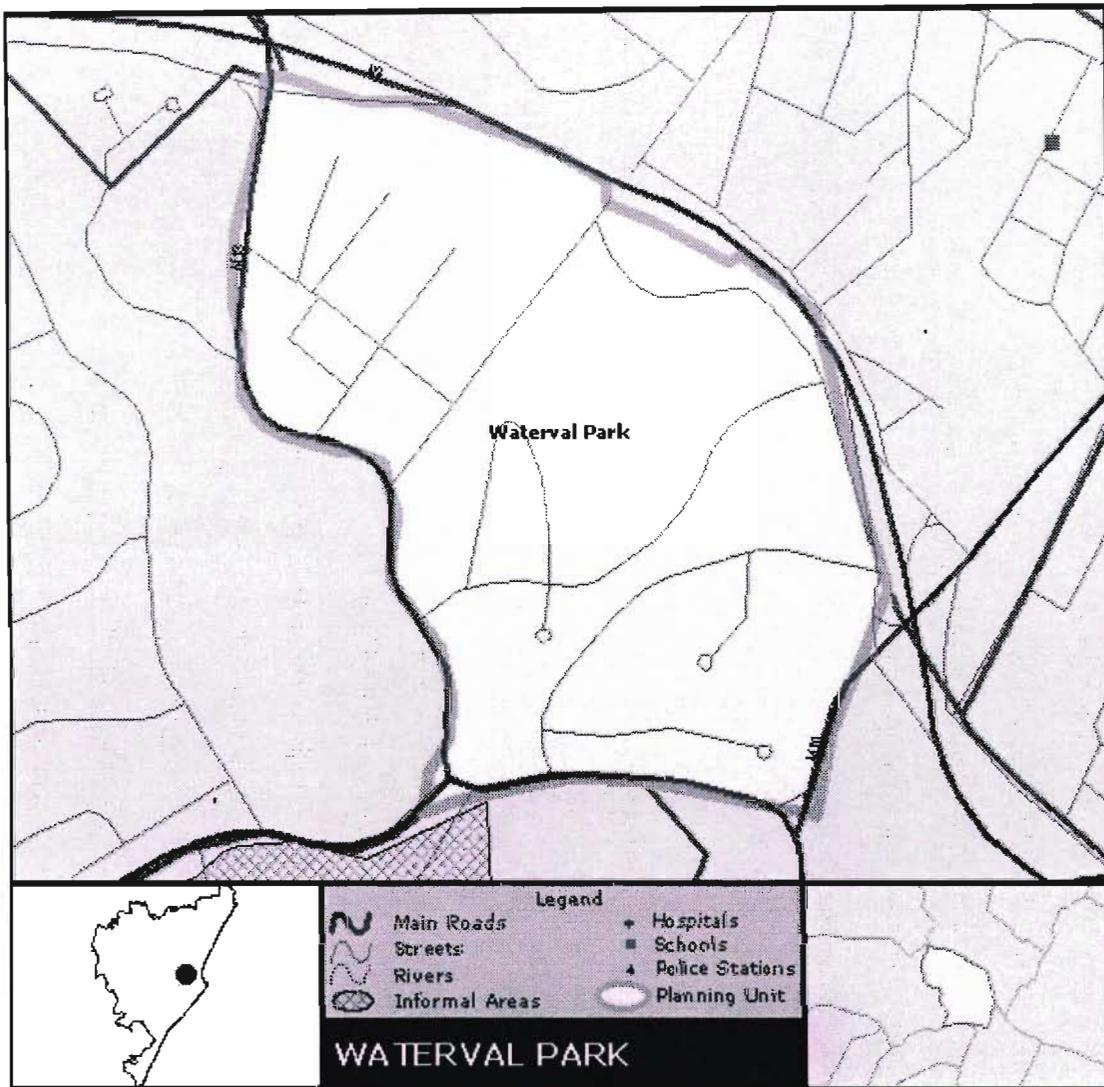
Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	100	
Electricity connection	100	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Sugar Cane	Urban Formal	Undeveloped Land	Other
46.3	39.1	7	7.6

Community Profile 2001: Waterval Park (PU388)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 0.5km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 4 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Verulam (2km away) and the closest major transport node is Verulam (5km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is High.

Areas within the planning unit	
WATERVAL PARK;	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 1949		Number of households 619	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8%	None		11.4%
Seeking Work		13.8%	R1-R2400		3.3%
Not Economically Active		55.7%	R2401-R6000		9.3%
			R6001-R12000		10.1%
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3%
Literacy Rate :		55%	Over R18000		43.7%
Grade Ten and Higher :		36%	Unspecified		11.9%

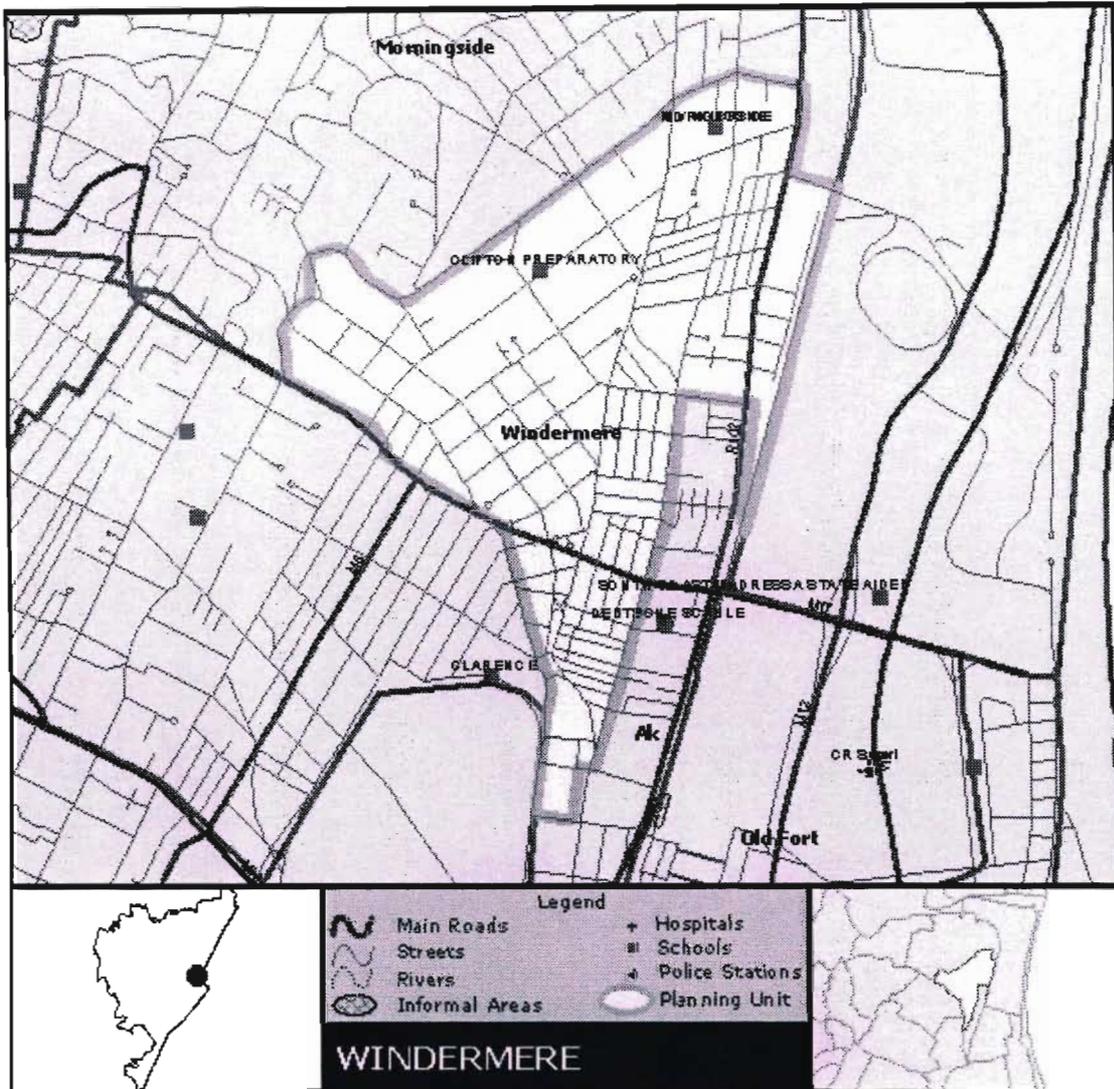
Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	100	
Electricity connection	90	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Urban Formal	Commercial/Retail	State/Institutional	Other
42.9%	36.3%	14.7%	6.1%

Community Profile 2001: Windermere (PU400)

Locational Information:



The geographical area of the planning unit is 1.7km².
 The distance from the planning unit to the CBD is 3 kilometers.
 The closest major commercial centre is Durban CBD West(3km away) and the closest major transport node is Warwick (3km away).
 The metro wide public transport accessibility rating of the planning unit is Medium .

Areas within the planning unit	
WINDERMERE:	

Areas marked with an * are informal settlements that fall within the Planning unit

Demographics (Source Census 1996)

The People			
Total Population 6844		Number of households 3142	
Black		Pensioners	
Coloured		Disabled	
Indian			
White		Males	
Other		Females	

Employment Status			Household Income		
		UNICITY	(per annum)		UNICITY
Employed		28.8	None		11.4
Seeking Work		13.8	R1-R2400		3.3
Not Economically Active		55.7	R2401-R6000		9.3
			R6001-R12000		10.1
Dependency Ratio :		3.9:1	R12001-R18000		10.3
Literacy Rate :		55	Over R18000		43.7
Grade Ten and Higher :		36	Unspecified		11.9

Delivery of Services

% Households Serviced (2001)	Planning Unit	Unicity
Water	100	
Electricity connection	100	

Major Land Uses (January 2000)			
Urban Formal	Commercial/Retail	Road	Other
74.7	14.7	4	6.6

APPENDIX NUMBER TWO

1. FILTER	343
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Filter No _____

FILTER QUESTIONS

Good Morning, Good Afternoon, my name is _____, and I am doing a research project about habits and behaviour of clothing. Please, can I ask some questions?

1) Do you live in Durban Metropolitan Areas? (**Only respondent will be those live within the boundaries of Durban Metropolitan Area**)

Yes 1
No 2 (**end interview**)

If have two different residences, go to the question 2, if not go to the question 3

2) Where do you spend most of your time? (**If in Durban Metro, go to question 3**)

If interviewee does not reside within boundaries of DMA, end interview

3) How long have you lived in this area? (For people who have lived there for at least one year)

Less than 1 year 1 (**end interview**)
From 1 to 2 years 2
More than 2 years 3

4) What is your home language and what is your second language? (**If not Zulu, end interview; if not English, end interview**)

1- Zulu ()

2- English ()

3- Other () **If number three, end interview.**

5) **Observe and circle. If you are not sure, you ask, what race are you?**

Black 1

Coloured 2 **(if said coloured, end interview)**

Interview Number _____

Now, I would like to ask some questions of **habits and behaviour**. All the information you are going to give me will be absolutely confidential. Your name will not appear in the questionnaire or the report.

1) Are your mother language Zulu and your second language English?

Yes 1
 No 2 (end the interview)

2) Can you?

	ZULU		ENGLISH	
1- Understand	yes 1	no 2	yes 3	no 4
2- Speak	yes 1	no 2	yes 3	no 4
3- Read	yes 1	no 2	yes 3	no 4
4- Write	yes 1	no 2	yes 3	no 4

3) Please, can you read the following sentences and tell me if you agree or not? (**Show card No 1**) (**One circle per row**)

	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
1.- I feel proud to speak Zulu	1	2	3
2.- Speaking Zulu is old fashioned	1	2	3
3.- English is the language of corruption	1	2	3
4.- English is a common language	1	2	3
5.- Zulu language distinguishes us from the others	1	2	3
6.- Zulu is a communicative language	1	2	3
7.- English is a colonial language	1	2	3
8.- Zulu language gives unity to Zulu people	1	2	3
9.- English offers us National Unity	1	2	3

10.- I feel proud to speak English	1	2	3
11.- Zulu is the language of corruption	1	2	3
12.- The English language is oppressive	1	2	3

4) What language do you use in the following situations? **(Show card No 2) (One circle per row)**

	ZULU	ENGLISH	BOTH
1- In your family	1	2	3
2- In the area where you live	1	2	3
3- In your place of worship	1	2	3
4- In interacting with public servants	1	2	3
5- In your work place	1	2	3
6- In your study place	1	2	3
7- With medical care providers	1	2	3
8- With legal services providers	1	2	3
9- In your bank and building societies	1	2	3
10-In shops and supermarkets	1	2	3

5) If you earn salary or wages at present, on what items of this list do you spend it on? Please, mention 5 of the most important items for you. **(Show card No 3) (Write from number one to five according with order of mention)**

ITEMS	NUMBERS	ITEMS	NUMBERS
1. Food		10. Transport	
2. Beverages (alcoholic and non-alcoholic)		11. Communication (Telephone – Cellular phone)	
3. Tobacco		12. Education	
4. Clothing & Footwear		13. Household Operation	

5. Housing		14. Reading Matter	
6. Fuel, Power and Water		15. Personal Care	
7. Furniture & Equipment		16. Recreation, Sport	
8. Medical services & requirements		17. Restaurant, Bars	
9. Servant		18. Holidays	

If the respondent places clothing/footwear into the first five, ask question 6, if not question 7.

6) Why does footwear/clothing have so much importance for you? (Explain)

7) Why do you not mention clothing/footwear as important? (Explain)

**8) Please read this list and tell me what items you wore during the last year?
(Show card No 4) (One circle per row)**

	Usually/Often	Sometimes	Never
Dresses and Skirts	1	2	3
Shirts	1	2	3
T-shirts	1	2	3
Trousers	1	2	3
Jeans	1	2	3
Blouses	1	2	3
Jackets	1	2	3

Suits (slack suits)	1	2	3
Sport clothing (track suit, etc)	1	2	3
Pullovers, Jerseys and cardigan	1	2	3
Accessories	1	2	3
Boots and half-boot	1	2	3
Shoes and sandals (genuine leather)	1	2	3
Shoes and sandals, others (canvas, etc)	1	2	3
Joggers and trainers	1	2	3
Others (slippers)	1	2	3

9) What kind of clothing/footwear do you wear? **(Multiple) (Show card No 5)**

10) What kind of clothing/footwear do you prefer? **(One answer) (Show card No 5)**

	CLOTHING		FOOTWEAR	
	Wear (9)	Prefer (10)	Wear(9)	Prefer(10)
Comfortable	1	1	1	1
Formal	2	2	2	2
Reflects your own culture	3	3	3	3
Reflects authentic fashion	4	4	4	4
Exclusive expensive items	5	5	5	5
Imitation Fashion	6	6	6	6
Outrageous	7	7	7	7
Others (_____)	9	9	9	9

11) Do you identify you style as: **(read, only one answer)**

- Formal 1
- Casual 2
- Informal 3
- Traditional 4
- Other 5
- Does not matter 6
- Do not know 7

12) Can you give me 3 names of brands of clothing and footwear that you use, in order of importance?

CLOTHING

FOOTWEAR

	1		1
	2		2
	3		3

13) How often do you wear? (Show card No 6) (One answer per row)

	Always	Usually/ Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Brand clothing.	1	2	3	4	5
Without brand	1	2	3	4	5
Second Hand	1	2	3	4	5
Traditional Clothing	1	2	3	4	5

14) Where do you buy clothing for yourself? (Show card No 7) (Multiple)

15) Where do you buy clothing more often? (Show card No 7) (One answer)

	(14)	(15)
Home-made, by yourself or one of the family	1	1
Made up by a small tailor or dressmaker	2	2
Made to measure by a large fashion-house or tailor	3	3
From a chain-store	4	4
From a boutique	5	5
Other (Specified) _____	6	6

16) How often do you buy clothing/footwear for yourself? (Show card No 8) (One answer)

	CLOTHING	FOOTWEAR
Twice a months	1	1
Once a month	2	2
Once every two months	3	3
Once every four months	4	4
Less often	5	5
Do not remember	6	6

17) How satisfied do you usually feel with your purchases? (Show card No 9)

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Do not known
1	2	3	4	5	6

18) When you buy clothing, do you choose it based on what reason? And footwear?

(Spontaneous, multiple)

	CLOTHING	FOOTWEAR
Price	1	1
Quality	2	2
Close (to work, home)	3	3
Fashion	4	4
Other	8	8
Unknown	9	9

19) Who or what influenced you in your choice of buying clothing/footwear? (**Show card**

No 10) (Multiple)

Friend	1	
Family	2	
Religion	3	
Media Personalities	4	
Sport heroes	5	
Politicians	6	
Other	7	Specify _____
None	10	

20) What colours do you prefer to use? (**Multiple**)

Black	1	Blue	5
White	2	Brown	6
Red	3	Green	7
Yellow	4	Other	9 (specify) _____

21) Do any of these colours have a specific meaning?

Yes 1 (go to question No 22)

No 2 (if not, question No 23)

22) Mention colour and explain why it has a specific meaning to you? (**Explain reasons**)

23) How do you feel with the clothing/footwear you buy? (**Multiple**) (**Show card No 11**)

	CLOTHING	FOOTWEAR
Comfortable	1	2
Pure	1	2
Powerful	1	2
Attractive	1	2
Sexy	1	2
Fashionable	1	2
Attention given	1	2
Daring	1	2

24) Where do you buy clothing and footwear most often? (**Spontaneous**) (**One circle per column**)

Places	CLOTHING		FOOTWEAR	
	First choice	Second choice	First choice	Second choice
City Center	1	2	3	4
Umlazi	1	2	3	4
Pavillion	1	2	3	4

Gateway	1	2	3	4
Pinetown	1	2	3	4
KwaMashu	1	2	3	4
Other (specify)	1	2	3	4
None	1	2	3	4

GENERAL QUESTIONS

25) Have you been to some of these events in the last two years? **(Show card No 12)**

26) **(If yes)** How often do you participate of these events? Mention only those events that were circle in question No 25.

(25)

	Yes	No	(26) How often?
Shows (Durban designers)	1	2	_____
July handicap	1	2	_____
Funeral events	1	2	_____
Wedding events	1	2	_____
Baptism celebrations	1	2	_____
Religious festivities	1	2	_____
Sport events	1	2	_____
Others (specify)	1	2	_____

27) Are you religious?

- Yes 1 **(follow question)**
- No 2 **(Go to question 31)**

28) To what religious group do you belong? (**Only one answer**) (**Spontaneous**)

- Baptist 1
- Catholic 2
- Shembe 3
- Methodist 4
- Anglican 5
- Born Again 6
- Zionist 7
- None 8
- Other 9 (specify) _____

29) Do you wear specific clothing/footwear when you go to church? (**As Uniform or another formal dresses**)

- Yes 1
- No 2 (**Go to question 31**)

30) **If say yes**, can you describe the specific clothing/footwear you wear? What colours?
Who makes it?

31) What do you do in the time when you are not working, studying, etc? (**Show card 13**)
(**Multiple**)

32) Please, mention what is your preference in first, second and third place? (**Circle next to the code**) (**Show card No 13**)

	(31)	(32)
Do housework	1	()
Meet friends	2	()
Listen to music	3	()
Go to the cinema/theatre	4	()
Watch TV	5	()
Attend prayer-meeting	6	()
Visit family	7	()
Practice sports	8	()
Go to bar/restaurant	9	()
Recreation in public place	10	()
Read magazines/newspaper	11	()
Go to the beach	12	()
Listen to radio	13	()
Go to Nightclubs/social clubs	14	()
Other	15	() (specify)_____

Only if in question 31 the code No 8 was circled, ask question No 33.

If do not practice sport go to question 35

33) What sports do you mainly play? (**Only one answer, spontaneous**)

Football	1
Rugby	2
Swimming	3
Running	4
Cycling	5
Go to gym	6
Aerobics	7
Other (specify)	9 _____

34) Why do you participate in this sport? (**Show card No 14**) (**Multiple**)

I feel healthier	1
Because I need to build muscles	2
All my friends do it	3
It is fashionable	4
I feel I belong to some group	5
It is a form to meet a boyfriend/girlfriend	6
Makes me feel more attractive	7
I want to lose weight	8
Others (specify) _____	9

MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION

Ask only if the respondent mentioned code No 11 in question No 31, if not go to 36.

35) What magazines and newspapers do you read? (**Spontaneous**) (**One circle per column on magazines and one circle per column on newspapers**)

List	First choice	Second choice
True love	1	2
Drum	1	2
Bona	1	2
Other Magazines	1	2
Ilanga news	1	2
Sunday Tribune	1	2
Natal Mercury	1	2
Daily News	1	2
Other Newspaper	1	2
Unknown	1	2

Ask if respondent mentioned code No 5 in question No 31, if not question No 37

36) A-.Which are the two most important programmes that you watch on TV? B-.On what channel? C-.Are these programmes in Zulu or English languages?

Programmes: _____

What channel: _____

Languages: _____

Ask only if the respondent mentioned code No 13 in question No 31, if not go to 40.

37) What radio station do you prefer? What is the broadcast language?

Name of the station _____

Language of the station _____

38) Which programs do you mainly listen to? **(Show card No 15) (Multiple)**

39) In what language have you been listening these programmes since 2001? **(Only read the programmes mentioned in question 38) (Show card No 15)**

	(38)	(39) ZULU	ENGLISH
Light music	1	1	2
News	2	1	2
Current Affairs	3	1	2
Cultural programs	4	1	2
Sport	5	1	2
Classical music	6	1	2
Traditional Zulu music	7	1	2
Modern music	8	1	2
Series	9	1	2
Other (specify) _____	10	1	2

Ask only if the respondent mentioned code No 3 in question No 31, if not go to 42.

40) What kind of music do you listen to? (Spontaneous - multiple)

41) What kind of music do you prefer? (Spontaneous – one answer)

List	Listen (40)	Prefer (41)
Rap/Hip Hop	1	1
Jazz/fusion	2	2
Reggae	3	3
Hard rock/acid/heavy metal	4	4
Classic	5	5
Rhythm and blues	6	6
Gospel	7	7
Rock/Pop	8	8
Other (specified)	9	9

Classified Information

42) Sex: Male 1
 Female 2

43) Age: 18 – 29 1 Specify: _____
 30 – 39 2 Specify: _____
 40 – 49 3 Specify: _____

44) Marital Status:

Single 1
 Married 2
 Divorced 3
 Widowed 4
 Other 5 Specify: _____

45) Do you have any children?

- Yes 1 **Go to the next question**
 No 2 **Go to the question No 47**

46) How many? _____

47) Place of residence: _____

48) In what kind of dwelling do you live? (**Read, only one answer**)

- | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------|---|
| Formal | 1 | Informal | 2 |
| Flat | 3 | Traditional | 4 |

49) Highest educational qualifications: (**Respondent, Household Head and/or Father**)
(Show card No 16) (Only one answer per column)

	Respondent	Household Head	Father
No schooling	1	1	1
Primary school (Not Finished)	2	2	2
Primary school (finished)	3	3	3
Secondary school (Not finished)	4	4	4
Secondary school (finished)	5	5	5
Tertiary education (not finished)	6	6	6
Tertiary education (finished)	7	7	7
University education (not finished)	8	8	8
University education (finished)	9	9	9
Other (specified) _____	10	10	10

50) Occupation (be as precise as possible) (Respondent, Household Head and/or Father).

Respondent: _____

Household Head: _____

Father: _____

51) What is the approximately amount your household has to spend on all items every months? (Card No 17) (Only one answer)

Up to R 500	1
R 501 – R 1000	2
R 1001 – R 2000	3
R 2001 – R 4000	4
R 4001 – R 7000	5
R 7001 – and above	6
Unspecified	7

52) How many people earn money at your house? _____

53) Do you own? (Show card No 18) (Multiple)

1	Hot running water	14	Tumble Dryer
2	Fridge/freezer	15	Two radio sets in household
3	Microwave oven	16	Hi-fi/music centre
4	VCR/ video	17	Build-in kitchen sink
5	Vacuum cleaner/floor polisher	18	Home security service
6	Cellular phone	19	Deep freezer
7	Washing Machine	20	M-Net/DStv subscription
8	PC in home (computer)	21	Dishwasher machine
9	Electric Stove	22	Electricity

10	Home Telephone	23	Sewing machine
11	Flush toilet: In household 1 Outside household 2	24	Domestic: How many hours per week? _____
12	Television: Color 1 Black 2	25	Water in home/on plot
13	Car: Type: _____ Model: _____ Year: _____	26	Credit Card, How many: _____ Which one: _____

54) What is the monthly income of your family? **Show card No 19**

Up to R 500	1	R 4001 – R 7000	5
R 501 – R 1000	2	R 7000 – and above	6
R 1001 – R 2000	3	Does not respond	7
R 2001 – R 4000	4	Does not remember	8

55) How many people sleep in your dwelling? Can you tell me their ages and gender?

56) Is there anyone who does not sleep here who can contribute income to the household?
Who is she/he?

57) The dwelling that you live in is.....?

Renting	1
Owning	2

Lending 3 from who? _____

Other 4 (specified) _____

58) How many rooms have you got in your dwelling?

59) How long have you lived in this ...?

Dwelling _____

Area _____

60) Previous place of residence

61) Where did you attain your last level of knowledge? At the ... **Show card No 20**

		PLACE NAME	STUDIES
University	1	_____	_____
Technikon	2	_____	_____
High School	3	_____	_____
Institute (Short course)	4	_____	_____
Other _____	5	_____	_____

62) In what area is this institution located?

63) Have you been on holiday in the last 5 years?

Yes 1 (**question No 65**)

No 2 (**question No 64**)

64) Why have you not been on Holiday? **Go to question No 69.**

65) How many times have you been on holiday in the last 5 years?

1 to 2	1	6 or more	3
3 to 5	2	Does not remember	4

66) When was your last holiday taken?

67) Where have you been on your last holiday?

68) Why did you choose this place?

69) Can you mention three of the most important types of films do you prefer? **(Please, write the numbers in order of mention) Show card No 21**

Adventures	1 ()	Spectaculars	2 ()
War	3 ()	Musicals	4 ()
Westerns	5 ()	Comedies	6 ()
Thrillers	7 ()	Films with a message	8 ()
Historical	9 ()	Dramas	10 ()
Other (_____)	11 ()		

70) How often do you go to the cinema? **Show card No 22**

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| Twice a week | 1 |
| Once a week | 2 |
| Once every 15 days | 3 |
| Once a months | 4 |
| Once in the last two months | 5 |
| Less often | 6 Specify _____ |
| Do not remember | 7 |
| Never | 8 |

71) Did you remember the name of the film, the two main actors and the director of your last movie?

Name of the last film _____

Two main actors _____

Director of the movie _____

Observation No _____

Observation of the interviewee

a) Clothing: Description

b) Footwear: Description

c) Hair: Style

d) Speech:

Refined	1
Standard	2
Mistakes in grammar	3

e) Other information I consider important

FOCUS GROUP – DISCUSSIONGUIDE

Clothing behaviour and History

- 👂 Kind of clothing that has been used since 1980.
- 👂 Relationship between types of clothing used and occasions and places.
- 👂 Relationship between clothing used and western fashion clothing.
- 👂 Attitude, behaviour in front of clothing changes in everyday life since 1980.
- 👂 Location, places, frequency, occasion and description of material, style.

General questions of the main items can help me to get information. *(Of course these questions do not have an established order and only can help me to remember some specific topics that I would like to touch)*

- 1) What kind of clothing did/do you use often in everyday life? Can you describe it, please?
- 2) And, in what occasion's did/do you use other kind of clothing? Mention church, parties, death, birth, sport, etc? Other occasions (spontaneous) can you describe it?
- 3) Did/do you wear different clothing in everyday life when you were/are at work, than when were/are you at home? What was/is the reason?
- 4) How did/do you feel with the kind of clothing that you use/used?
- 5) Can you compare your clothing with the fashion in general since 22 years ago until now?
- 6) What is your attitude in front of the continuous changes of clothing in the everyday life?
- 7) Was your attitude always the same in front of the change or did you modify your attitude through of the years?
- 8) Can you see a lot many different changes since 1980 until now?
- 9) Can you describe it?
- 10) How often did/do you buy clothing? (Material, style, colors, quantity)

- 11) Where did/do you buy this clothing? (City, near home, small shops, big stores, shopping centers, etc)

Culture, Democracy and History

- ☞ Democracy, changes of everyday life before and after it, changes in clothing consumption and production
- ☞ Political, economical and social change respect to the fashion world with the democracy in South Africa in general, and particularly in Durban.
- ☞ Understanding concepts such as Zulu culture, old traditional dress. (Meanings)
- ☞ Influence and perception of the own and foreign cultures in everyday life since 1980.
- ☞ Popular culture – meanings, concepts, and constitutive elements.

General questions of the main items can help me to get information. *(Of course these questions do not have an established order and only can help me to remember some specific topics that I would like to touch)*

- 12) Do you believe that, the democracy in 1994 produced a substantial change in the behaviour of the production and consumption of clothing?
- 13) Is the difference of style and material very deep between blacks and white people before and after 1994?
- 14) Can you describe it?
- 15) With the welcome of the democracy do you believe are there more possibilities of clothing consumption? Why?
- 16) Is the democracy a phenomenon of political and economical importance in everyday life? Why? Can you explain it?
- 17) When have you had more stable and secure income, before or after democracy?
- 18) Is the achievement of democracy the exact moment in which South Africa, and specially, Durban, opened the door to the fashion world, or were the same before the democracy? Why?

- 19) Do you feel or perceive the influence of your own culture in everyday life and in the clothing that do you wear?
- 20) What do you understand by “Old traditional dress”?
- 21) Can you compare the “Old traditional dress” with the way in where the Zulu –English speakers dress at the present? What is the change? Why? When do you think this change occurred?
- 22) Do you feel that do you win or lost culture with the changes developed at the present?
- 23) What do you understand for culture?
- 24) What do you understand for culture of the Zulu-English speakers and the influence of other cultures?
- 25) What do you understand by popular culture? What elements are necessities at the moment to define it? E.g.: music, life style, sport, dance, etc that make the folk of everyday life and their interpretations of the symbolic consumption?
- 26) Has also “the folk” suffered change in the last 22 years? In what way? Can you explain it, please? To speak about music, sport, dance, etc.
- 27) Does it perceive the introduction of foreign cultures as a big influence in the construction of everyday life, and the modification of the habits and taste of the people?
- 28) Can you perceive the influence of the other cultures at the moment in where do you need to choose some clothing?

Globalization and Media

- ☞ Globalization: concept, meanings, and consequences into the society and in yourself.
- ☞ Relationship between technology and communication, their influence in actions, decisions and thought in everyday life.
- ☞ Attitude in front of the information, how the people deal with it.
- ☞ Preferences and tastes about the different instruments of the media and their programming.
- ☞ Likes and dislikes from the media and the influence on the clothing behaviour of the people.

General questions of the main items can help me to get information. (*Of course these questions do not have an established order and only can help me to remember some specific topics that I would like to touch*)

- 29) Have you listened to talk about the concept of “Globalization”? Can you explain what is the meaning of it? Or, what do you understand by?
- 30) What is your opinion about the consequences of globalisation will be it positive for the society in general and to you in particular? Why?
- 31) In what form has the advance of technology and communication worldwide influenced in actions, decisions and thoughts of people in general, and yourself in particular, through the last 22 years?
- 32) What is for you the most powerful instrument of the media that has influenced the behaviour of everyday life? Is it the television, newspapers, magazines, radio, billboards, etc? Why?
- 33) What is your attitude in front of all this bombardment of information; do you understand the meaning of global communication?
- 34) What kind of programmes do you frequently watch on television?
- 35) Have you changed your likes and dislikes about of the programmes you watch on television in the last years? From when do you have access of the TV?
- 36) What kind of newspapers do you read more often? What newspapers did you read in the last 22 years?
- 37) Why did and do you read it? What is the most interesting part or articles for you?
- 38) Did or do you buy some kind of magazines? Why? What about the images of men and women the magazines try to sell?
- 39) Do you fell identify with the image the media transmit everyday life?
- 40) Has your clothing behaviour changed with all the foreign and aliens images have you received in the last 22 years about the different cultures and subcultures?
- 41) Have you and your belonging group tried to adapt to the requirements of the constant society on movement?

Renaissance and Culture

- ☞ Concept of African renaissance, relationship with Inkatha and Zulu culture.
- ☞ Relationship between Zulu tradition and traditional dresses and renaissance.
- ☞ Relationship between contemporary clothing and traditional dresses.
- ☞ Politic of clothing and tourism industry; related with globalization and capitalism politics.

General questions of the main items can help me to get information. *(Of course these questions do not have an established order and only can help me to remember some specific topics that I would like to touch)*

- 42) What is your opinion about the African renaissance; and what about the Inkatha and Zulu culture?
- 43) Do you think is it possible to build a pure renaissance of Zulu tradition? Why and how will be it possible?
- 44) What about the traditional dresses?
- 45) How can the “contemporary fashion” with the “traditional dresses” of a specific ethnic group survive?
- 46) Do you believe this renaissance will be important for the development of work on the clothing industry?
- 47) And, what happen with the tourism industry?
- 48) Do you agree with these politics, or for you will be a form to “privatize” the own and sell a confuse image to the worldwide?
- 49) Do you think will be fine to integrate this politics (of clothing and tourism industries) with the politics of capitalism and globalization? Why?

Interviews with Anti-Global Thought and Organizations

HISTORY AND CULTURE

- 1) Do you think that the consequences of globalization were/are important for the economical and cultural development on South Africa since 1980? Why?
- 2) In your opinion, are the criteria for class construction within the Zulu ethnic group the same as those applying to white people? Why?
- 3) How do you define popular culture? What are the constitutive elements of popular culture? And, “Tradition”, and “Identity”?
- 4) Can you identify popular classes at the same level as popular culture within the Zulu ethnic group? And, what about within Zulu-English speakers?
- 5) What kind of sub-cultures or sub-groups can you identify within the popular culture of the Zulu-English speakers? Please, can you explain to me?
- 6) Within the popular culture of the Zulu-English speakers, can we find more elements from the past or is it changes at the present, with the influence of foreign cultures?
- 7) What do they give priority at the moment that they need to choose the cultural elements, do they try to integrate into modernity or do they try to conserve their own distinct vision and identity?
- 8) What are the constitutive elements of “Democracy”? How can you define it?
- 9) Was/Is the democracy an important moment in the building of “African culture” in Durban? What are the cultural, political and economic differences between the before and the after 1994 within the popular culture of Zulu-English speakers since 1980?
- 10) What do you understand about “African Culture”?
- 11) What was/is the relationship between democracy, power, hegemony and domination in Durban?
- 12) Are gender relationships between important indicators at the moment to understand the different roles that Zulu-English speakers develop in everyday life? Why?
- 13) Can you see some differences in this relationship since 1980 until now?
- 14) Can you draw a dividing line between before and after democracy?

15) What do you know about the different struggle movement in favor of human rights?

PRODUCTION

16) What do you know about the history of the clothing industry in South Africa, in general and in Durban, in particular? Have you seen changes since 1980?

17) Did Democracy establish an “before” and an “after” to this specific industry?

18) Where do you locate the changes?

19) Do you know about the struggle in the Chatsworth clothing factories? When?

20) Can you tell me if do you know about any other similar cases?

21) What is produced in these factories? I mean, what kind of clothing did/do they make?

Did/do they try to create their own style or was/is only a copy from the outside?

22) What was/is the effective influence from Europe and US? What evidence?

23) When we talk about industrial production, do you know what has happened with the importation from overseas and exportation from South Africa since 1980?

24) What are the social and cultural conditions of workers in this kind of factories at the present?

25) Have these conditions changed since 1980?

26) In what forms were/are the media a decisive instrument of the ideology of capitalism in the sphere of production?

27) How did/do the anti-global or local organizations fight against this fetishism?

28) What has been achieved for its organizations in Durban?

CONSUMPTION AND MEDIA

29) Was/Is the consumption of clothing in the same level according to the level of production here in South Africa in general and in Durban in particular?

30) Can you see substantive differences in the clothing consumption by races, by classes, by social sectors (age, sex, etc)? In what have they established these differences?

- 31) And, what have happened with the Zulu-English speakers with fashion clothing? Did/do they prefer some specific own style or do they assimilate the contemporary western clothing?
- 32) Do you know if they have or have had more preferences to consume mass-produced clothing than the clothing of small and exclusive designers? Why?
- 33) Here in Durban was/is the mass production based in the imitation or did/does it responds to some specific branch of an international brand?
- 34) And, what has happened with the second hand clothing? Has the consumption been bigger than of other kind of clothing? What were the main reasons?
- 35) What happens with it at the present?
- 36) Where can you locate the main second hand clothing shops?
- 37) In what form has the advance of the technology and communication of the worldwide been influential in the actions, decisions and thought of people in general?
- 38) What is for you the most powerful instrument of the media that has influenced the behaviour of everyday life? Is it television, newspapers, magazines, radio, billboards, etc? Why?
- 39) Has the clothing fashion behaviour of the Zulu-English speakers changed with all the foreign and aliens images that have they received in the last 22 years about the different cultures and subcultures?
- 40) To conclude, can you give me some final reflections of the relationship between popular culture, consumption, media and globalization within everyday life of Zulu-English speakers?

APPENDIX THREE

OTHER IMPORTANT READINGS FROM THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Language use in the family: 98% and 97% of males and females respectively speak Zulu with the family. One finds small differences related to age, 95.8% of 18-29 speak Zulu in the family, 98.4% from 30-39 and 98.5% from 40-49, finding a direct correlation between age and Zulu language within the family. Regarded to place of residence, people in urban formal areas speak less English in the family with 97%, urban informal 98.1% and peri-urban settlements 100%, finding that 3% of the population who lives in urban formal areas speak both languages in the family. People who live in formal dwellings and flats speak Zulu language within the family in a 96.6% and 95.7% respectively. 100% of people with primary education speak Zulu, 98.2% with secondary education, 92.6% with not finished tertiary education, 100% with completed tertiary education, 85.7% with university not finished and amazingly 100% of people with university finished speak Zulu language with the family.

Language use in the area in where you live: 98% and 96% of males and females speak Zulu in the area in where they live. From those that speak Zulu, 98.5% are in the third interval of age (40-49), and the smallest percentage of Zulu speakers is centred in the interval 18-29 with 95.8%.

According to the place of residence, only people that live in urban formal areas speak 95.5% Zulu and 4.5% both, while the rest is homogeneous, it means that 100% of people living in informal and peri-urban areas speak Zulu in the areas in where they live. People living in formal dwelling speak 96.6% of Zulu in the area, those that live in flats speak 91.3% and those who live in informal dwelling speak 100%, finding that 8.7% of the people that live in flats speak both languages.

The level of education is in direct correlation to the use of Zulu language in the area, people with primary education speak 100% Zulu in the area, people with not finished and finished secondary education 100% and 94.4% respectively. An amazing difference has

been found in people with university education, 100% of them are Zulu speakers in the area.

Language in the worship's place 96% and 97% of males and females speak Zulu, finding that the percentage of Zulu speakers increase in proportional form according to the interval of age, it is 94.4% between 18-29, 96.8% between 30-39 and 98.5% between 40-49. More people that live in formal urban areas speak Zulu in the worship, which reach 97%, while 87.5% of peri-urban settlement speak Zulu in the worship place and 12.5% speak both languages.

People that live in flats speak less English in the worship with 87%, while people in formal and informal dwelling speak 97.5% and 98.1% Zulu in the worship place.

In education the majority population speak nearly 100% of Zulu in the worship, only people with not finished and finished tertiary education speak less percentage of Zulu in the worship with 88.9% and 87% respectively.

Language speaking with public servant 9% of males speak Zulu with public servant, 32% speak English and 59% speak both languages, and 9% of females speak Zulu, 31% English and 61% both languages.

Related to age, the highest percentage of people who speak Zulu with public servant is 16.7% and is located between the interval 40-49; the highest percentage of English is 32.4%, which is located between 18-29, followed by 33.3% in the interval 30-39 and finally, 28.8% in the last interval (40-49). 63.4% of people in the interval 18-29 speak both languages with public servant, 61.9% in the interval 30-39 and finally, 54.5% in the last interval of age (40-49).

The highest percentages of people that speak both languages with public servant is 56.7% correspond to people living in urban formal areas, 64.8% are people who live in informal areas and, 87.5% are people who live in peri-urban settlements. And finally, 13% of people who live in informal urban areas speak only Zulu with the public servant.

Speak Zulu 35.8% of the people who live in urban formal areas, 22.2% of those who live in urban informal areas and 12.5% of those who live in peri-urban areas. 52.2% of people who live in flats speak English, 34.8% speak both languages and 13% speak English, but

curiously enough people in formal and informal dwelling speak majority in both language with 63% and 64.8% respectively. Related to education, 38.5% of people with primary not finished speak both language when speak with public servant, 30.8% speak English and 30.8% only Zulu; while from not finished tertiary education to completed university education similar percentage are located between English and both languages with approximately 45% each.

Language in your work place: 55% of males speak 55% both languages in the work place, 32% English and 13% Zulu. Females speak 53% both, 25% English and 22% Zulu in the work place. 62% of people speak Zulu are females, while 37.1% are males.

59.2% of people in the interval 18-29 speak both languages in the work place, 42.9% in the interval 30-39 and 59.1% in the interval 40-49, followed by English with 35.2%, 34.9% and 15.2% respectively for each interval of age. Interesting is to know that 22.2% of people between 30-39 speak Zulu in the work place, and 25.8% between 40-49.

54.5% of people that come from urban formal areas speak both languages in the workplace, 31.3% both and, 14.2% Zulu. 53.7% of those who live in informal areas speak both languages, 22.2% English and 24.1% Zulu, 50% of those who live in peri-urban areas speak both, 25% English and 25% Zulu. Kind of dwelling is similar, 58% of people that live in formal dwellings speak both languages in the workplace and 56.5% live in flats. People living in informal dwelling are more differentiated, 48.1% speak both languages, 22% English and 29.6% Zulu.

In education, 23.1% of people with primary education not finished speak both languages in the work place. 38.5% speak English and 38.5% speak Zulu. 54.5% of people with completed primary education speak both languages, 18.2% speak English, and 27.3% speak Zulu; 47.4% of people with secondary education not finished speak both languages, 19.3% speak English and 33.3% speak Zulu; 70.4% of people with completed secondary education speak both, 22.2% speak English, 7.4% speak Zulu; not finished and finished tertiary education are similar with 59.3% and 56.5% both and 37.4% speak English. 14.3% of those who have not finished university education speak both, 71.4% speak English, 14.3% Zulu and finally, 50% of those who have completed university education speak English.

Language in your study place In total 61.5% speak English, 36% both and 2.5% Zulu. 65% of male speak English, 33% both and 2% Zulu. Females speak 58% English, 39% both and 3% Zulu. 56.3% of people between 18-29 speak English and 42.3% both; 65.1% of people between 30-39 speak English and 30.2% both, and 63.6% of people between 40-49 speak English and 34.8% both.

From the total people speak both languages, 41.7% correspond to the age 18-29; 26.4% between 30-39 and 31.9% between 40-49, finding that the youngest people study in places in where they speak both languages while the oldest interval of age have the highest percentages of English language. From people that live in urban formal areas, 61.9% speak English, and 35.8% both, in urban informal areas 61.1% speak English and 35.2% both, and in peri-urban 62.5% speak English and 37.5% speak both languages. People that live in formal dwelling and flats have similar percentage. Speak English 63% and 65.2% respectively, and both 36.1% and 34.8% respectively. While people living in informal dwelling speak 53.7% English and 38.9 both and the rest “7.4%” speak Zulu in the study place. People with primary not finished speak English 92.3% and 7.7% both. People with primary school completed speak 63.6% English, 18.2% both and, 18.2% Zulu. People with secondary education not finished speak 64.9% English, 33.3% both and, 1.8% Zulu; people with completed secondary education speak 48.1% English, 50% both and, 0.9% Zulu. People with tertiary education not finished speak 55.6% English, and 44.4% both; people with tertiary finished speak 69.6% English and 30.4% both. People with university education not finished speak 57.1% English, 28.6% both and 14.3% Zulu and university finished 75% English and 25% both.

Language with providers medical care: 73% speak both English and Zulu languages, 25.5% English and 1.5% Zulu. 66% of male speak both, 33% speak English and 1% speak Zulu. In case of female, 80% speak both, 18% speak English and 2% Zulu. Age is quite standard, all the ages speak approximately 72% of both, 25% English and only 3% people between 40-49 speak Zulu. Regarding to place of residence: people that live in formal areas speak 71.6% both languages, 27.6% English and 0.7% Zulu. In urban informal areas 75.9% speak both, 20.4% English and 3.7% Zulu. In peri-urban

settlements 62.5% of the people speak both languages, and 37.5% speak English. Related to education, 42% of people with primary school not finished: speak both languages, 46.2% speak English and 7.7% speak Zulu. 63.6% of those with completed primary education speak both languages, 27.3% speak English and 9.1% speak Zulu. Secondary not finished 73.7% both, 24.6% English and 1.8% Zulu. Secondary finished: 81.5% both, 18.5% English. Tertiary not finished 74% both and 25.9% English. Tertiary finished 78.3% both, and 21.7% English. University not finished 71.4% both and 28.6% English, and finally university finished 50% both and 50% English.

Language with provider legal service: 75% speak both Zulu and English languages with the legal service, 23% speak English and 1.5% speaks Zulu. From the total male population, 68% speak English and 32% both; from the total female population, 83% speak both, and 15% English. Percentages in age intervals are quite similar, both languages are approximately 75% in all the ages, and 23% in English.

Language in bank and building society: 90% speak both Zulu and English languages, 9% English and 1% Zulu. 88% of males speak both, 11% speak English and 1% speaks Zulu. 92% of females speak both languages, 7% English and 1% Zulu. Related to age, 85.9% of people between 18-29 speak both languages, 12.7% English and 1.4% Zulu, 90.5% of people between 30-39 speak both, and 9.5% English. And 93.9% of the population between 40-49 speak both languages, 4.5% English and 1.5% Zulu. Regarding to place of residence, 88.8% of people in urban formal areas speak both languages and 10.4% English; 96.3% of people living in urban informal area speak both, 1.9% speak English and 1.9% speak Zulu. 62.5% of people living in peri-urban settlement speak both languages and 37.5% speak English.

Language in shops and supermarket: 81.5% speak both Zulu and English languages, 4% English and 14.5% Zulu. 83% of males speak both languages, 5% English and 12% Zulu, 80% of females speak both languages, 3% English and 17.1% Zulu. Related to age, 83.1% of people between 18-29 speak both languages, 4.2% English and 12.7% Zulu. 77.8% of the people between 30-39 speaks both language, 6.3% English and 15.9% Zulu.

83.3% of people between 40-49 speaks both languages, 1.5% English and 14.5% Zulu. Regarding to place of residence, 82.1% of people that live in urban formal areas speak both languages, 4.5% speak English and 13.4% speak Zulu; 81.5% of people that live in urban informal speak both languages, 1.9% English and 16.7% Zulu; and 75% of people who live in peri-urban settlements speak both languages, 12.5% English and 12.5% Zulu. Related to kind of dwelling, 83.2% of people that live in formal dwelling speak both languages, 4.2% English and 12.6% Zulu; 77.8% of people who live in informal areas speak both languages, 1.9% English and 20.4% Zulu; 87% of those who live in flats speak both languages, 4.3% English and 8.7% Zulu. 50% of people that live in traditional huts speak Zulu and 50% English. Finally, according to education, 84.6% of people with primary not finished speak both language and 15.4% Zulu; 81.8% of people with primary finished speak both languages and 18.2% Zulu; 77.2% of the people with secondary not finished speak both languages, 7% English and 15.8% Zulu. 87% of people with secondary finished speak both languages, 1.9% English and 11.1% Zulu; 77.8% of people who have tertiary not finished speak both languages and 22.2% Zulu; 87% of those with tertiary finished speak both languages, 4.3% English and 8.7% Zulu. 85.7% of those with university not finished speak both languages and 14.3% Zulu; finally, 62.5% of those with university finished speak both languages, 25% English and 12.5% Zulu.

First more important items: The items choosing by the people as first most important are: 52% food, 13% beverages, 12.5% clothing /footwear, 3.5% housing, 2% fuel, power and water, 2% furniture and equipment, 2% medical service, 6% transport, 0.1% communication, 1.5% education, 0.5% household operation, 2% personal care, 0.5% recreation sport, and 0.5% restaurant bar. The 5 more important items choosing in first place are as followed: food with 52%, beverage with 13%, clothing and footwear with 12.5%, transport with 6% and housing with 3.5%. Regarding to clothing and footwear 52% are male and 48% female, 88% are single, 8% are married, 4% are widowed; 52% are from 18-29, 32% from 30-39, 16% are form 40-49.

Second more important items: Food 7%, beverage 9.5%, tobacco 0.5%, clothing/footwear 24%, housing 12%, fuel, power and water 9%, furniture and equipment 8%, medical

service 4%, transport 13%, communication 2%, education 1%, household operation 2.5%, personal care 6.5%, holidays 0.5%. The five more important items choosing in second place are; clothing/footwear 24%, transport 13.5%, housing 12%, beverages 9.5%, and fuel power and water with 9%. From the total people that choose cloth/footwear, 29.2% are male and 70.8% female, 70.8% are single, 25% married, and 4.2% divorced. 39.6% are from 18-29, 29.2% are from 30-39 and 31.3% from 40-49%.

Third more important items: 4.5% food, 1.5% beverage, 0.5% tobacco, 7% clothing/footwear, housing 8.5%, 6.5% fuel, power and water, 9.5% furniture, 12.5% medical service and requirement, 14% transport, 5.5% communication, 3.5% education, 16% household operation, 0.5% reading matters, 5% personal care, 3% restaurant bar, and 2% holidays. The five more important items that people were choosing in third place are: household operation 16%, transport 14%, medical service 12.5%, furniture and equipment 9.5% and housing 8.5%. Only in 6th place clothing and footwear has been chosen with 7%. From the total people that choose clothing/footwear 50% are male and 50% female, 78.6% are single, 7.1% married and 14.3% widowed; 50% from 18-29, 21.4% from 30-39 and 28.6% from 40-49.

Four more important items: Food 2%, beverage 3%, clothing/footwear 2.5%, housing 2%, fuel, power and water 4%, furniture and equipment 5%, medical service and requirement 6.5%, transport 19%, communication 8.5%, education 7.5%, household operation 9%, personal care 27%, recreation sport 1.5%, restaurant bar 2%, and holidays 0.5%. The highest percentage is personal care with 27%, followed by transport with 19%, household operation 9%, communication 8.5% and education with 7.5%. Clothing is the 10th more important item chosen in fourth place. From those, 40% are male and 60% female; 60% are single, 20% are married and 20% divorced; and related to age, 80% are from 30-39 and 20% from 40-49.

Fifth more important items: 4.5% food, 1.5% beverage, 3% clothing/footwear, 3% housing, 2% fuel, power and water, 3.5% furniture and equipment, 8.5% medical service, 9% transport, 3% communication, 5.5% education, 9% household operation, 1.5%

reading matters, 29.5% personal care, 2.5% recreation sport, 9.5% restaurant bar, and 4.5% holidays. The highest percentage are personal care with 29.5%, transport and household operation with 9% respectively, restaurant bar 9.5% and medical service with 8.5%. Clothing/footwear is the 9 highest percentage in the fifth place, from which 66.7% are male and 33.3% female. 100% are single and 66.7% belong to the interval 18-29, 16.7% to the 30-39 and 16.7% to the 40-49.

Kind of clothing black Africans prefer: Regard to the kind of clothing they prefer to use, 76% respond that they prefer to use comfortable clothing, 9.5% formal, 5.5% reflect your own culture, 6.5% reflect authentic fashion, 1.5% prefer exclusive expensive items, 0.5% imitation fashion and only 0.5% prefer outrageous clothing. Over the total population that responds 'comfortable', 52.6% are male and 47.4% are female. Related to age they are quite homogeneous by interval of age, 67.8% live in urban formal, 25.7% in urban informal and 3.9% in peri-urban settlements. In addition, 19.7% work in permanent formal skilled or semi-skilled jobs, 18.4% in unskilled work and 22.4% work in informal sector. 30.3% of the people earn a monthly income of R1000-R2000 and 27.6% of the people earn R2000-R4000.

According to those who respond to prefer clothing that 'reflect their own culture', 45% are male and 55% female; 18.2% are from 18-29, 18.2% are from 30-39 and 63.6% are from 40-49. 45.5% live in urban areas, 45.5% in urban informal areas and 9.1% in peri-urban settlements. 36.4% of the people are working in the informal sector, 18.2% work as permanent formal skill or semi-skilled and unskilled worker and 27.3% are still studying. 33.3% of the people earn R500-R1000 and R1000-R2000, 22.2% from R2000-R4000 and 11.1% earn up to R500.

From the total population that responds to prefer clothing that 'reflect authentic fashion', 30.8% are male and 69.2% are female; 61.5% are from the first interval of age and 38.5% from the second interval, 61.5% live in urban areas and 38.5% in informal areas. 7.7% of this population belong to the white-collar middle class, 15.4% to the permanent formal skill or semi-skilled worker, 7.7% to the permanent formal unskilled, 15.4% to the informal sector and 53.8% are still studying. Finally, 33.3% earn R500-R1000, 33% between R2000-R4000 and 33.3% earn R4000-R7000. In relation with the kind of

footwear they prefer, 78% prefer comfortable shoes, 11.5% formal, 3.5% reflect their own culture, 3.5% reflect authentic fashion, 1.5% exclusive expensive items, 1.5% imitation fashion and 0.5% outrageous.

Preference of clothing colour: People prefer mainly the traditional colour for clothing, with the exception of Khaki and navy but, when I ask if these colours have specific meaning for them, 99.5% of the population respond no; only 1 female from the 18-29 interval of age say yes. She responds that yellow is for hope and pink plus red is for love according with the Zulu tradition.

Where and when was the last time they have been on holidays? Reasons: 61.4% have been on holidays in the last 5 years. 43.5% are male and 56.5% female; 45.2% are from 18-29, 32.3% from 30-39 and 22.6% from 40-49. 38.6% of the people have not been on holidays in the last 5 years; 51.3% are male and 48.7% are female. 28.2% are from 18-29, 35.9% from 30-39 and 35.9% from 40-49.

The main reasons to have not been on holidays are: 53.8% because they are busy with work/ do not have time; from those, 66.7% are male and the rest female and related to age, 38.1% are from 30-39 and the same percentage for people between 40-49. 12.8% say that they do not have money, from which 80% are females and 20% males. 40% of the answers correspond to the 30-39 interval of age and 40% to the 40-49. 15.4% say that they do not have place to visit, from which 66.7% are female and the rest are males. 33.3% are from 18-29 and 50% from 30-39. 17.9% say that is for other reasons.

Those who have been on holidays, the last time were in '2003 Easter' with 31.1% and the place they have visited is KZN with 68.4%, Johannesburg/Gauteng with 21.2% and 10.5% respond other places; 23% have been on holidays in '2003 end of February/January/June/May', six months ago, and the places they visited is KZN with 85.7%, Gauteng/Johannesburg with 7.1% and the rest visited other places. 41% have been on holidays in '2002, last year, September/December/June' and the place they visited is KZN with 64%, Gauteng with 24% and other places with 12%. 4.9% have been on holidays '2 years ago, April 2001/December 2001', and 100% of them have chosen to visit KZN. The main reasons are: 48.4% because they have visited some family member,

17.7% they have visited friends, 8.1% they like visit areas or new areas, 9.7% graduation parties, small functions, marriages; 9.7% their boyfriends/friend/neighbour choose the place, 3.2% boyfriend family/in law live there and only 3.2% of the people respond other reasons.

Cinema taste: The taste on cinema is nearly non-existent within black African population. This is due to the high percentage of population that have never been to the cinema, or the lack of memory to remember when was the last time in what they have been to the cinema. 4% of the people go to the cinema once a month; from which 75% are from 18-29, 75% are male and 75% live in urban areas. 6% have been once to the cinema in the last two months, from those 75% are from 18-29, 83.3% are male and 66.7% live in urban formal areas. 41% do not remember when was the last time they went to the cinema; from which 46.3% are from 18-29, 36.6% from 30-39 and 17.1% from 40-49. Also, 56% are male and 44% female, and 70.7% live in urban formal. Finally, 49% never have been to the cinema, from which 26.5% are from 18-29, 32.7% from 30-39 and 40.8% from 40-49. 32.7% are male and 67.3% female, and 69.4% live in urban formal areas. Some of the names of films that people remember are 6% Jungle book, 4% Far from Heaven, 4% The Recruit, and 26% others. Curiously, the two people who watch 'Far from Heaven' live in urban areas and in formal dwellings. In addition, 60% of the people do not remember the name of the last film they have watched on the cinema. 100% do not remember name of the actors and director of the movie. Mentioning the most important type of films they prefer we found that adventure is preferred by 40.4%, spectaculars by 12.1%, war by 57.6%, musicals by 26.3%, western by 14.1%, comedies by 48.5%, thrillers by 12%, films with messages by 47.4%, historical by 23.2%, drama by 24.2% and, other 2%. 38.4% of people from 18-29, 34.3% from 30-39 and 27.3% from 40-49 expresses this taste in general, from which 47.5% are male and 52.5% are female.

APPENDIX NUMBER FOUR

IMPORTANT DEFINITIONS

“Informal Dwellings are dwelling structures, which are not erected according to approved architectural plans or on planned sites in municipal or local authority areas, or are on unproclaimed land in both urban and non-urban areas, or are in makeshift structures in relatively high-density concentrations in rural areas, are regarded as informal dwellings.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Traditional Dwelling is one made of clay, mud, thatch or other traditional materials. It can be round or square in shape. Traditional dwellings may be found as single units or in clusters.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Head of Household is the person that the household regards as such, and is usually the person who assumes responsibility for decision-making in the household. The head could be either male or female. There can be more than one head of a household.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Informal Settlement refers to an area consisting mainly of informal dwelling.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Pensioner is a person in retirement who draws a pension from a previous employer or a pension fund, or receives a state pension. A distinction was not made between those receiving a pension from an employer or pension fund and those receiving a state pension in Census '96.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Self-employed is a person who works for himself or herself for financial gain without employing anyone else.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Squatter areas: The term squatter is used as a synonym only for informal settlements. There are three types of squatter areas or informal settlements: those within municipal or

local authority areas; those outside municipal or local authority boundaries; and those situated in rural areas.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Unemployed person is defined as an economically active person who had no work, but who was looking for work at the time of Census '96 and found none.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“An informal urban area is found within a proclaimed urban area (city/town) but consists mainly of informal dwellings. These are the so-called squatter areas.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Formal work refers to economic activity in an organization which is registered for value added tax (VAT) and has a VAT registration number.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

“Informal work refers to economic activity which takes place without a registered value added tax (VAT) number.” (Census definitions, Statistics South Africa, 1998).

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